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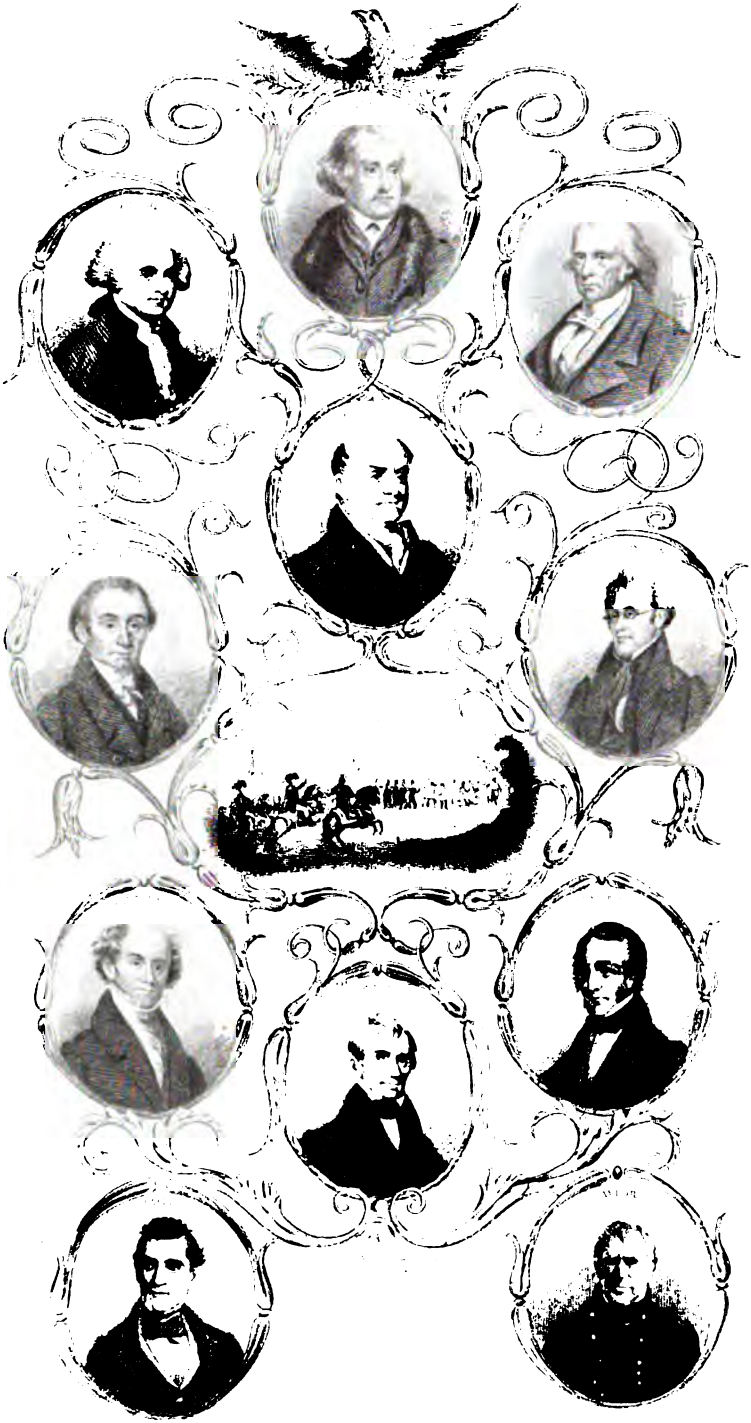

LIVES

OF THE

PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES;

WITH

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES

OF THE

SIGNERS OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE;

SKETCHES OF THE

MOST REMARKABLE EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF THE COUNTRY.

President's House, at Washington.

BY ROBERT W. LINCOLN.

EMBELLISHED WITH

A PORTRAIT OF EACH OF THE PRESIDENTS,

AND

FORTY-FIVE ENGRAVINGS.

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PREFACE.

In writing the Lives of the Presidents of the United States, it has been difficult to preserve the strict impartiality which the nature of the work requires, and avoid running either into eulogy or abuse. The circumstances of their administration are so recent, that one who has lived through the greater portion of them, and entered into all the excited feelings of party strife, can hardly be supposed capable of divesting himself of prejudices and passions, however much he may desire to be an honest chronicler of the times. We can only say, that it has been our sincere aim and endeavor to see near events with the eye of a distant spectator, and to anticipate the dispassionate judgment which posterity will pass upon the great men who have administered our Government. The affairs of the last twenty years are hardly yet ripe for the biographer, and the materials for their history are scattered in various directions, and to be drawn from many different sources. That all those sources should be pure, is more than can be expected; but we have uniformly endeavored to resort only to those least exposed to suspicion.

For the materials of our work, we owe much obligation to many distinguished writers. To the Lives of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence, by a gentleman who has done a great deal for the illustration of American history, we have been much indebted in the course of the volume, and particularly in our summary of their biographies. To the eloquent eulogist of Mr. Monroe, to Marshall, Bancroft, Ramsay, Thacher, Tudor, Wirt, Lee, Jefferson, Irving, Knapp, the author of a Biographical Sketch of J. Q. Adams, Goodrich, Hinton, the editor of American Anecdotes, the author of the History of the United States, published

in Lardner's Cyclopædia, to Eaton, Goodwin, the editors of the Annual Register and North American Review, and many others, of whose labors we have had occasion to avail ourselves, we take this opportunity of noticing our repeated obligations. It is idle, in a work of this description, to pretend to originality, and unfair not to acknowledge the sources to which we have been indebted.

We hope that our readers will find in this work all that has been promised, and indeed more. Of its imperfections, no one can be more aware than ourself; but of its impartiality and honesty we believe that no one will have reason to doubt.

R. W. LINCOLN.

NEW-YORK, JULY 20, 1833.

☞ The Publisher deems it proper to state that the sketches of Presidents Harrison, Tyler, Polk, and Taylor, have been prepared by other hands; and verified, expressly for this edition, by a careful recourse to the best authorities. Several errors, which escaped notice in former editions, have been corrected; new and valuable matter has been added; and the biographies and historical facts have been brought down to the present date. The volume is now confidently presented to the public, in the belief that it is the only complete and reliable Biography extant of ALL the Presidents of the United States.

BRATTLEBORO', VT., AUGUST, 1849.

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LIVES OF THE PRESIDENTS.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

There is no individual whose life is more completely identified with the history of his country, than is that of George Washington. Notwithstanding the order, dignity, and beauty of his private character, there are many whose private life would furnish much more interesting subjects to the pen of a biographer. The interest of his life depends upon more important circumstances than personal adventure, or romantic incident. It rests upon his connexion with the great events, which led to the independence of his country, and which, in their still spreading and accumulating effects, may break up the institutions of tyranny all over the globe.

George Washington was born at Bridge's Creek, in Westmoreland county, Virginia, on the twenty-second of February, 1732. He was the son of Augustine Washington, a descendant of one of the earliest settlers of the first English colony in America, who died when his son George was about ten years of age. The education of the orphan devolved upon his mother, who devoted herself to the task with a zeal and industry, for which she afterwards reaped an ample reward. The means of education at that period were of course very limited, and a grammatical knowledge of the English language, mathematics, history, natural and moral philosophy, formed the course of his youthful studies. Of this education, mathematics formed by far the most important part. This was of great advantage to him in early life, in qualifying him for the office of practical surveyor, and in later years in its connexion with military science. At the age of fifteen, he was desirous to enter into active life, and obtained the birth of a midshipman in the British navy; but the anxiety of an affectionate mother dissuaded him from the adoption of this course of life.

Of the early youth of Washington, no authentic anecdotes have been preserved. He has been described by his contemporaries as grave, silent, and thoughtful; diligent in his business; correct in his deportment, and strictly honorable in all his conduct. His patrimony was small, but managed with prudent industry. Of the estimation in which he was held, even when quite young, we may judge, from his being appointed one of the adjutants general of Virginia, at the age of nineteen. When hardly twenty-one, he was employed by the government of his native colony in an enterprise of very considerable importance.

The French were the first European discoverers of the Mississippi, and claimed all those extensive regions whose waters emptied into that river. They had just formed a plan of connecting their possessions in America, by the union of Louisiana with Canada. In pursuance of this design, a line of military posts from the lakes to the Ohio had been commenced in the year 1753. This territory was situated within the boundaries of Virginia, and the governor of that province deemed it his duty to remonstrate against encroachments, which he considered in violation of previous treaties. He determined to send an agent to the French commandant on the Ohio, to convey his views upon this important and delicate subject For this purpose Mr. Washington was the person selected.

In discharge of this trust, he set out about the middle of November, from Wills' Creek, then an extreme frontier settlement, and pursued his course over an unexplored tract of morasses and forests, over rivers of difficult passage, and among tribes of hostile Indians. Reaching the Monongahela on the twenty-second, he there learned that the French general was dead, and that the greater part of the army had retired into winter quarters. He spent a few days among the Indians, and very wisely secured the services of some of their chiefs, who guided him to the fort at French Creek, where he found the commanding officer on the Ohio. Delivering his letters, in three or four days he received an official reply, and immediately set out on his return. Finding the snow deep, and his horses weakened with fatigue, he determined to pursue his way on foot. He took his necessary papers, a gun and a pack, and wrapping himself in his watch-coat, set out with a single companion. On the day following, they fell in with a party of French Indians, one of whom fired upon them. They took this Indian

prisoner, and kept him until nine o'clock in the evening, when they released him, and walked without stopping all the rest of the night, in order to be out of the reach of pursuit.

As the answer of the French commandant indicated no disposition to withdraw from the disputed territory, the Assembly of Virginia determined to maintain by force the rights of the British crown. A regiment was immediately raised of three hundred men. The command of this body was given to Mr. Fry, and Washington was appointed lieutenant colonel. Desirous to engage in active service, and take as early measures as possible in defence of the colony, Washington obtained permission to march in advance of the other troops, to Great Meadows. On reaching this place, he learned from the friendly Indians that a party of the French were encamped in a valley a few miles to the west. The night was dark and rainy, and entirely concealed the movements of the troops. They surrounded the French camp, and took it completely by surprise. The commanding officer was killed, one person escaped, and all the rest immediately surrendered.

Soon after this affair, Colonel Fry died, and the command of the regiment devolved upon Washington, who speedily collected forces at Great Meadows, to the number of four hundred men. A small stockade was erected, called Fort Necessity, in which a few soldiers were stationed to guard the horses and provisions, while the main body moved forward to dislodge the French from Fort Du Quesne. They had not proceeded more than thirteen miles, when they were informed by friendly Indians, "that the French, as numerous as pigeons in the woods, were advancing in an hostile manner towards the English settlements, and also, that Fort Du Quesne had been recently and strongly reinforced." In this critical situation it was resolved to retreat to the Great Meadows, and every exertion was made to render Fort Necessity tenable. Before the completion of the works erecting for that purpose, the fort was attacked by a considerable force. The assailants were protected by trees and high grass. The Americans received them with great intrepidity, and Washington distinguished himself by his coolness and address. The engagement continued from ten in the morning until dark, when the French general demanded a parley, and offered terms of capitulation. These were refused, but in the course of the night other proposals were accepted. The fort was surrendered on condition that the garrison should march out with the honors of war, should be permitted to retain their arms and baggage, and to proceed without molestation into the inhabited parts of Virginia. A public vote of thanks was given to Washington and the officers under his command, for their conduct in this affair; and three hundred pistoles were distributed among the soldiers.

The controversy in respect to the Ohio lands, which commenced in Virginia, was taken up with much zeal in Great Britain, and two regiments were sent to America to support the pretensions of his Britannic majesty. They arrived early in 1755, under the command of General Braddock, who invited Washington to serve the campaign as a volunteer aid-de-camp. This invitation he at once accepted, and joined the regiment on its march to Fort Cumberland. Here the army was detained till the twelfth of June,

waiting for wagons, horses and provisions. Soon after resuming their march, Washington was seized with a violent fever, but refusing to remain behind the army, was conveyed with them in a covered wagon.

The object of the campaign was the capture of Fort Du Quesne. Washington advised the general to leave his heavy artillery and baggage behind, and to press forward with a chosen body of troops as expeditiously as possible. This advice was adopted, and twelve hundred men were selected, to be commanded by General Braddock in person, and to advance with the utmost despatch. This corps immediately commenced its march, but did not move with the celerity that had been expected. "I found," said Washington, in a letter to his brother, "that instead of pushing on with vigor, without regarding a little rough road, they were halting to level every mole hill, and to erect bridges over every brook." They were four days in passing over the first nineteen miles from the Little Meadows. Here the sickness of Washington made it impossible for him to proceed on the march. General Braddock ordered him to stay behind with a small guard, till the arrival of Colonel Dunbar, with the rear division of the army. As soon as his strength would permit, he rejoined the general, and immediately entered on the duty of his office.

The next day was an eventful one in our early history. It was the ninth of July. General Braddock had crossed the Monongahela, and was pressing forward, with no apprehension of danger, to Fort Du Quesne. He was already within a few miles of his destination, marching on an open road thick set with grass, when on a sudden a heavy and well directed fire was opened upon his troops by an invisible enemy, consisting of the French and Indians. From their sheltered retreats they were able to take a safe and steady aim, and the officers of the British troops were slain in great numbers. In a short time Washington was the only aid-de-camp left alive and unwounded. He was obliged consequently to carry all of the general's orders, to every part of the battle-field in person. In performing

this duty, he had two horses killed under him, and four balls passed through his coat. "I expected every moment," says an eyewitness, "to see him fall. Nothing but the superintending care of Providence could have saved him from the fate of all around him."

During the whole course of the battle Braddock displayed the utmost intrepidity and firmness. He encouraged his men to keep their ground; but valor was useless, and he saw his army falling around him like grass under the scythe, without being able to render them any assistance. Unacquainted with the Indian mode of fighting, his efforts to form his broken troops only exposed them more surely to the galling fire of the enemy. The action continued for three hours, in the course of which the general had three horses killed under him, and received himself a mortal wound. His troops immediately fled in great confusion. It was impossible to rally them, until they had crossed the Monongahela, and placed a river between themselves and their enemy. The Indians were too much occupied with the plunder, to think of continuing the pursuit. Braddock was carried to the camp of Dunbar, where in a few days he died.

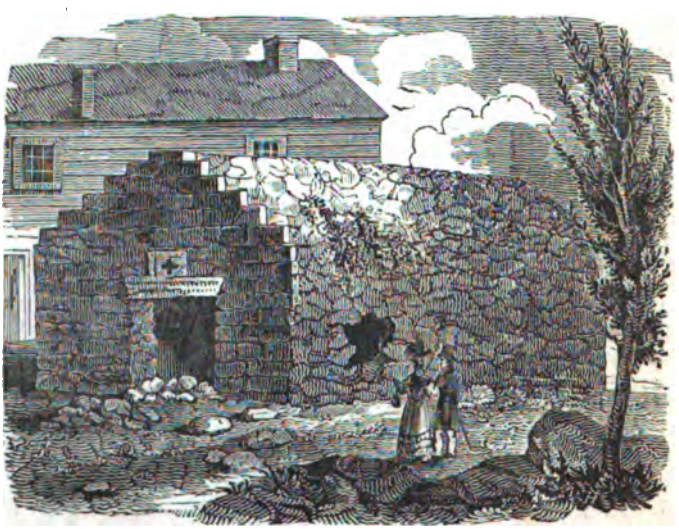
On this occasion the British officers behaved with admirable bravery, but the common soldiers broke into confusion in spite of every effort to rally them, and fled like sheep before hounds. The three Virginia companies, on the contrary, conducted with great spirit, and fought with such disregard of danger, that there were scarcely thirty men left alive from their whole number. This defeat did not injure the reputation of Washington. His countrymen praised his conduct, and it was well understood that the disasters of the day originated in a neglect of his advice.

Intelligence of the defeat of Braddock, and of the withdrawal of the regular forces from Virginia, arrived while the Assembly of that colony were still in session. It was at once resolved to raise a regiment of sixteen companies to protect the frontier settlements. The command of this was given to Washington, with authority to name the field officers.

In executing the duties of his office, Washington visited the frontiers, and made the best disposition of the few soldiers he found in the various posts. On his way to Williamsburg, he was overtaken by an express, with information that the back settlements had been broken up by the French and Indians, who were burning their houses, devastating their crops, murdering and leading into captivity the men, women and children. The few troops stationed on the frontiers were unable to render them any assistance, but retired for their own safety to the stockade forts. Alarm and confusion prevailed on all sides. Before any sufficient force could be collected to repel the assailants, they had retreated beyond the Alleghany mountains, and were out of the reach of punishment. Irruptions of this kind were repeatedly made into the frontier settlements during the years 1756, 1757, and 1758. The distresses of the inhabitants were extreme. In the forts they suffered from hunger, and were often besieged and murdered. In their farms and villages they lay down every night with the fear of a cruel death, or a more cruel bondage, continually before them.

The people looked to Washington for the protection he was unable to give. The difficulty of raising a large number of men, and the inability of a small number to protect the extensive frontiers of Virginia, were

continual sources of anxiety and distress. The savages made no distinctions in their warfare. They slew the women and children, the aged and the helpless, as well as the men whom they found in arms. Washington, in a letter written during this period to the governor, observed—"The supplicating tears of the women and moving petitions of the men, melt me with such deadly sorrow, that I solemnly declare, if I know my own mind, I could offer myself a willing sacrifice to the butchering enemy, provided that would contribute to the people's ease." He was indefatigable in representing to the governor the wretched condition of the inhabitants, and the great defects of the existing mode of defence. He advised the reduction of Fort Du Quesne, the lurking-place and strong hold of these predatory bands, as the only means of effectually restoring security to the frontier settlements. In case this measure was not adopted, he advised that twenty-two forts, extending in a line of three hundred and sixty miles, should be erected and garrisoned by two thousand men, in constant pay and service. In the autumn of 1758, to the great joy of Washington, an expedition was fitted out against Fort Du Quesne; but on reaching the post, they found that the garrison had deserted it and retreated down the Ohio. A treaty of peace was soon after concluded with the Indian tribes. Fort Du Quesne received the name of Fort Pitt, was repaired and garrisoned with two hundred men from Washington's regiment. Henceforward it was a source of as much advantage to the English settlements, as it had before been of detriment. The remains of this fort presented the following appearance in the year 1831.



The great object of his wishes having been thus happily accomplished, Washington resigned his commission, and thus ended his career as a provincial officer. Soon after this resignation, he married Mrs. Martha

Custis, a young and beautiful lady, of great accomplishments, and an amiable character. Retiring to the estate at Mount Vernon, which he had acquired a few years before by the death of his elder brother, he devoted himself assiduously to the business of agriculture He became one of the greatest landholders in North America. His Mount Vernon estate alone consisted of nine thousand acres, and his domestic and farming establishments were composed of nearly a thousand persons.

From the close of the frontier war to the commencement of the revolution, Washington acted as judge of a county court, and as a member of the House of Burgesses of his native province. In this body he was never distinguished as a speaker, yet he secured the esteem and confidence of all who knew him, by the firmness and propriety of his conduct, and the uniform good sense of his counsels. While in this situation, he took an active part in opposition to the principle of the British parliament, to tax the American colonies. He was elected a representative to the first Congress, which met at Philadelphia, in 1774, and was the active member of all the committees on military affairs. When the commencement of hostilities made it necessary to appoint a commander-in-chief of the American forces, George Washington was unanimously elected to the office. On receiving from the President of Congress official notice of this appointment, he thus addressed him: "Mr. President, although I am truly sensible of the high honor done me in this appointment, yet I feel great distress from a consciousness that my abilities and military experience may not be equal to the extensive and important trust. However, as the Congress desire it, I will enter upon the momentous duty, and exert every power I possess in their service, and for support of the glorious cause. I beg they will accept my most cordial thanks, for this distinguished testimony of their approbation.

"But, lest some unlucky event should happen, unfavorable to my reputation, I beg it may be remembered by every gentleman in the room, that I this day declare, with the utmost sincerity, I do not think myself equal to the command I am honored with.

"As to pay, Sir, I beg leave to assure the Congress that as no pecuniary consideration could have tempted me to accept this arduous employment, at the expense of my domestic ease and happiness, I do not wish to make any profit from it. I will keep an exact account of my expenses; those I doubt not they will discharge, and that is all I desire."

A special commission was made out for him, and at the same time an unanimous resolution was adopted by Congress, "that they would maintain and assist him, and adhere to him with their lives and fortunes, for the maintenance and preservation of American liberty."

He prepared to enter immediately on the duties of his high station. Having passed a few days in New-York, and making some arrangement with General Schuyler who commanded there, he proceeded to Cambridge, which was the headquarters of the American army. On his way thither, he received from individuals and public bodies, the most flattering attention and the strongest promises of support and assistance. A committee of the Massachusetts Congress met him at Springfield, about one hundred miles from Boston, and conducted him to the army

Immediately after his arrival, the Congress presented him an address, in which they expressed their approbation of his appointment, and the great respect and affection they entertained for him. His reply was well calculated to increase these sentiments. He returned the warmest acknowledgments of their kindness, and promised ever to retain it in grateful remembrance. In the course of this reply, he observed, "In exchanging the enjoyments of domestic life for the duties of my present honorable, but arduous situation, I only emulate the virtue and public spirit of the whole province of Massachusetts, which, with a firmness and patriotism without example, has sacrificed all the comforts of social and political life, in support of the rights of mankind, and the welfare of our common country. My highest ambition is to be the happy instrument of vindicating these rights, and to see this devoted province again restored to peace, liberty and safety."

On reaching the camp, the first movements of the commander-in-chief were directed to an examination of the strength and situation of his forces. They amounted to about fourteen thousand and five hundred men; occupying several posts in an extent of about twelve miles. Some were stationed at Roxbury, some at Cambridge, and some on Winter and Prospect Hills in front of Bunker's Hill. A few companies were posted in the towns about Boston Bay, which were most exposed to attacks from British armed vessels. The troops were not sufficiently numerous to defend so large an extent of country, but it was difficult to make a more compact arrangement. The British army were posted in three divisions. The main body, under General Howe, was intrenching itself on Bunker's Hill, in Charlestown. Another division was stationed on Copp's Hill and the third was strongly entrenched and fortified on Roxbury Neck. There were three floating batteries in Mystic river, and a small body of infantry and light horse stationed in Boston.

The American army was very badly provided with the necessaries of war. Of military stores, they were almost entirely destitute. All the powder in New-England would not have furnished nine rounds to each soldier. In this condition, the army remained for a fortnight. There was no discipline among the troops, owing to their being enlisted only for short periods. The appointment of general officers by Congress gave great dissatisfaction, and induced several of those who thought themselves injured, to quit the service. To remedy all these evils, to form an uniform mass of discordant materials, and subject men striving for independence to the rigid discipline of a camp, required patience, firmness, and a spirit of conciliation.

General Gage had received a small reinforcement from New-York, so that the whole number of the British army now amounted to about eight thousand men. Their plans were principally directed to self-defence. With little interruption, both armies were employed in strengthening their respective fortifications. But few skirmishes took place, and those without much bloodshed. This state of things did not satisfy the mind of Washington. He was eager for some active measures to destroy the British army in Boston, before it should receive additional reinforcements; and before the resources of the colonies should be entirely exhausted.

The situation of the enemy was frequently reconnoitered, and every effort made to ascertain their strength. To carry their works by storm was a dangerous project, but it appeared to Washington practicable, and he determined to suggest it to his general officers. A council of war was called, and the measure proposed. It was decided that the attempt ought not to be at that time made. The original plan of continuing the blockade appeared the most advisable, and Washington acquiesced in the decision of the council.

The scarcity of fresh provisions in Boston, induced the enemy to send small parties to forage along the shores of the continent, under the protection of their armed vessels. The defence of their property imposed such a heavy burden upon the seaboard towns, that the governors of several colonies applied to Washington to send detachments to their assistance. Repeated applications of this nature were very embarrassing, till Congress passed a resolution "that the army before Boston was designed only to oppose the enemy in that place, and ought not to be weakened by detachments for the security of other parts of the country."

In the course of the autumn, gradual approaches were made towards the British posts. The army was also reinforced by the arrival of more than fourteen hundred riflemen, from Pennsylvania and Maryland. Through the season, the most active exertions of the commander-in-chief were directed to procuring arms and ammunition for his troops. A voyage was made to Africa, and every pound of gunpowder for sale in the British factories along the coast, was obtained by the exchange of New-England rum. A British ordnance ship, completely laden with military stores, was captured by a privateer under the command of Captain Manly. On the fifth of September, a committee of Congress was appointed to visit the camp at Cambridge, and confer with the chief magistrates of the northern colonies, and the Council of Massachusetts, on the continuance and regulation of the continental army. The result of their conference was, that the new army should consist of twenty thousand three hundred seventy-two men, to serve till the last day of December, 1776. This short term of enlistment proved a very serious and almost a fatal evil.

In the execution of this resolve, Washington called upon the soldiers and officers to make their election, whether to retire or remain with the army. Great difficulties occurred in effecting the re-enlistment. Many were unwilling to continue in the army on any terms; some required leave of absence to visit their families, and others were in doubt, and uncertain what course to pursue. In his general orders, Washington appealed directly to the pride and patriotism of both officers and men "The times," he observed in the orders of October twentieth, "and the importance of the great cause we are engaged in, allow no room for hesitation and delay. When life, liberty and property are at stake; when our country is in danger of being a melancholy scene of bloodshed and desolation; when our towns are laid in ashes, innocent women and children driven from their peaceful habitations, exposed to the rigors of an inclement season, to depend, perhaps, on the hand of charity for support; when calamities like these are staring us in the face, and a brutal, savage enemy

threatens us, and every thing we hold dear, with destruction from foreign troops, it little becomes the character of a soldier to shrink from danger, and condition for new terms. It is the general's intention to indulge both officers and soldiers, who compose the new army, with furloughs for a reasonable time; but this must be done in such a manner as not to injure the service, or weaken the army too much at once."

The new regiment did not fill so rapidly as had been expected. The old troops, whose term of service had expired, were eager to return home; the new troops were slow in coming in. From this circumstance, the lines were often in a defenceless state. "It is not," says General Washington, in a communication to Congress, "in the pages of history to furnish a case like ours. To maintain a post within musket shot of the enemy, for six months together, without ammunition, and at the same time to disband one army and recruit another, within that distance of twenty odd British regiments, is more, probably, than ever was attempted."

About the middle of February, 1776, the waters about Boston had become sufficiently frozen to bear the troops. Washington was now desirous to execute his plan of attacking the enemy. A council of war was again called, and was again almost unanimous against the measure. It was therefore reluctantly abandoned. The regular force engaged for the year, now amounted to more than fourteen thousand men, and the militia to about six thousand. With these troops, Washington determined to take possession of the heights of Dorchester; a step which he thought must certainly bring on a general action. To favor the execution of this plan, a heavy bombardment on the town, and lines of the enemy, was commenced, on the evening of the second of March, and continued on the two succeeding nights. On the night of the fourth, a detachment, under the command of General Thomas, crossed the neck from Roxbury, and took possession of the heights. The ground was deeply frozen, and it was with great labor that the party were able, during the night, to raise works which nearly covered them from the shot of the enemy.

The British were very much surprised at the first view of these works, and immediately commenced a tremendous cannonade from their shipping in the harbor, and their forts in Boston. This scene has been very vividly described by Dr. Thacher. "Cannon shot are continually rolling and rebounding over the hill; and it is astonishing to observe how little our soldiers are terrified by them. During the forenoon, we were in momentary expectation of witnessing an awful scene; nothing less than the carnage of Breed's hill battle was expected. The royal troops are perceived to be in motion, as if embarking to pass the harbor, and land on Dorchester shore, to attack our works. The hills and elevations in this vicinity are covered with spectators to witness deeds of horror in the expected conflict. His Excellency, General Washington, is present, animating and encouraging the soldiers, and they, in their turn, manifest their joy, and express a warm desire for the approach of the enemy; each man knows his place, and is resolute to execute his duty." General Howe determined to attack the heights, and ordered three thousand men

on this service. These were embarked, and fell down to the Castle with the intention of proceeding up the river to the attack, but were dispersed by a tremendous storm. Before they could be in readiness to proceed, the American works were in such a state of security as to discourage any attempt against them.

The British now resolved to evacuate Boston as soon as possible. A paper signed by four of the selectmen was sent out with a flag of truce, containing a proposition, which purported to come from General Howe, that the town should be left uninjured if the troops were allowed to embark without molestation. This letter was directed to the commander-in-chief, but did not bear the signature of General Howe. Washington therefore declined taking any notice of it, but at the same time he "intimated his good wishes for the security of the town." On the seventeenth, the royal army commenced their embarkation on board of the transports. They were suffered to depart without annoyance.

Immediately after their departure, Washington ordered a part of his army to New-York, to defend that town against the expected invasion of the enemy. On entering Boston, the commander-in-chief was welcomed on all sides with the warmest gratulations. Congress passed a vote of thanks, to express the public approbation of his conduct; and ordered the striking of a medal, with suitable devices, to perpetuate the remembrance of the event. The town had received much less injury than was at first anticipated. During the siege, the Old South Church, a brick building near the centre of the town, had been converted into a riding school for Burgoyne's dragoons. The pulpit and pews were removed, and the floor covered with earth, to make it suitable for exercising their horses upon. A beautiful pew, ornamented with silk and carved work, was broken up, and its pieces taken for a fence to a hog-stye. The North Church was torn down, and consumed for fuel.

After providing for the security of Boston, Washington marched with the main army to New-York, and made every preparation for the defence of this very important position. In these labors, the American army was incessantly occupied, until Lord and General Howe arrived at Sandy Hook with their naval and land forces. Before the commencement of hostilities, an attempt was made at negociation. General Howe sent a letter by a flag, directed to "George Washington, Esq." This the general refused to receive, as it did not recognise the public character with which he had been invested by Congress. His conduct on this occasion met with the approbation of this body, and they resolved, "that he had acted with the dignity becoming his character." The British general was very anxious to obtain an interview with the commander-in-chief, but was unwilling to adopt his military address. He accordingly sent Colonel Patterson to the American headquarters, with a letter to "George Washington, &c. &c. &c." The general still declined receiving it. He said it was true, the etceteras implied every thing; they also implied any thing: and a letter directed to a public character should have an address descriptive of that character.

Colonel Patterson then said that General Howe would not urge his delicacy any further; repeating his assertion that not the slightest disre-

spect was intended in the form of the address. Some conversation ensued in respect to the treatment of prisoners; when the colonel observed that Lord and General Howe had been appointed commissioners by the king, and were very desirous of arranging the difficulties that had so unfortunately arisen. General Washington observed that he was vested with no power of treating upon the subject. He had read the act of parliament, and found Lord and General Howe only authorized to grant pardons. The Americans, having committed no fault, desired no pardon; they were only defending their rights. Colonel Patterson seemed confused, and said this would open a wide field for argument. After some few remarks, he was invited to a small collation, and introduced to the general officers. With many polite expressions at taking leave, he observed—"Has your Excellency no commands to my Lord or General Howe?" "None, Sir," replied Washington, "but my particular compliments to both of them."

On the arrival of General Howe at Staten Island, the American army did not exceed ten thousand men, but before the end of August they amounted to twenty-seven thousand. This force was distributed so judiciously, that the enemy were doubtful in what quarter to commence their operations. Every probable point of debarkation was guarded. From the arrival of the army, the Americans were in daily expectation of being attacked, and Washington was actively engaged in preparing their minds for action. In general orders he called upon the officers to be deliberate, and upon the soldiers to be firm, courageous and obedient. He directed that any soldier who deserted his ranks in time of battle should be immediately shot down. "The time," he observed, "is now at hand, which must probably determine whether Americans are to be freemen or slaves; whether they are to have any property they can call their own; whether their houses and farms are to be pillaged and destroyed, and themselves consigned to a state of wretchedness, from which no human efforts will deliver them. The fate of unborn millions will now depend, under God, on the courage and conduct of this army. Our cruel and unrelenting enemy leaves us only the choice of a brave resistance, or the most abject submission. We have to resolve to conquer or die. Our own, our country's honor, call upon us for a vigorous and manly exertion; and if we now shamefully fail, we shall become infamous to the whole world. Let us then rely on the goodness of our cause, and on the aid of the Supreme Being, in whose hands victory is, to animate and encourage us to great and noble actions. The eyes of all our countrymen are now upon us, and we shall have their blessings and praises, if happily we are the instruments of saving them from the tyranny meditated against them. Let us therefore animate and encourage each other, and show the whole world, that a freeman, contending for liberty on his own ground, is superior to any slavish mercenary on earth."

On the twenty-seventh of August, the enemy attacked the American forces under the command of General Sullivan, on Long Island The variety of ground and the number of different parties engaged on both sides, occasioned a succession of small engagements, pursuits, and slaughters, which lasted for many hours. The Americans were defeated

in every quarter. They suffered exceedingly from the want of discipline, and the means of ready transmission of intelligence. The troops retired within their line, discouraged and fatigued, with a victorious army in front, and a powerful fleet about to enter East river, for the purpose of cutting off their retreat. Washington immediately determined to evacuate the island with all his forces. For this purpose, he crossed over to the island on the night of the twenty-ninth, to conduct the retreat in person.

It so happened, that, about two o'clock in the morning, a heavy fog enveloped the whole of Long Island. Under this cover, an army of nine thousand men, with their baggage, provision, horses, and military stores, crossed a river more than a mile wide, and landed at New-York with no material loss. It was done in such silence, that the enemy, who were so near that they were heard at work with their pickaxes, knew nothing about the matter, till the clearing up of the fog. In conducting this difficult movement, Washington was incessantly active. For forty-eight hours he did not close his eyes, and much of that time he was on horseback. Notwithstanding the entreaties of his officers, he remained among the last upon the shore, refusing to embark till he saw his troops safely on board the transports.

The unfavorable issue of this engagement led to the most alarming consequences. Hitherto the soldiers had possessed such confidence in themselves and their officers, from being engaged in the cause of their country and liberty, that it outweighed all their apprehensions from the skill and discipline of the enemy. But on this occasion they found themselves encompassed with difficulties and dangers, from which their valor could not extricate them. They exaggerated the adroitness and military discipline of the enemy, and in every movement were apprehensive of some new surprise or skilful stratagem. "Our situation," said Washington in his letter to Congress, "is truly distressing. The check our detachment received on the twenty-seventh ultimo has dispirited too great a proportion of our troops, and filled their minds with apprehension and despair. The militia, instead of calling forth their utmost efforts to a brave and manly opposition, in order to repair our losses, are dismayed, intractable, and impatient to return."

Washington had recourse to entreaty, to persuasion, and to promises, to arrest the progress of these evils. In his communication to Congress, he urged the necessity of making enlistments for a longer period. The defence of the public liberties was to be entrusted only to a permanent army, regularly disciplined. It required time to reduce men who had been subject to no control, to the requisite military strictness. In a few days after this remonstrance, Congress resolved to raise eighty-eight battalions to serve during the war. It was important, therefore, to wear away the present campaign with as little loss as possible, in order to take the field in the ensuing year with a well organized army. The evacuation of New-York was accordingly determined on, as soon as events might make it necessary for the preservation of the troops.

While Washington was taking measures to preserve his troops and stores by evacuating the city, the British commander was pursuing his plan of bringing about a general action. On the fourteenth of September,

General Clinton landed with four thousand men, three miles above New York. This landing was effected under cover of five men of war. Works had been thrown up at this place by the Americans, and they were capable of defence; but the troops posted there, on the firing of the ships, immediately abandoned them. Two brigades were detached from the main body to support them. Washington rode promptly to the scene of action, and to his great mortification found the whole retreating. While attempting to rally them and with some success, they again broke and retreated in great confusion, on the appearance of a very small body of the enemy. At this shameful conduct, Washington entirely lost his self-command. He thought of the ruin, which this miserable cowardice might bring upon the cause in which his whole soul was engaged. In despair he turned his horse's head towards the enemy, with the intention of seeking an honorable death; and it was only by the friendly violence of his aids that he was compelled to retire, and his life saved for his country.

The issue of this day hastened the evacuation of New-York. This was effected with the loss of very few men, though all the heavy artillery, the tents, and most of the military stores, were left behind. The British general immediately stationed a detachment in the city, and posted his main army in front of the American lines, in encampments across York Island. The flanks of the army from front to rear were protected by the shipping. The strongest post of the Americans was at Kingsbridge, and this post secured their communication with the country. A detachment was also posted on the heights of Haerlem, within a mile and a half of the enemy. This disposition of the two armies would naturally lead to frequent skirmishes, and it was on this account very desirable, as it might accustom the undisciplined troops to military service.

On the very day after the retreat from New-York, a body of the enemy appeared in the open plain between the two camps. The general detached some troops, under the command of Colonel Knowlton and Major Leitch, to attack them. After leading their men into action, in the most soldierlike manner, both these officers were brought mortally wounded from the field. Their troops bravely continued the attack, and drove the enemy, though superior in numbers, from their position. The success of this skirmish had a great influence upon the army. In his general orders, Washington applauded the courage of the officers and men on this occasion, and contrasted it with the cowardly conduct of the troops the day before. He called upon the whole army to remember and imitate this brave example. He gave out on the next day "Leitch," for the *parole*. In filling the vacancy occasioned by the death of the colonel, he observed that "the officer succeeded the gallant and brave Colonel Knowlton, who would have been an honor to any country, and who had fallen gloriously fighting at his post." This was the method which he adopted to animate the spirits of the army. General Howe continued to prosecute his scheme for cutting off Washington's communication with the eastern states, and compelling him to a general engagement. Failing however in this design, he adopted a new plan of operations, and directed his attention to the invasion of New-Jersey. Washington penetrated his design, crossed the North river, and wrote to the governor of New-Jersey

urging him to put the militia of that state in a condition to defend it. About this time Fort Washington was taken by storm, and the garrison, consisting of more than two thousand men, surrendered themselves prisoners of war. The loss on this occasion was very heavy. Tents and military stores were taken by the enemy, which could not be replaced. The conquest of Fort Washington made the immediate evacuation of Fort Lee, on the opposite Jersey shore, a necessary measure. This was effected with little loss of men, but with great loss of baggage and artillery.

When General Howe passed into New-Jersey, Washington posted his army along the Hackensack; and as the British forces advanced, he retreated towards the Delaware. It often happened, that the front guard of one army entered a village, as the rear guard of the other was quitting it at the opposite end. Whenever it could be done with prudence, Washington took a stand and made a show of resistance; sometimes advancing a small detachment as if to engage the enemy. At Brunswick, Lord and General Howe issued a proclamation as commissioners, commanding all persons in arms against the king to return peaceably to their homes, and offering a full pardon to all who would subscribe a submission to the royal authority. This was the darkest period of the whole war. The American army were reduced in numbers, worn out with fatigue, disheartened by defeat, barefoot, without tents or clothing, and flying before a numerous and disciplined body of well armed and well provided troops. A general spirit of despondency prevailed through New-Jersey, and most of the families of fortune and influence were inclined to return to their allegiance to the king. A few, however, maintained their political integrity, and nearly a thousand of the militia of the state bravely kept the field. In the worst of times Congress remained unshaken, roused only to new and more vigorous exertions by the public danger.

A retreat beyond the Delaware became necessary, and this was effected on the eighth of December. The boats on the Jersey shore were all secured, the bridges broken down, and parties stationed in such a manner as to guard the different fording places over which it was possible for the enemy to pass. General Howe, after an unsuccessful attempt to obtain boats to pass the river, posted his army in New-Jersey; intending to wait till the ice should furnish him with a passage to Philadelphia. During this retreat, when affairs were taking their most gloomy aspect, Washington observed to Col. Reed, passing his hand over his throat: "My neck does not feel as if it were made for a halter; we must retire to Augusta county, in Virginia, and if overpowered, we must pass the Alleghany mountains."

On the thirteenth of this month, a disaster of much importance happened in the capture of Major General Lee. While marching at the head of his division to join the main army, he very imprudently took up his lodgings for the night at a house three or four miles distant from his troops. In this situation he was made prisoner, and conveyed to New-York.

Such was now the gloomy state of affairs, that the whole country took the alarm; and strong apprehensions were entertained that the continental army would be entirely broken up. The term of service of many of the troops had nearly expired, and no sufficient number of recruits arrived to

supply their places. Under all these circumstances of doubt and distress, Washington was undismayed. He remained firm, self-possessed, and serene, omitting nothing that could animate his own soldiers or embarrass the enemy. Laying before Congress the state of the army, he pointed out the impolicy of short enlistments, and urged the establishment of corps of cavalry, artillerists, and engineers. "We find," he observed, "that the enemy are daily gathering strength from the disaffected. This strength, like a snow-ball by rolling, will increase, unless some means can be devised to check, effectually, the progress of the enemy's arms. Militia may possibly do it for a little while; but in a little while, also, the militia of these states, which have frequently been called upon, will not túrn out at call; or if they do, it will be with so much reluctance and sloth, as to amount to the same thing."

He also hinted at the propriety of enlarging his own powers, so as to enable him, in urgent cases, to act without application to Congress, and thus execute important measures in the most effectual manner. "I have no lust," he added, "after power, but wish with as much fervency as any man upon the wide extended continent for an opportunity of turning the sword into the ploughshare. But my feelings as an officer, and a man, have been such as to force me to say, that no person ever had a greater choice of difficulties to contend with than I have."

The American forces now amounted to about seven thousand men; though during their retreat through the Jerseys they seldom amounted to half that number. The two armies were separated by the Delaware. In the security of conquest, the British had cantoned their troops in a very loose and uncovered manner, being in daily expectation to pass over into Pennsylvania by means of the ice, which is generally formed about that time. On receiving information of the number of the different cantonments, Washington exclaimed, "Now is the time to clip their wings, when they are so spread." He formed the bold design of re-crossing the Delaware, and attacking the British posts on its eastern banks.

In the evening of Christmas day, he made arrangements to pass over in three divisions; two of these parties failed in their attempt from the quantity of ice by which their passage was obstructed. The main body, of about two thousand four hundred men, began to cross very early in the evening, during a severe storm of snow and rain. Having landed on the Jersey shore, they had still a march of nine miles before they reached the village of Trenton, where a party of about fifteen hundred Hessians and British light horse was stationed. This party was taken altogether by surprise. A smart firing ensued, but in a few minutes the enemy, finding themselves surrounded, threw down their arms and surrendered. Colonel Rahl, the commanding officer, was mortally wounded; and of the other officers and soldiers nine hundred and forty-eight were taken prisoners. Of the American troops, two privates were killed, an officer and five or six privates wounded, and two frozen to death. On the same day, General Washington recrossed the Delaware with his prisoners, six pieces of artillery, a thousand stand of arms, and some military stores. These being secured, and his men having enjoyed two or three days of rest, he returned, and took possession of Trenton. On the next day Lord Cornwallis moved

forward with a numerous force, and reached Trenton about four o'clock in the afternoon. General Washington drew up his army behind a creek which runs through the town, and in this position waited for the movements of the enemy. After having attempted to cross this creek, and finding the passes guarded, the British general halted his troops, and determined to defer the attack till the following morning. The situation of the American troops was critical. Washington called a council of his officers, and laid before them the different plans that they might adopt. A retreat across the Delaware was impracticable, on account of the ice. A defeat, if they risked an engagement, would be entire destruction. It was determined to quit their present position, and get in the rear of the British army at Princeton.

On the next morning, Lord Cornwallis discovered that his enemy had disappeared. Soon after dark, Washington had given orders for the removal of the baggage to Burlington. Guards were stationed to perform the usual rounds, and to keep the watch fires burning throughout the night. At one o'clock, the army silently left the camp, and gained the rear of the enemy. They reached Princeton early in the morning, and would have completely surprised the British, if they had not been met by an advance of three regiments, which were on their way to join the main army. The centre of the American troops was severely charged by this party, and gave way in disorder. In his effort to rally them, General Mercer was mortally wounded. At this moment, Washington advanced at the head of his troops, and plunged into the hottest fire of the enemy. He was bravely supported by his men, and the British were obliged to retreat. One party of them fled to the colleges, but after a few discharges from the American fieldpieces, they came out and surrendered themselves. More than an hundred of the British were left dead upon the battle ground, and three hundred were made prisoners.

These victories led to the most important consequences. Philadelphia was saved for the winter; Jersey was recovered; and the depressed spirits of the Americans were again revived. The character of the commander-in-chief rose still higher in public estimation; and the soldiers began to entertain confidence in themselves and each other. After the campaign had been thus carried into the month of January, Washington retired into winter quarters at Morristown. His forces were small in comparison with those of the enemy, but public report had much exaggerated their number, and this deception was carefully continued. The remainder of the season passed over in a war of skirmishes, which generally terminated in favor of the Americans. Arranging the army in spring gave the commander-in-chief inconceivable trouble. A difficulty arose in assembling the troops from the different states in which they had been enlisted. The state regulations, in respect to pay and bounty, were different, and occasioned petty and vexatious jealousies among the troops. Each state, that conceived itself exposed to invasion, was desirous of retaining a part of its force for its own security. All these embarrassments, however, were finally removed by the authority and great personal influence of Washington.

The treatment of American prisoners, by the British officers, was a

source of great vexation and difficulty. They were viewed as rebels, and confined in prisons with common felons. General Washington had written to General Gage on this subject early in the war. In this letter he declared the intention to regulate his conduct towards prisoners in his own hands, by the treatment which those should receive in the power of the British general. To this communication an insolent reply was received, in which General Gage retorted the charge, and stated, as a mark of British clemency, that the cord was not applied to their prisoners. General Washington rejoined in a manner worthy of his character, with a communication which, he observed, was "to close their correspondence, perhaps forever." In conclusion he remarked, "if your officers, our prisoners, receive from me a treatment different from what I wished to show them, they and you will remember the occasion of it." Accordingly, all the British officers in his power were put into close jail, and the soldiers were confined in places of security. When Howe succeeded to the command, the treatment of prisoners became more humane on both sides.

The capture of General Lee opened new sources of irritation on this subject. As he had formerly been a British officer, General Howe pretended to consider him as a traitor, and at first refused to consider him as a subject of exchange. Congress directed the commander-in-chief to propose to exchange six fieldofficers for General Lee; and in case of the rejection of this proposal, they resolved that these officers should be closely confined and receive in every respect the treatment that General Lee did. This plan of retaliation Washington considered unjust and impolitic, and he was reluctant to execute it. He remonstrated against it, and Congress eventually adopted the measures he recommended.

In the approach of active operations, Congress determined to form an encampment on the western side of Philadelphia. Washington had made his arrangements for the campaign, with the expectation that the British would attempt to obtain possession of Philadelphia, or the Highlands on the Hudson. To prevent this, the northern troops were divided between Ticonderoga and Peekskill; while those from the south were posted at Middlebrook, near the Raritan. This position was fortified by intrenchments. The force of the Americans, collected at this strong encampment, was nominally between nine and ten thousand men; but the effective force was about six thousand. A large portion of these consisted of raw recruits, and a considerable number of those enlisted in the southern states were foreigners. To encourage their desertion, General Howe offered a bounty to every soldier who would come over to his army; and, to counteract this measure, Washington recommended Congress to grant full pardon to all Americans who would relinquish the British service.

On the part of the British, the campaign opened early in June. Their forces advanced toward Philadelphia as far as Somerset County in New-Jersey, but they soon fell back to New-Brunswick. The whole of this month was wasted in alternate advance and retreat, without any determinate action. Apprehensive that Sir William Howe would ultimately move up the North river, and that his movements southwardly were merely feints, Washington detached a brigade to reinforce the northern division of his army. Further advices favored the idea that a junction of

the royal armies near Albany was intended; but still the whole affair was embarrassed, and made doubtful by the future movements.

About the middle of August, certain accounts were received that the British had taken possession of the Chesapeake, and landed as near Philadelphia as was practicable. As soon as this was known, Washington ordered the divisions of his army to unite in the neighborhood of Philadelphia, and the militia of the surrounding states to take the field. He had previously written very pressing letters to the governors of the eastern states to strengthen the northern army opposed to Burgoyne; and even detached some of the best of his own forces on that important service. The effective American army did not exceed eleven thousand men. With these troops Washington marched through Philadelphia, that the sight of them might make an impression on the minds of the wavering and disaffected.

The two armies approached each other on the third of September. As the British troops advanced, Sir William Howe endeavored to gain the right wing of the American army. General Washington continued to fall back, until he crossed the Brandywine river. He here posted his troops on the high ground, near Chadd's Ford. The light corps, under General Maxwell, was advanced in front, and placed on the hills south of the river, in order to assail the enemy if they should approach in that direction. Troops were also posted at a ford two miles below, and at several passes some miles above. The opinion of Congress, and the general wish of the country, made it necessary for Washington to risk a general action at this place.

On the morning of the eleventh, the British army advanced in two columns to the attack. One column took the direct road to Chadd's Ford, and soon forced Maxwell's corps to cross the river, with very little loss on either side. General Knyphausen, the commander of this body, continued to parade on the heights, to reconnoitre the American army, and was apparently preparing to attempt the passage of the river.

The other column, led by Lord Cornwallis, moved up on the west side of the Brandywine, making a circuit of about seventeen miles. On coming within view of the American troops, it instantly formed the line of battle, and at about half after four the action began. It was continued with great spirit for some time. The American right first fell into disorder and gave way. They attempted to rally, but on being vigorously charged by the enemy, again broke. The flight now became common. General Washington, who had hastened towards the scene of action as soon as the firing commenced, only arrived in season to cover the retreat.

When the right wing was engaged with Lord Cornwallis, the works at Chadd's Ford had been assaulted and carried by General Knyphausen. The whole army retreated that night to Chester, and on the next day, to Philadelphia. The Americans lost in this battle about nine hundred men; three hundred of whom were slain, and the rest wounded and taken prisoners. This defeat occasioned no dejection either among the citizens, or in the army. Measures were immediately taken to procure reinforcements. Fifteen hundred men were marched from Peekskill, and large detachments of militia ordered into the field. It was determin-

ed to risk a second engagement, for the security of Philadelphia. The enemy sought it, and Washington was willing to meet it.

The commander-in-chief was empowered to impress all horses, wagons, and provisions, requisite for the use of the army. Perceiving that the enemy were moving into the Lancaster road, towards the city, Washington took possession of ground on the left of the British, and about twenty-three miles from Philadelphia. On the next morning, the approach of the British was announced. He immediately put his troops in motion, and a skirmish had already commenced, when a violent rain storm obliged them to separate. The retreat of the Americans was now unavoidable. Their gun locks and cartridge boxes were badly made, and the storm rendered most of the arms unfit for use. The exposure of the army was still greater, from their being entirely destitute of bayonets.

Washington continued his retreat through the day, and most of the night, amidst a very cold storm, and through very bad roads. On a full discovery of the damage that had been done the ammunition and arms, the general ascended the Schuylkill, and crossed it at Warwick Furnace, that the army might refit their muskets and replenish their cartridge boxes. He still resolved to risk a general engagement. Recrossing the Schuylkill at Parker's Ferry, he encamped on the east side, posting detachments at the different fords at which the enemy might attempt to force a passage. Instead of urging an action, the British moved rapidly on their march towards Reading. To save the military stores which had been deposited in that place, Washington took a new position, and left the enemy in undisturbed possession of the road which led to the city. Sir William Howe availed himself of this advantage, and on the twenty-sixth of the month entered Philadelphia in triumph.

Washington had taken seasonable measures to remove the public stores from the city, and to secure the most necessary articles for the use of the army. Though failing in his plan to save Philadelphia, he retained the undiminished confidence of the people, and of Congress. Instead of now going into winter quarters, he approached and encamped near the enemy.

Four regiments of grenadiers were posted in Philadelphia, and the other corps of the British army were cantoned at Germantown. The first object of Sir William Howe was to effect an open communication through the Delaware with the British fleet. General Washington was desirous to cut off this source of supplies, and erected forts on both banks of this river, near its junction with the Schuylkill, and about seven miles below Philadelphia. In the channel between the forts, large pieces of timber strongly framed together and pointed with iron, were sunk in two ranges, to obstruct the passage of the ships. These works were covered by floating batteries and armed ships.

A considerable number of British troops having been despatched to destroy these works, it was thought a favorable time to attack their main body. The American forces now amounted to about eight thousand regular troops and three thousand militia. The plan formed was, to attack the enemy in front and rear at the same time; and, on the fourth of October, the army was moved near the scene of action. The line of

the British encampment crossed Germantown at right angles. At sunrise, on the next morning, the attack was commenced. The American troops were at first successful. They routed the enemy at two different quarters, and took a number of prisoners. But the morning was extremely foggy, and the Americans were unable to take advantage of their success. They could not perceive the situation of the enemy, nor understand their own situation. The field was hastily abandoned, and Washington was obliged to resign a victory of which he had thought himself secure. The loss of the Americans, including the wounded, and four hundred prisoners, was about eleven hundred. A retreat was made twenty miles to Perkioming, with the loss of a single piece of artillery.

The plan of the battle of Germantown was judicious, and its commencement well conducted; unavoidable circumstances prevented a fortunate issue. Congress voted their unanimous thanks "to General Washington, for his wise and well concerted attack, and to the officers and soldiers of the army, for the brave exertions on that occasion." From the time that the British obtained possession of the city, every aid was given to the forts constructed on the Delaware, to close the navigation of that river. Troops were sent out, to prevent the farmer from carrying provisions to the market, and to cut off the foraging parties. The British soon after broke up their encampment at Germantown, concentrated all their forces at Philadelphia, and directed their attention principally to opening the navigation of the Delaware. This operation employed them about six weeks, and after a great display of valor on both sides, was successfully accomplished.

In this state of public affairs, a long and very singular letter was addressed to Washington, by the Rev. Jacob Duchè, late chaplain of Congress, and a clergyman of rank and character. The purport of this communication was, to persuade him that farther resistance to Great Britain was hopeless, and would only increase the calamities of their common country; and to urge him to make the most favorable terms, and give up the contest. Such a letter, from a man of eminence, worth, and patriotism, corresponding also with the views of very many respectable citizens, would have produced considerable effect on a mind less firm and resolute than that of Washington. He took no further notice of the letter, than merely to send a verbal message to the writer, "that if the contents of his letter had been known, it should have been returned unopened."

While Sir William Howe was successful in all his enterprises in Pennsylvania, the intelligence arrived that General Burgoyne and his whole army had surrendered prisoners of war. A portion of the northern army soon after joined Washington, and with this reinforcement he took a position at and near White Marsh. Sir William Howe marched out of Philadelphia, with the expectation of bringing on a general engagement. On the next morning he took a position upon Chesnut Hill, about three miles in front of the Americans, and spent several days in reconnoitering their camp. He changed his ground, and made every appearance of an intention to commence an attack. Several severe skirmishes took place, and a general action was hourly expected. But Sir William Howe was too well

aware of the advantage of the enemy's position, and returned to Philadelphia without coming to an engagement.

Three days after the retreat of the British army, Washington made preparations to retire into winter quarters. He expressed in his general orders strong approbation of the conduct of his troops. Presenting them with a favorable view of their country's situation, he exhorted them to bear with firmness the sufferings to which they must be exposed in the position they were about to occupy. Valley Forge, about twenty-five miles back of Philadelphia, was fixed upon for winter quarters. This position

was preferred to distant and more comfortable villages, as it was calculated to give the most extensive security to the country. The American army might have been tracked, by the blood of their bare feet, from White Marsh to their new position. They were badly clothed and badly provided with food. Many were obliged to go almost naked, suffering at the same time from famine. In this situation the men behaved with great fortitude. They felled trees, and built log huts, which were covered with straw and earth, and afforded but very poor shelter from the severity of the season.

Washington was now obliged to pursue a course, which he adopted with the greatest reluctance. The army suffered exceedingly from hunger. It was necessary that they should be allowed to satisfy their wants by force. In obedience to the commands of Congress, the general issued a proclamation, calling on "the farmers, within seventy miles of headquarters, to thresh out one half of their grain by the first of February, and the residue by the first of March, under the penalty of having the whole seized as straw."

While these transactions had been going on in the middle states, the northern campaign had terminated in the capture of the army of General Burgoyne. This event had very highly raised the reputation of General Gates, the commander in that department. The different issue of affairs under General Washington, afforded the ignorant and discontented an

occasion to murmur and complain. Several members of Congress, and a few general officers of the army, were engaged in a plan to supplant him in his office, and raise General Gates to the chief command.

In the prosecution of this scheme, every effort was made to injure the character of General Washington. The conspiracy did not escape his notice; but love of country was superior to every consideration. He repressed his indignation, to prevent an appearance of disunion and dissension, that might ruin the cause in which he was engaged. His private letters at this period exhibit the state of his feelings, and the honorable motives which directed his conduct.

In a communication to the President of Congress, Mr. Laurens, he observes upon this subject:—"My enemies take an ungenerous advantage of me. They know the delicacy of my situation, and that motives of policy deprive me of the defence I might otherwise make against their insidious attacks. They know I cannot combat their insinuations, however injurious, without disclosing secrets it is of the utmost moment to conceal. But why should I expect to be exempt from censure, the unfailing lot of an elevated station. Merit and talents which I cannot pretend to rival, have ever been subject to it. My heart tells me it has been my unremitted aim to do the best which circumstances would permit; yet I may have been very often mistaken in my judgment of the means, and may, in many instances, deserve the imputation of error.

About this time it was rumored that Washington had determined to resign his command. On this occasion he wrote to a gentleman in New-England as follows: "I can assure you that no person ever heard me drop an expression that had a tendency to resignation. The same principles that led me to embark in the opposition to the arbitrary claims of Great Britain, operate with additional force at this day; nor is it my desire to withdraw my services while they are considered of importance in the present contest: but to report a design of this kind, is among the acts which those who are endeavoring to effect a change, are practising to bring it to pass. I have said, and I still do say, that there is not an officer in the service of the United States, that would return to the sweets of domestic life with more heart-felt joy than I should. But I would have this declaration accompanied by these sentiments, that while the public are satisfied with my endeavors, I mean not to shrink from the cause. But the moment her voice, not that of faction, calls upon me to resign, I shall do it with as much pleasure as ever the wearied traveller retired to rest."

Washington now devoted himself to preparations for an active campaign in 1778. He labored to convince Congress of the necessity of enlisting a regular army, at least equal to that of the enemy. Congress deputed a committee from their body to reside in the camp, and act in concert with the commander-in-chief, in reforming the condition of the forces. This committee repaired to Valley Forge in January, 1778. Washington laid before them a minute view of the army, in which he minutely pointed out what he deemed necessary for the correction of abuses, and for the advancement of the service. He recommended, "as essentially necessary, that, in addition to present compensation, provision should be made by half pay, and a pensionary establishment, for the future

support of the officers, so as to render their commissions valuable." He pointed out "the insufficiency of their pay (especially in its present state of depreciation) for their decent subsistence; the sacrifices they had already made, and the unreasonableness of expecting that they would continue patiently to bear such an over proportion of the common calamities growing out of the necessary war, in which all were equally interested; the many resignations that had already taken place, and the probability that more would follow, to the great injury of the service; the impossibility of keeping up a strict discipline among officers whose commissions, in a pecuniary view, were so far from being worth holding, that they were the means of impoverishing them." These and other weighty considerations were accompanied by a declaration from Washington, "that he neither could nor would receive the smallest benefit from the proposed establishment, and that he had no other inducement in urging it, but a full conviction of its utility and propriety."

Congress acted upon the proposed reforms with a general concurrence of sentiment, but before the army could receive the benefit of them, their distresses had reached the most alarming height. Of seventeen thousand men in the camp, but five thousand were able to discharge effective duty. Several times during the winter, they experienced little less than famine; and a total dissolution of the army was often threatened in consequence. "It was on this occasion," observes Dr. Thacher, "that a foreigner of distinction said to a friend of mine, that he despaired of our independence; for while walking with General Washington along the soldiers' huts, he heard from many voices echoing through the open crevices between the logs, '*no pay, no clothes, no provisions, no rum,*' and when a miserable being was seen flitting from one hut to another, his nakedness was only covered by a dirty blanket. It will be difficult to form a just conception of the emotions of grief and sorrow, which must have harrowed up the soul of our illustrious patriot and philanthropist. In this darkening hour of adversity, any man who possesses less firmness than Washington, would despair of our independence."

It was at this period that the British government were disposed to make conciliatory proposals. The first certain intelligence of these offers was received by Washington in a letter from the British governor of New-York, enclosing the proposals, and recommending "that they should be circulated by General Washington among the officers and privates of his army." These proposals were immediately forwarded to Congress, and on the day after their rejection an order was adopted, in which it was urged upon the different states to pardon, under certain limitations, such of their misguided citizens as had levied war against the United States. This resolution was transmitted to the British Governor, with a request, by way of retort, that he would circulate it among the Americans in the British army. The proposals of the British government had been made in consequence of a treaty which had just been concluded between France and the United States.

Sir William Howe had resigned the command of the British army, and was succeeded by Sir Henry Clinton. This officer received immediate orders to evacuate Philadelphia. Washington was uncertain what course

he would probably pursue. Deciding on a march to New-York, the British general crossed the Delaware about the middle of June. When this was known, a council of war was immediately called in the American camp. There was a great difference of opinions. Since the recent alliance with France, independence was considered secure, unless the army should be defeated. Under such circumstances a general engagement was not to be hazarded, without a fair prospect of success. This was the opinion of a majority of the general officers. Washington, however, was very desirous to risk an action.

When Sir Henry Clinton had advanced to Allentown, instead of pursuing the direct course to Staten Island, he drew towards the sea coast. On learning that he was marching in this direction, towards Monmouth court-house, Washington sent Brigadier Wayne with a thousand men to reinforce his advanced troops. The command of this body was offered to General Lee, who in the exchange of prisoners had been restored to the army. This officer was opposed to any engagement with the enemy at that time, and declined the service. It was accordingly given to the Marquis de La Fayette.

The whole army followed at a proper distance for supporting the advanced corps, and reached Cranberry the next morning. Washington increased his advanced corps with two brigades, and sent General Lee, who was now desirous of assuming the command, to take charge of the whole, and followed with the main army to give it support. On the next morning, orders were sent to Lee to move forward and attack the enemy, unless there should be very strong objections to the measure. When Washington had marched about five miles to support the advance corps, he found it retreating, by Lee's orders, and without having offered any opposition. He immediately rode up to Lee and requested an explanation; the reply was unsuitable and insolent. Orders were then given to form on a piece of ground which seemed to offer advantages as a position to check the enemy. Lee was asked if he would command on that ground; he consented, and replied "your orders shall be obeyed, and I will not be the first to leave the field."

Washington returned to the main army, which was soon formed for action. After several unsuccessful movements of the British troops, they retired and took the ground that had been before occupied by General Lee. Washington determined to attack them, and ordered two detachments to move round, upon their right and left sides. They did not arrive at their ground in season to commence the attack that night. They remained in that position till morning, General Washington reposing on his cloak under a tree in the midst of his troops. Before dawn, the British moved away in great silence. Nothing was known of their march till the next day. They left behind four officers, and forty privates, so severely wounded that it was not safe to remove them. Including prisoners, the whole loss of the British army was about three hundred and fifty. They pursued their march to Sandy Hook without farther interruption and without any loss of baggage. The Americans lost about two hundred and fifty men. Declining pursuit of the royal troops, they retired to the borders of the North river.

Shortly after the action, Congress resolved on a vote of thanks to General Washington, for the activity with which he marched from the camp at Valley Forge in pursuit of the enemy; for his distinguished exertions in forming the line of battle; and for his great good conduct in leading on the attack, and gaining the important victory of Monmouth. General Lee followed up his passionate language on the day of the battle, by writing two violent letters to Washington, which occasioned his being arrested and brought to trial. After a protracted hearing before a court-martial, of which Lord Stirling was president, Lee was found guilty, and sentenced to be suspended from any command in the armies of the United States for the term of one year.

Soon after the battle of Monmouth, the American army took post at the White Plains, and remained there and in the vicinity till autumn was far advanced, and then retired to Middlebrook, in New Jersey. During this period, nothing occurred of greater importance than an occasional skirmish. The French fleet arrived too late to attack the British in the Delaware. It was determined, therefore, that a joint expedition, with the sea and land forces, should be made against the British posts in Rhode Island. General Sullivan was appointed to the conduct of the American troops; Count D'Estaing commanded the French fleet. The preparations for commencing the attack had been nearly completed, when a British fleet appeared in sight. The French commander immediately put out to sea, to come to an engagement. A violent storm arose, and injured both fleets to such an extent, that it was necessary for the one to sail for Boston, and the other to New-York, to refit.

General Sullivan had commenced the siege, in the expectation of being shortly seconded by the French fleet. The determination of D'Estaing to return to Boston excited general alarm. It left the harbors of Rhode Island open for reinforcements to the British, from their headquarters in New-York. The very safety of the American army was endangered by it. Every effort was made to induce the French commander to change his intentions, but without effect. This affair produced a great deal of discontent and irritation, among the American officers, and was likely to lead to very serious difficulties. With his usual prudence and good judgment, General Washington exerted his influence to quiet the wounded feelings of both parties. He was powerfully assisted in this attempt, by the Marquis de La Fayette, who was very much beloved by the Americans as well as the French, and gladly rendered his services to bring about a reconciliation. Washington wrote on the subject to the several general officers of his army, and took the first opportunity of recommencing his correspondence with Count D'Estaing. His letter took no notice of the angry dispute that had occurred, and good humor and cordial good-will were speedily restored.

With the battle of Monmouth, active operations closed in the middle states. On the approach of winter, the American army went into quarters in the neighborhood of the Highlands. Being better clothed and better fed than in the preceding winter, their situation was greatly ameliorated. At the close of 1778, except the possession of New-York by the British, the local situation of the hostile armies did not much

differ from that of the commencement of the campaign of 1776. "It is not a little pleasing," observed Washington in a letter to a friend, "nor less wonderful to contemplate, that after two years' manœuvring, and undergoing the strangest vicissitudes, both armies are brought back to the very point they set out from, and the offending party in the beginning is now reduced to the use of the pickaxe and the spade for defence. The hand of Providence has been so conspicuous in all this, that he must be worse than an infidel that lacks faith, and more than wicked that has not gratitude to acknowledge his obligations."

In the last months of the year 1778, when the active operations of the campaign were over, Congress decided on a magnificent plan for the conquest of Canada. This plan was to be carried into effect by the joint operations of distinct detachments of Americans, acting in different points, and co-operating with a French fleet and army on the river St. Lawrence. The scheme was not communicated to Washington, till it had been adopted by Congress. He was then consulted, and requested to write to Dr. Franklin, then minister at Paris, to interest him in securing the proposed co-operation of France. Doubtful of the success of the operation, even with the assistance of the French, Washington was urgent to obtain its rejection. Congress persisted in the measure, and a committee of their body was chosen to confer with the general on this business, and on the state of the army. His objections were then found to be insurmountable, and the expedition was laid aside.

The alliance with France had seemed to many to secure our independence. It was supposed that Great Britain would despair of final success, and relinquish farther prosecution of the war. Washington was very busy in opposing the progress of this dangerous delusion. In his correspondence with members of Congress, and influential men throughout the state, he represented the fallacy of this opinion, and the impolicy of indulging it. He was anxious that early and vigorous measures should be taken for the next campaign. Yet it was not till the twenty-third of January, 1779, that Congress passed resolutions for re-enlisting the army; and not till the ninth of March, that the states were called upon to furnish their proportion of the general forces. This state of affairs greatly alarmed Washington, and his apprehensions at the time may be gathered from the following extract of a letter to one of his confidential friends.

"To me it appears no unjust simile, to compare the affairs of this great continent to the mechanism of a clock, each state representing some one or other of the small parts of it, which they are endeavoring to put in fine order, without considering how useless and unavailing their labor is, unless the great wheel, or spring, which is to set the whole in motion, is also well attended to and kept in good order. I al ude to no particular state, nor do I mean to cast reflections upon any one of them, nor ought I, as it may be said, to do so upon their representatives; but as it is a fact too notorious to be concealed, that Congress is rent by party; that much business of a trifling nature and personal concernment withdraws their attention from matters of great national moment, at this critical period; when it is also known that idleness and dissipation take place of close attention and application; no man who wishes well to the liberties of his

country, and desires to see its rights established, can avoid crying out—Where are our men of abilities? Why do they not come forth to save their country? Let this voice, my dear sir, call upon you, Jefferson, and others. Do not, from a mistaken opinion that we are to sit down under our own vine and our own figtree, let our hitherto noble struggle end in ignominy. Believe me, when I tell you, there is danger of it. I have pretty good reasons for thinking that the administration, a little while ago, had resolved to give the matter up, and negotiate a peace with us upon almost any terms; but I shall be much mistaken, if they do not now, from the present state of our currency, dissensions, and other circumstances, push matters to the utmost extremity. Nothing, I am sure, will prevent it, but the interruption of Spain, and their disappointed hope from Prussia."

The depreciation of the paper currency had so reduced the pay of the American officers, as to render it inadequate to their support. This led to serious troubles and discontents. Early in May, the Jersey brigade was ordered to march by regiments to join the western army. In answer to this order, a letter was received from General Maxwell, stating that the officers of the first regiment had addressed a remonstrance to the legislature of the state, in which they professed a determination to resign their commissions, unless that body immediately attended to their pay and support. General Washington knew the sufferings to which the army had been exposed, and the virtue and firmness with which they had supported them. He knew the truth and justice of the complaints now made by the Jersey regiment; but saw and felt the evils that would result from the measures they had adopted. Relying on their patriotism and personal attachment to himself, he immediately wrote to General Maxwell a letter to be communicated to the officers.

In this address, he adopted the language of a friend as well as of an officer. He acknowledged the inconvenience and distress to which the army were exposed; and expressed the hope that they had done him the justice to believe, that he had been incessant in endeavors to procure them relief. The limited resources of the government were mentioned, and their embarrassment in procuring money. He then alluded to the progress of the cause, the probability of soon attaining the object of their struggles, and the meanness of a shameful desertion, and forgetfulness of what was due to their country. "Did I suppose it possible," he observed, "this could be the case, even in a single regiment of the army, I should be mortified and chagrined beyond expression. I should feel it as a wound given to my own honor, which I consider as embarked with that of the army at large. But this I believe to be impossible. Any corps that was about to set an example of the kind, would weigh well the consequences; and no officer of common discernment and sensibility would hazard them. If they should stand alone in it, independent of other consequences, what would be their feelings, on reflecting that they had held themselves out to the world in a point of light inferior to the rest of the army. Or if their example should be followed, and become general, how could they console themselves for having been the foremost in bringing ruin and disgrace upon their country. They would remember, that the army would share a

double portion of the general infamy and distress, and that the character of an American officer would become as despicable as it is now glorious."

The officers did not expressly recede from their claims, but they were prevailed upon by the representations of the letter to continue in service. In an address to General Washington, they expressed regret that any act of theirs should have given him pain, and proceeded to justify the measures they had taken. They stated that their repeated memorials to the legislature had been neglected, and that they had lost all confidence in that body. "Few of us," they said, "have private fortunes; many have families who already are suffering every thing that can be received from an ungrateful country. Are we, then, to suffer all the inconveniences, fatigues, and dangers of a military life, while our wives and our children are perishing for want of common necessaries at home; and that without the most distant prospect of reward, for our pay is now only nominal? We are sensible that your Excellency cannot wish or desire this from us.

"We beg leave to assure your Excellency, that we have the highest sense of your ability and virtues; that executing your orders has ever given us pleasure; that we love the service, and we love our country; but when that country is so lost to virtue and to justice as to forget to support its servants, it then becomes their duty to retire from its service."

Washington, with his usual prudence, resolved to take no further notice of this address, than to notify the officers through General Maxwell, that, as long as they continued to do their duty, he should only regret the step they had taken, and hope that they themselves would perceive its impropriety. The occasion was a favorable one for the commander-in-chief, to urge upon Congress the necessity of making suitable provision in behalf of his officers. "The distresses in some corps," he observed, "are so great, either where they were not until lately attached to any particular state, or where the state has been less provident, that officers have solicited even to be supplied with the clothing destined for the common soldiers, coarse and unsuitable as it was. I had not power to comply with the request. The patience of men, animated by a sense of duty and honor, will support them to a certain point, beyond which it will not go. I doubt not Congress will be sensible of the danger of an extreme in this respect, and will pardon my anxiety to obviate it." The legislature of New-Jersey were alarmed, and at length induced to notice the situation of their soldiers; the remonstrance was withdrawn, and the officers continued to perform their duty as usual.

The American army, in these years, was destitute, not only of food, but of clothing. The seasons of 1779 and 1780, were unfruitful; the labors of the farmers had been interrupted by the calls of war; paper money was no equivalent, in its present value, for the produce of the soil, and, consequently, no provisions could be obtained but by measures of compulsion. The soldiers were demanding food, the inhabitants demanded protection, and, distracted by the wrongs of the one, and the wants of the other, Washington was in a state of the deepest embarrassment and anxiety. At length, even force began to fail; the neighboring country was drained of all its produce, and absolute famine appeared to threaten the army. In this situation, the conduct of the commander-in-

chief was of the most prudent, wise, and conciliating character; and it was indeed a crisis which called for all his address, popularity, and firmness, to carry him through it. He succeeded in keeping the army together, and in retaining, not only their approbation, but that of his fellow citizens.

The effective force of Sir Henry Clinton, in 1779, strongly fortified in New-York and Rhode Island, amounted to about sixteen thousand five hundred men; that of the Americans did not exceed thirteen thousand. The British were supported by a powerful fleet, which enabled them to move with expedition and facility, and when on the Hudson, to concentrate their forces on either side of it. West Point was the chief post of the Americans, on this river; and the preservation of this place and its dependencies, was an object of primary importance. For this purpose, Washington concentrated his forces here, and all the efforts of the British to allure him from this position by attacking and burning the towns on the coast of Connecticut, proved unavailing. The American army limited its operations to securing the passes of the North river, and protecting the country as far as was consistent with this important object. While the British devastations were going on, Washington planned an expedition against Stony Point, a bold hill, projecting into the Hudson, on the top of which a fort had been erected and garrisoned by six hundred men. The enterprise was entrusted to General Wayne, and was completely successful. It was soon followed by the surprise of the British garrison at Paules Hook, concluded on the eighteenth of August, by Major Henry Lee. With three hundred soldiers, he entered the fort about three o'clock in the morning, and, with very inconsiderable loss, carried away one hundred and fifty-nine prisoners.

It was thought desirable to avoid all hazardous movements, from the expected arrival of a French fleet, with which the army might successfully co-operate. This fleet, under Count D'Estaing, reached the vicinity of Georgia, with a body of troops, and, in conjunction with the southern army, under General Lincoln, made an attack on the British post at Savannah. The united forces were led to the lines of the enemy with great valor and firmness, but after standing a very severe fire for about an hour, they were repulsed with loss.

The campaign terminated in the northern states without any decisive efforts on either side. The British attempts upon the posts in the Highlands had been defeated. The Indians had been reduced to peace by an expedition sent against them, under the command of General Sullivan. Winter quarters for the American army were chosen at Morristown. On their march to this place, and after their arrival, they suffered exceedingly. The snow was two feet deep, and the soldiers were destitute, both of tents and blankets, some of them barefooted and almost naked. At night, their only defence against the weather, was in piles of brushwood. After reaching the place that had been chosen for winter quarters, they found it very difficult to pitch their tents in the frozen ground. They built up large fires, but could hardly keep from freezing Besides the sufferings from cold, they were without necessary food. For seven or eight days together, they had no other provision than miserable fresh beef, without bread, salt, or vegetables.

The weather in January, 1780, was remarkably cold and severe. On the third of the month, there was a most violent snow storm. Several of the marquees were blown down over the officers' heads, and some of the soldiers were actually buried under the snow in their tents. The officers of the army had a sufficient supply of straw, over which they could spread their blankets, and, with their clothes and large fires, keep themselves from extreme suffering. But the common soldiers on duty, during all the violence of the storm, and at night, with but a single blanket, were exposed to great distress. They were so enfeebled by cold and hunger, as to be unable to labor in the erection of their log huts. The sufferings of the soldiers, from the unusual severity of the winter, and the privation of food, were extremely severe; but though desertions were frequent, not a single mutiny was excited. Notwithstanding the situation of his army, Washington was active in seeking opportunities for a favorable attack; and planned an expedition against the British works on Staten Island. A detachment of twenty-five hundred men, under the command of Lord Stirling, was despatched on this service.

The party passed over from Elizabethtown, at night, on the ice. The British troops, however, had received intelligence of their design, and withdrawn into their fortifications. All the benefit of the expedition consisted in procuring a quantity of blankets and military stores, with a few casks of wine and spirits. The snow was three or four feet deep, and the troops remained on the island twenty-four hours without covering; about five hundred of them were slightly frozen, and six were killed; the retreat was effected with no other loss.

Soon after this event, Washington received intelligence of the loss of Charleston, and the surrender of that detachment of the southern army, under General Lincoln. When the news of this disaster reached the northern states, the American army was in the greatest distress. The officers had been for some time dissatisfied with their situation; they had been exposed to great distress, and had made great sacrifices, for small wages, paid with no punctuality. The paper money had diminished so much in value, that it was difficult to procure supplies with it, even at the reduced rates. Forty dollars in these bills were worth less than one dollar in silver. A number of officers were compelled, by necessity, to give up their commissions. General Washington was unwearied in his efforts to procure from Congress a more generous provision for them, and at length succeeded.

The disaffection of the troops at length broke out into actual mutiny. Two of the Connecticut regiments paraded under arms, announcing their intention of returning home, or obtaining a subsistence by their arms. By the prudent and spirited conduct of their officers, however, the ringleaders were secured, and the regiments brought back to their duty.

Soon after the surrender of the southern army, the commanding officer of the enemy, in New-York, thought to take advantage of the discontent and distress prevailing among the northern troops. General Knyphausen crossed over from Staten Island with about five thousand men. Orders were immediately given in the American camps, to be in readiness to march at a moment's notice. The enemy advanced to Springfield, and

set fire to the village; burning the church, and twenty or thirty dwelling houses. They then made a rapid retreat to Staten Island. The object of this expedition was supposed to have been the destruction of the stores at Morristown. The first months in the year were spent in these desultory operations. No disposition to give up the contest, was produced in the north, by the disasters in the south; but the weakness of the government, and the depreciation of the paper currency, deprived Washington of all power to act on the offensive.

When affairs were in this condition, the Marquis de La Fayette arrived from France, with the assurance that the French army and fleet might soon be expected upon our coast. This roused the Americans from their lethargy, and Washington was very active in his extensive correspondence through the states, to stimulate the public mind to the exertions the crisis demanded. The resolutions of Congress were slowly executed, and from the want of their efficient assistance, the operations of Washington were very much embarrassed. Some relief was obtained from private sources, and the citizens of Philadelphia formed an association to procure a supply of necessaries for the suffering soldiers. In a few days, the sum of three hundred thousand dollars was subscribed, for this purpose, and converted into a bank, from which great advantages were derived. The ladies of that city, also made large donations for the immediate relief of the soldiers; but large as all these supplies were, they fell far short of the wants of the army.

On the tenth of July, the expected allies arrived on the coast of Rhode Island. Their fleet consisted of seven sail of the line, five frigates, and five smaller vessels; their army amounted to six thousand men. So tardy had been the arrangements for raising the American army, that their force at this time did not amount to one thousand men. Trusting, however, that the promised support would be forwarded with all possible despatch, Washington sent proposals to the French commander for commencing the siege of New-York. "Pressed on all sides," he observed in a letter to Congress, "by a choice of difficulties, in a moment which required decision, I have adopted that line of conduct, which comported with the dignity and faith of Congress, the reputation of these states, and the honor of our arms. I have sent on definitive proposals of co-operation to the French general and admiral. Neither the period of the season, nor a regard to decency would permit delay. The die is cast; and it remains with the states, either to fulfil their engagements, preserve their credit, and support their independence, or to involve us in disgrace and defeat. * * * If we fail for want of proper exertions in any of the governments, I trust the responsibility will fall where it ought, and that I shall stand justified to Congress, my country, and the world."

The fifth of August was fixed upon, as the day when the united armies were to commence operations. Sir Henry Clinton, who had returned the preceding month, with his victorious troops from Charleston, had embarked about eight thousand men, with the apparent intention of attacking the French force at Rhode Island. Washington put his army in motion, and crossed the Hudson, to besiege New-York during his absence. The enemy were alarmed at the danger of this city, and

returned to defend it. The American army recrossed the Hudson to the Jersey shore. This passage was made in boats and floats, and occupied three days and nights. The designs on New-York were only suspended, not entirely abandoned; and Washington had a personal interview on this subject, with the French commander, at Hartford. But the arrival of Admiral Rodney, with eleven ships of the line, upon the American coast, disarranged the plans of the allies, and no expedition of the kind could be undertaken during the present campaign.

At this time, Washington wrote thus in a letter to a friend: "We are now drawing to a close an inactive campaign, the beginning of which appeared pregnant with events of a very favorable complexion. I hoped, but I hoped in vain, that a prospect was opening, which would enable me to fix a period to my military pursuits, and restore me to domestic life. The favorable disposition of Spain; the promised succor from France; the combined force in the West Indies; the declaration of Russia, (acceded to by other powers of Europe, humiliating the naval pride and power of Great Britain;) the superiority of France and Spain by sea, in Europe; the Irish claims, and English disturbances, formed in the aggregate, an opinion in my breast, (which is not very susceptible of peaceful dreams,) that the hour of deliverance was not far distant: for that, however unwilling Great Britain might be to yield the point, it would not be in her power to continue the contest. But alas! these prospects, flattering as they were, have proved delusory; and I see nothing before us but accumulating distress. We have been half our time without provisions, and are likely to continue so. We have no magazines, nor money to form them. We have lived upon expedients until we can live no longer. In a word, the history of the war is a history of false hopes and temporary devices, instead of system and economy. It is in vain, however, to look back, nor is it our business to do so. Our case is not desperate, if virtue exists in the people, and there is wisdom among our rulers. But, to suppose that this great revolution can be accomplished by a temporary army; that this army will be subsisted by state supplies; and that taxation alone is adequate to our wants, is, in my opinion, absurd."

At a period when the resources of the country were almost exhausted, and countless troubles and embarrassments surrounded Washington, treason entered the camp of the Americans, and had nearly strangled their infant liberties. Benedict Arnold had been regarded from the commencement of the American war, as a brave and patriotic officer. He had fought in several battles, with great valor and gallantry, and acquired the entire confidence of his countrymen. His services had been rewarded by promotion, to the rank of major general. At his own request and solicitation, he was entrusted with the command of West Point. Partly from motives of avarice, and partly from feelings of revenge, for some public censures, he had received from the government, he determined to deliver this post into the hands of the enemy. He entered into a secret correspondence with Sir Henry Clinton, and actually agreed to put him in possession of the garrison. The British general readily consented to the treachery, and selected Major John Andre, his

adjutant general and aid-de-camp, to have a personal interview with Arnold, and arrange the plan for the surrender of the post.

A British sloop of war, called the Vulture, sailed up the North river, and anchored about twelve miles below West Point. On board of this vessel was Major Andre, under the assumed name of John Anderson. The parties could now communicate with each other, without exciting suspicions of any treasonable designs. But a personal interview became at length necessary, and the place chosen for this purpose was the beach, near the house of Mr. Joshua Smith, who had long been suspected of favoring the British cause. Arnold now sent a boat to bring Andre on shore. This was unexpected to the British officer, but he was unwilling that the enterprise should fail, through any fault upon his part. Putting on a grey surtout, to hide his uniform, he accompanied the messenger of Arnold to the shore. After conversing some time at the water's edge, they went to the house of Smith for greater security. Andre remained concealed here till the following night, when he became anxious to return on board the Vulture, and went alone to the beach, where he expected to find a boat to convey him to this vessel. During his visit to the shore, however, the Vulture had been driven from her station, and had removed some miles farther down the river. When Andre proposed to the boatmen to carry him back to the vessel, they told him that it was too far, and refused to go. It being impossible to procure a boat and men for the purpose, it was resolved that Andre should return to New-York by land. For this dangerous attempt, he laid aside his uniform altogether, and put on another dress. Arnold furnished him with a horse, and accompanied by Smith, he set out upon his journey. Each of them had a passport from Arnold—"to go to the lines on White Plains, or lower, if the bearer thought proper; he being on public business."

By means of these passports, they got beyond all the American outposts and guards, without being suspected. They lodged together on the night of their departure at Crompond. They arrived without interruption, a little beyond Pine's Bridge, a village situated on the Croton. They had not yet crossed the lines, though they were in sight of the ground occupied by the British troops. Smith here looked round, and seeing no one, and no sign of danger, he said to Andre—"You are safe—good by," and retook the road by which they had come. Andre put spurs to his horse, and supposing himself out of danger, rode forward at full speed to deliver the favorable result of his mission. He had proceeded about a dozen miles with the same good fortune. He was about entering Tarrytown, the border village that separated him from the royal army, when a man sprung suddenly from a thicket, and exclaimed, "where are you bound?" This man was armed with a gun, and was immediately joined by two armed companions. They were not in uniform, and Andre supposed at once they must be of his own party. Instead of producing his passport, he asked them in his turn, where they belonged. They replied, "to below," alluding to New-York. "And so do I," said Andre, "I am a British officer, on urgent business, and must not be detained." "You belong to our enemies," was the reply, "and we arrest you."

Andre was surprised at this unexpected language, presented his passport, but this paper only served to render his case more suspicious, when considered in connexion with his confessions. He offered them gold, his horse, and promised large rewards, and permanent provision from the English government, if they would let him escape. They refused all his offers, and proceeding to search him, they found in his boots, in the handwriting of Arnold, exact returns of the state of the forces, ordnance, and defences of West Point, with many other important papers. No longer in doubt, they carried him at once before Colonel Jameson, who commanded the outposts. Andre retained his self-possession, and still passing under his assumed name, requested permission to write to Arnold, to inform him that his messenger was detained. Jameson thought it more simple to order him to be conducted to Arnold, and was already on his way for that purpose, when the suspicious circumstances of the case induced him to change his mind; and sending in all haste after the pretended Anderson, had him conveyed under guard to Old Salem. He despatched at the same time an express to Washington, containing an account of the affair, with the draughts and other papers taken from the prisoner. But the commander-in-chief, who set out on the same day, the twenty-third of September, to return to his army, had pursued a different route from that by which he went to Hartford, and the messenger was compelled to retrace his steps without having seen him. This delay proved the salvation of Arnold.

Jameson began to regard his suspicions of Arnold as unjust and unworthy, and wrote him that Anderson, the bearer of his passport, had been arrested. Arnold was busy with his arrangements for the reception of the enemy, when he received the letter from Jameson. Those who were present at the time, afterwards recollected that he was very much dismayed and agitated. Recovering himself quickly, he said in a loud voice that he would write an answer, and withdrew to reflect upon the course which it was best for him to pursue. The entrance of two American officers interrupted his reflections. They were sent by the commander-in-chief, and informed Arnold that he had arrived within a few leagues of West Point, and was to have set out a few hours after them, to complete his journey. The traitor had now no safety but in immediate flight. Concealing his emotions, he told the two officers that he wished to go and meet the general alone, and begged them not to follow him. He then entered the apartment of his wife, exclaiming—"All is discovered; Andre is a prisoner; the commander-in-chief will know every thing. Burn all my papers—I fly to New-York."

Leaving his wife, without waiting for a reply, he mounted the horse of one of the two officers, and rushed towards the Hudson. Here he had taken care to have always ready a barge well manned. He threw himself into it, and ordered the boatmen to make for the English sloop with all possible despatch. The barge, bearing a flag of truce, was in sight when Washington arrived. The officers related to him what had happened. Arnold had absconded, and no one knew how to account for it. The commander-in-chief instantly repaired to the fort of West Point, but he could learn nothing there. He returned to the house of General Ar-

nold, where the messenger of Jameson presented himself, and delivered the packet with which he was charged. Washington seemed for a few moments overwhelmed by the enormity of the crime. Those who were near him waited silently, but impatiently, for the result. He at length said—"I thought that an officer of courage and ability, who had often shed his blood for his country, was entitled to confidence, and I gave him mine. I am convinced now, and for the rest of my life, that we should never trust those who are wanting in probity, whatever abilities they may possess.—Arnold has betrayed us." Major Andre was conducted to West Point, and afterwards to headquarters at Tappan. A court-martial was here instituted, and this unfortunate officer was condemned to death. General Washington was now called upon to discharge a duty from which he revolted, and it is said that his hand could hardly command his pen, when signing the warrant for the execution. But the laws and usages of war required that Andre should die, and he accordingly perished on the scaffold.

The treason of Arnold, the capture of Andre, together with private intelligence received from New-York, induced General Washington to believe that other officers in his army were connected with the late conspiracy. This belief gave him great uneasiness. The moment he reached the army, then encamped at Tappan, under the command of Major General Greene, he sent to request an interview with Major Lee. This officer immediately repaired to headquarters, and found the general in his marquee alone, busily engaged in writing. As soon as Lee entered, he was requested to take a seat, and a bundle of papers, lying on the table, was given to him for perusal. In these much information was detailed, tending to prove that Arnold was not alone in treachery, but that the poison had spread, and that a Major General, whose name was not concealed, was certainly as guilty as Arnold himself. This officer had enjoyed, without interruption, the complete confidence of the commander-in-chief. The only reason for suspicion rested on the intelligence derived from papers before him. Major Lee immediately suggested that the whole was a contrivance of Sir Henry Clinton, to destroy the necessary confidence between the commander and his officers. This suggestion had occurred to the mind of Washington; but he was still anxious and distrustful. Deeply agitated, as was plainly shown by his tone and countenance, the general proceeded: "I have sent for you, in the expectation that you have in your corps individuals capable and willing to undertake an indispensable, delicate, and hazardous project. Whoever comes forward will oblige me forever, and, in behalf of the United States, I will reward him amply. No time is to be lost. My object is to probe to the bottom the afflicting intelligence contained in the papers you have just read; to seize Arnold, and, by getting him, to save Andre. They are all connected. My instructions are ready; here are two letters to be delivered as ordered, and some guineas for expenses."

Major Lee replied that he had no doubt his legion contained many individuals capable of the most daring enterprises. There were some feelings of delicacy that prevented him from suggesting the step to a commissioned officer, but he thought the sergeant major of the cavalry in

all respects qualified for the undertaking, and to him he would venture to propose it. He then described the sergeant, as a native of Loudon county, in Virginia, about twenty-four years of age, rather above the common size, full of bone and muscle, grave and inflexible. He had enlisted in 1776, and was as likely to reject a service coupled with ignominy as any officer in the corps. The general exclaimed that he was the very man for the business; that he must undertake it; that going to the enemy at the request of his officer was not desertion, though it appeared to be so. He enjoined that this explanation should be impressed upon Champe, as coming from him, and that the vast good in prospect should be contrasted with the mere semblance of doing wrong. This he hoped would remove every scruple.

Major Lee assured the general, that every exertion should be used on his part to execute his wishes, and, taking leave, returned to the camp of the light corps, which he reached about eight o'clock at night. He sent instantly for the sergeant major, and introduced the subject in as judicious a manner as possible. Dressing out the enterprise in brilliant colors, he finally removed all scruples from the honorable mind of Champe, and prevailed on him to yield entirely to his wishes. The instructions were then read to him. He was particularly cautioned to be careful in delivering his letters, and urged to bear constantly in mind that Arnold was not to be killed under any circumstances, but only to be taken prisoner.—Giving the sergeant three guineas, he recommended him to start without delay, and enjoined him to communicate his arrival in New-York as soon thereafter as might be practicable. Pulling out his watch, Champe reminded the major of the necessity of holding back pursuit, as he should be obliged to go in a zigzag direction in order to avoid the patroles. It was now nearly eleven; the sergeant returned to camp, and, taking his cloak, valise, and orderly book, drew his horse from the picket, and, mounting, committed himself to fortune. Within half an hour, Captain Carnes, the officer of the day, waited on the major, and told him that one of the patrol had fallen in with a dragoon, who, on being challenged, had put spurs to his horse, and escaped. Major Lee contrived various expedients to delay sending a party in pursuit; but it was finally despatched, under the command of cornet Middleton.

When Middleton departed, it was only a few minutes past twelve, so that Champe had only the start of about an hour. Lee was very anxious, not only from fear that Champe might be injured, but that the enterprise might be delayed. The pursuing party were delayed by necessary halts to examine the road. A shower had fallen soon after Champe's departure, which enabled them to take the trail of his horse, as no other animal had passed along the road since the rain. When the day broke, Middleton was no longer obliged to halt, but passed on with great rapidity. As the pursuing party reached the top of a hill on the north of the village of Bergen, they descried Champe not more than half a mile in front. The sergeant at the same moment discovered them, and gave the spurs to his horse. He eluded them, just as they felt secure of taking him, and again disappeared. Pursuit was renewed, and Champe was again descried. He had changed his original intention of going directly to Paules Hook,

and determined to seek refuge from two British galleys, which lay a few miles to the west of Bergen.

As soon as Champe got abreast of the galleys, he dismounted, and ran through the marsh to the river. He had previously prepared himself for swimming, by lashing his valise on his shoulders, and throwing away the scabbard of his sword. The pursuit was so close and rapid, that the stop occasioned by these preparations for swimming had brought Middleton within two or three hundred yards. The sergeant plunged into the water, and called upon the galleys for help. They sent a boat to meet him; he was taken on board, and conveyed to New-York, with a letter from the captain of the galley, who had witnessed the whole of the scene. The horse, with his equipments, the sergeant's cloak and sword scabbard, were taken by the pursuing party. About three o'clock in the evening they returned, and the soldiers, seeing the horse, made the air resound with cries that the scoundrel was killed. Called by this heart rending annunciation from his tent, Major Lee began to reproach himself with the blood of the faithful and intrepid Champe. He was relieved by Middleton's information, that the sergeant had made his escape. The commander-in-chief was sensibly affected by the perilous adventures of Champe, and anticipated the confidence that would follow the enemy's knowledge of its manner. Champe was conducted to Sir Henry Clinton, who, after a long conversation, presented him with a couple of guineas, and recommended him to call on General Arnold, who was engaged in raising an American legion in the service of his majesty. Arnold expressed much satisfaction on hearing from Champe the manner of his escape, and the influence which he attributed to his own example, and concluded his numerous inquiries by assigning him quarters.

Champe now turned his attention to the delivery of his letters, which he was unable to effect till the next night, and then only to one of the parties. This man received the sergeant with extreme attention, and assured him that he might rely on his prompt assistance in any thing that

could be prudently undertaken. The sole object in which the aid of this individual was required, was in regard to the general and others of the army, implicated in the information sent by him to Washington. This object he promised to enter upon with zeal. Five days had elapsed after reaching New-York, before Champe saw the confidant to whom only the attempt against Arnold was to be entrusted. This person entered at once into his design, and promised to procure a suitable associate. The complete innocence of the suspected general was soon established. Andre had confessed the character in which he stood, disdaining to defend himself by the shadow of a falsehood. He had been condemned as a spy, and had suffered accordingly.

Nothing now remained to be done by Champe but the seizure and safe delivery of Arnold. To this object he gave his undivided attention, and Major Lee received from him the complete outlines of his plan on the nineteenth of October. Ten days elapsed before Champe brought his measures to a conclusion, when Lee was presented with his final communication, appointing the third subsequent night for a party of dragoons to meet him at Hoboken, when he hoped to deliver Arnold to the officer. Champe had been improving every opportunity to become acquainted with the habits of the general. He discovered that it was his custom to return home at about twelve every night, and that, previous to going to bed, he always visited the garden. During this visit, the conspirators were to seize him, and, being prepared with a gag, were to apply it instantly. Adjoining the house in which Arnold resided, and in which it was intended to seize and gag him, Champe had taken off several of the palings, and so replaced them that he could easily open his way to the adjoining alley. Into this alley he meant to have conveyed his prisoner, with the assistance of a single companion. Another associate was to be prepared with a boat to receive them at one of the wharves on the Hudson.

Champe and his friend intended to have placed themselves each under Arnold's shoulder, and to have thus borne him through the most unfrequented alleys and streets to the boats. If questioned, they were to represent him as a drunken soldier whom they were conveying to the guard house. The day arrived, and Lee, with a party of dragoons, left camp late in the evening, with three led accoutred horses, one for Arnold, one for the sergeant, and the third for his associate, never doubting the success of the enterprise. The party reached Hoboken about midnight. Hour after hour passed; no boat approached. At length the day broke, and the major, with his party, returned to camp. Washington was much chagrined at the issue, and apprehensive that the sergeant had been detected in his dangerous enterprise. It so happened that on the very day preceding the night fixed for the plot, Arnold had removed his quarters to another part of the town, to superintend the embarkation of some troops. The American legion had been transferred from their barracks to one of the transports, so that Champe, instead of crossing the Hudson that night, was safely deposited on board one of the vessels of the fleet, whence he never departed till the troops under Arnold landed in Virginia. It was some time before he was able to escape from the British; when he deserted, and, proceeding high up into Virginia, passed into

North Carolina, and safely joined the army. His appearance excited great surprise among his former comrades, which was not a little increased when they saw the cordial reception he met with from the then Lieutenant Colonel Lee. His whole story soon became known to the corps, and excited universal admiration. Champe was introduced to General Greene, who cheerfully complied with certain promises that had been made to him by the commander-in-chief. He was provided with a good horse and money for his journey to headquarters. Washington treated him munificently, and presented him with his discharge from further service, lest, in the vicissitudes of war, he should fall into the hands of the enemy, and die upon a gibbet.

The campaign of this year ended with no very decided efforts, and the army went into winter quarters. On the first night of the new year a very serious mutiny broke out among the troops at Morristown. A preconcerted signal having been given, the whole line, except three regiments, paraded under arms without their officers, marched to the magazines, supplied themselves with provisions and ammunition, and seizing six fieldpieces, took horses from General Wayne's stable to transport them. The mutineers then ordered the party who opposed them to come over instantly or they should be bayoneted, and the command was obeyed. General Wayne endeavored to interpose his influence and authority,-but to no purpose; on his cocking a pistol, they presented their bayonets to his breast and said, "We love and respect you; often have you led us into the field of battle, but we are no longer under your command; we warn you to be on your guard; if you fire your pistols, or attempt to enforce your commands, we shall put you instantly to death." General Wayne reasoned and expostulated with them to no purpose; they enumerated their grievances, and determined to march to Philadelphia and demand of Congress the justice that had so long been denied to them. This transaction terminated successfully for the insurgents; they eventually accomplished their views.

Washington was far from being pleased at the issue of this affair, and determined to adopt more severe and decisive measures in future. A revolt shortly after broke out in another regiment, and he at once ordered a detachment of five hundred men to march and reduce them to duty. This party was placed under the command of Major General Robert Howe. On the twenty-seventh of January, about daylight, this detachment arrived within sight of the huts of the insurgents. Here they were halted, and received orders to load their arms. General Howe then addressed them, representing the enormity of the crime of the mutineers, and adding that no terms could be made with them till they were brought to entire submission. The troops were then directed to surround the huts on all sides. He then ordered his aid-de-camp to command the mutineers to appear in front of their huts, unarmed, within five minutes. A second messenger was sent, and they immediately formed as they were directed. Being thus overpowered, the mutineers quietly submitted to their fate. General Howe ordered that three of the ringleaders should be selected for immediate punishment. These wretched men were tried on the spot, by a court-martial standing in the snow, and were sentenced to

be shot. Twelve of the most guilty mutineers were now chosen to be their executioners. Two of these offenders were shot, and the third pardoned. The terror of this scene produced a very powerful effect upon the guilty soldiers. They asked pardon of their officers, and promised a faithful discharge of duty for the future.

On the first of May, 1781, Washington commenced a military journal, in which he makes a brief summary of the wants and prospects of the army. "Instead of having magazines filled with provisions, we have a scanty pittance scattered here and there in the distant states. Instead of having our arsenals well supplied with military stores, they are poorly provided and the workmen all leaving them. Instead of having the various articles of field equipage in readiness, the quartermaster is but now applying to the several states to provide these things for their troops respectively. Instead of having a regular system of transportation established upon credit, or funds in the quartermaster's hands to defray the contingent expenses thereof, we have neither the one nor the other; and all that business, or a great part of it, being done by impressment, we are daily and hourly oppressing the people, souring their tempers, and alienating their affections. Instead of having the regiments completed agreeable to the requisitions of Congress, scarce any state in the Union has at this hour one eighth part of its quota in the field, and there is little prospect of ever getting more than half. In a word, instead of having any thing in readiness to take the field, we have nothing: and instead of having the prospect of a glorious offensive campaign before us, we have a bewildered and gloomy prospect of a defensive one; unless we should receive a powerful aid of ships, troops, and money, from our generous allies, and these at present are too contingent to build upon."

While the Americans were laboring under the embarrassments and troubles which introduced the year 1781, the enemy were laying plans for more extensive operations than they had hitherto attempted. Their previous policy had been concentration, but events seemed to indicate that division would be more successful, by enabling them to make an impression on several points at the same time. In this campaign they carried on the war, not only in the vicinity of their headquarters at New-York, but in Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, and in Virginia. Of course, the commander-in-chief could have no immediate agency in the southern department; he deemed it of more importance to remain on the Hudson, not only to secure the most important post in the United States, but to concert the operations which resulted in the termination of the war.

While the British were in the Potomac, they sent a flag on shore at Mount Vernon, requiring a supply of fresh provisions. To prevent the destruction of property which would follow a refusal, the person who had the management of the estate complied with this request, and requested that the buildings might be spared. For this Washington severely reprimanded him: "It would have been a less painful circumstance to me to have heard, that, in consequence of your noncompliance with the request of the British, they had burned my house, and laid my plantation in ruins. You ought to have considered yourself as my representative, and should have reflected on the bad example of communicating with the enemy, and

making a voluntary offer of refreshment to them, with a view to prevent a conflagration."

It was at this period that Washington received intelligence that the French government had loaned to the United States the sum of six millions of livres, and had resolved to equip a fleet to co-operate with the land force of the Americans. In conformity with this arrangement, M. de Grasse sailed from Brest in March, and, after some preliminary movements in the West Indies, arrived in the Chesapeake on the thirtieth of August. Here he was soon joined by the French fleet from Rhode Island. The plan of operation had been so well digested, and was so well executed, that Washington and Count Rochambeau had passed the British headquarters at New-York, and were considerably advanced in their way to Yorktown, before Count de Grasse had reached the American coast.

The first determination of Washington had been to attack New-York, but the arrival of the additional fleet induced him to change his operations, and to march to Virginia and lay siege to the post of Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown. This expedition Washington had determined to command in person, and had advanced as far as Chester, when he received the news of the arrival of the fleet commanded by M. de Grasse. He immediately visited the count, attended by several of the general officers of the French and American armies. A plan of operations was then agreed upon, and the combined forces proceeded on their way to Yorktown. In this place, Lord Cornwallis, with the royal army, had constructed strong fortifications. It is a little village, on the south bank of the river York, about fifteen miles from its entrance into Chesapeake Bay. The British forces amounted to seven thousand men; the allied army to about twelve thousand. The works erected for the security of the town were redoubts and batteries, and every effort was made to strengthen them. On the first of October, the allied armies had made some progress in the siege. They had compelled the British to abandon several of their redoubts, and retire within the town. During a severe cannonade from the enemy, while the Rev. Mr. Evans was standing near the commander-in-chief, a shot struck the ground so near as to cover his hat with sand. Being much agitated, he took off his hat, and said, "See here, general." "Mr. Evans," replied Washington with his usual composure, "you had better carry that home, and show it to your wife and children."

The American troops labored for a number of days, with incessant activity, in digging trenches and erecting batteries. Two or three batteries having been prepared to open upon the town, General Washington put the match to the first gun, and a furious discharge of cannon and mortars immediately followed. From the tenth to the fifteenth of the month, a severe and continual firing was kept up by the allied armies. The enemy returned the fire with little effect. During this period, a shell from the French battery set fire to a forty-four gun ship, and two or three smaller vessels in the river. It was in the night time, and presented a splendid spectacle. The fire spread all over the ships, running about the rigging to the tops of the masts, and casting a broad and bright flame over the waters. This dreadful scene, in the darkness of night, amid the roar of cannon and bursting of shells, must have been brilliant and sublime

A fine description of this siege is given by Dr. Thatcher. "Being in the trenches," he observes, "every other night and day, I have a fine opportunity of witnessing the sublime and stupendous scene which is continually exhibiting. The bomb shells from the besiegers and the besieged are incessantly crossing each others' path in the air. They are clearly visible in the form of a black ball in the day, but in the night they appear like a fiery meteor with a blazing tail, most beautifully brilliant, ascending majestically from the mortar to a certain altitude, and gradually descending to the spot where they are destined to execute their work of destruction."

After carrying on this kind of warfare for a number of days, the American general determined to take possession of two redoubts about three hundred yards in front of the principal works of the enemy, and which presented formidable impediments to their approaches. These redoubts were both assaulted at the same time; one by a brigade of American troops under the command of the Marquis de La Fayette, and the other by a French detachment under the Baron de Viomenil. The assault commenced at eight o'clock in the evening, and was soon successfully concluded; the Americans losing but a very few men, and the French a considerable number. The reason of this difference in the loss of men was, that the Americans, in coming to the abatis, tore away a part of it, and leapt over the remainder. The French, however, waited till their pioneers had cut away the abatis according to rule, being exposed, meanwhile, to a severe fire from the enemy. When the marquis entered the works, he sent his aid, Major Barbour, through a terrible fire of the enemy, to inform Baron Viomenil, "that he was in his redoubt, and to ask the baron where he was." The messenger found the French troops clearing away the abatis, but the baron sent back this answer- "Tell the marquis I am not in mine, but will be in five minutes." He advanced, and entered the works within his time.

During the assault, the British kept up a very severe and incessant fire

of musketry and cannon. Washington and the generals Lincoln and Knox, with their aids, were standing in an exposed situation, waiting the

result. One of Washington's aids, solicitous for his safety, said to him, "Sir, you are too much exposed here; had you not better step a little back?" "Colonel Cobb," replied the general, "if you are afraid, you have liberty to step back."

On the seventeenth of the month, Lord Cornwallis was reduced to the necessity of sending out a flag, to request a cessation of hostilities for twenty-four hours. Two or three flags passed in the course of the day, and at length a suspension of hostilities for two hours was resolved upon. At an early hour in the forenoon of the eighteenth, Washington communicated to the British commander the basis of the terms of capitulation to which he would consent. A sufficient time was allowed for reply. Two officers were then selected from each army to meet, and prepare the particular articles of agreement. These were arranged, and confirmed by the commanders-in-chief. On the nineteenth of October, preparations were made to receive the British general and his soldiers prisoners of war. The terms of capitulation were similar to those granted to General Lincoln, at Charleston. At about twelve o'clock, the allied armies were arranged, and drawn up in two lines, extending more than a mile in length. The Americans, with General Washington at their head, occupied the right side of the road; the French, with Count Rochambeau, occupied the left. The French troops were in complete and beautiful uniform, and presented a very military and noble appearance. The Americans were not dressed so neatly, but their air was martial, their step lightened, and their countenance animated with joy. Great crowds were collected from the neighboring villages to witness the ceremony.

At about two o'clock, the captive army advanced through the lines formed to receive them. It was expected that Lord Cornwallis would be at their head, but he pretended indisposition, and made General O'Hara his substitute. This officer was followed by the conquered troops, with shouldered arms, colors cased, and drums beating a slow and solemn march. Having arrived at the head of the line, General O'Hara advanced

to Washington, and apologized for the absence of Lord Cornwallis. The commander-in-chief courteously pointed to General Lincoln for directions.

This officer conducted the British army into a large field, where they were to ground their arms. This was a severe trial for the disciplined and haughty soldiers of England. It was a great mortification to yield to raw continentals, and to the Yankee general whom they had ridiculed in their farces. Some of the platoon officers were weak enough to make no secret of their chagrin and ill temper. After having grounded their arms, and taken off their accoutrements, the captives were reconducted to Yorktown, and put under guard.

In his general orders on the next day, Washington expressed his warmest thanks to the soldiers and officers of the combined army for their brave conduct during the siege. Wishing that every heart should share in the general joy, he gave orders that all in confinement or under arrest should be at once pardoned and set at liberty. The troops were immediately employed in embarking the artillery and military stores on board of transports for the North river. Lord Cornwallis and his officers received every civility and attention from the American generals, that it was in their power to bestow. General Washington and Count Rochambeau frequently invited them to entertainments, and they expressed grateful acknowledgments of their hospitality. On one occasion, when Cornwallis, in the presence of the commander-in-chief, was standing with his head uncovered, Washington politely said to him, "My lord, you had better be covered from the cold." "It matters little, sir," replied Cornwallis, "what becomes of this *head now*."

An anecdote has been told of Washington, which reflects as much credit upon his delicacy of feeling, as the event to which it relates does upon his military skill. After the surrended of the town, when the British soldiers were marching forth from the garrison to deliver up their arms, the commander-in-chief thus addressed the division of the army to which he was attached: "My brave fellows, let no sensation of satisfaction for the triumphs you have gained, induce you to insult your fallen enemy—let no shouting, no clamorous huzzaing increase their mortification. It is sufficient that we witness their humiliation. Posterity will huzza for us."

When Congress received the letter from Washington, that announced the surrender of the British army, they determined to go in procession, at two o'clock, to the Dutch Lutheran church, and return thanks to Heaven for the success of the allied forces. They issued a proclamation for observing, throughout the United States, the thirteenth of December as a day of thanksgiving and prayer. They also resolved to erect in Yorktown a marble column adorned with emblems of the alliance between the United States and his most Christian Majesty of France, and inscribed with a brief narrative of the surrender of the British army. Two stands of colors, taken from the enemy at the capitulation, were presented to General Washington by Congress, in the name of the United States. Two pieces of field ordnance, taken at the same time, by a resolve of Congress were presented to Count Rochambeau. On these a few words were engraved, expressing that the gift was made in consideration of the part which this officer had borne in effecting the surrender.

After the capture of Cornwallis, Washington, with the greater part of his army, returned to the vicinity of New-York. Though complete success

had been attained in Virginia, and great advantages in the Carolinas, the commander-in-chief urged immediate preparations for another campaign. He was afraid that Congress would think the work so nearly done, as to relax their efforts in raising the requisite number of troops. In a letter to General Greene, he observed, "I shall attempt to stimulate Congress to the best improvement of our late success, by taking the most vigorous and effectual measures to be ready for an early and decisive campaign the next year. My greatest fear is, that, viewing this stroke in a point of light which may too much magnify its importance, they may think our work too nearly closed, and fall into a state of languor and relaxation. To prevent this error, I shall employ every means in my power, and, if unhappily we sink into this fatal mistake, no part of the blame shall be mine." The military establishment for 1782 was passed with great celerity, and the attention of Washington was incessantly occupied with the plan of dislodging the British from their strong holds of New-York and Charleston.

While he was concerting measures with a view to co-operate with the French for this purpose, intelligence arrived that the discontinuance of the war had been moved and debated in the British parliament. Early in May, Sir Guy Carleton, the successor of Sir Henry Clinton as commander-in-chief of the British forces in America, arrived in New-York, and announced in successive communications the increased probability of a speedy peace. The expected approach of peace relaxed the efforts of the states, and it was impossible to procure funds for the pay and subsistence of the troops. In a letter to the Secretary of War, Washington observed—"I cannot help fearing the result of reducing the army, where I see such a number of men, goaded by a thousand stings of reflection on the past, and of anticipation on the future, about to be turned into the world, soured by penury and what they call the ingratitude of the public; involved in debts without one farthing of money to carry them home, after having spent the flower of their days and many of them their patrimonies, in establishing the freedom and independence of their country, and having suffered every thing which human nature is capable of enduring on this side of death. I repeat it, when I reflect on these irritable circumstances, I cannot avoid apprehending that a train of evils will follow, of a very serious and distressing nature." These apprehensions were well founded; and when the army retired into winter quarters, Washington remained in the camp to watch and control the discontents of the soldiers, though there was no probability of any military operations to require his presence. During the whole campaign of this year, not a gun had been fired between the two armies.

Nothing had been decided by Congress, in respect to the claims of the soldiers, when news arrived, in March, 1783, that Great Britain had acknowledged the independence of the United States in the preceding November. This intelligence spread around an universal joy. The army exulted with the rest of their fellow-citizens, but their gladness was clouded with fears of injustice in their country. They thought their prospect of compensation diminished with the necessity of their services. Petitions had been presented to Congress in respect to the pay of officers,

but the objects which they solicited were not obtained. Under these circumstances, anonymous addresses were circulated in the army, which produced the most violent excitement. Every indication was given of a storm that would destroy the peace of the country, and its new liberties. A paper had been privately handed about, calling a meeting of the officers on the next day. It was an occasion that demanded all the wisdom and influence of Washington. He accordingly noticed the anonymous summons in general orders, and requested a meeting, nominally for the same purpose, four days later. In the mean time, sending for the officers one after another, he enlarged upon the fatal consequences that would result from the adoption of any violent measures. His unwearied efforts were used to quiet the agitation. When the officers assembled, Washington arose to address them. Finding his eyesight fail him, he observed—"My eyes have grown dim in my country's service, but I never doubted of its justice." He then delivered a very interesting and feeling address. After commenting fully upon the anonymous papers that had been circulated in the camp, he entreated the officers to rely on the justice and good faith of Congress. "Let me request you," he observed, "to rely on the plighted faith of your country, and place a full confidence in the purity of the intentions of Congress, that, previous to your dissolution as an army, they will cause all your accounts to be fairly liquidated, as directed in the resolutions which were published to you two days ago; and that they will adopt the most effectual measures in their power to render ample justice to you for your faithful and meritorious services. And let me conjure you in the name of our common country, as you value your own sacred honor, as you respect the rights of humanity, and as you regard the military and national character of America, to express your utmost horror and detestation of the man who wishes, under any specious pretences, to overturn the liberties of our country, and who wickedly attempts to open the floods of civil discord, and deluge our rising empire in blood. By thus determining and thus acting, you will pursue the plain and direct road to the attainment of your wishes; you will defeat the insidious designs of our enemies, who are compelled to resort from open force to secret artifice. You will give one more distinguished proof of unexampled patriotism and patient virtue, rising superior to the pressure of the most complicated sufferings; and you will, by the dignity of your conduct, afford occasion for posterity to say, when speaking of the glorious example you have exhibited to mankind,—'Had this day been wanting, the world had never seen the last stage of perfection to which human nature is capable of attaining.'"

Having finished his eloquent and powerful address, his Excellency withdrew, and the convention unanimously resolved to present him their thanks, and assure him "that the officers reciprocate his affectionate expressions with the greatest sincerity, of which the human heart is capable." General Knox, Colonel Brooks, and Captain Howard were then appointed a committee, to prepare resolutions expressive of the business of the convention, and to report in half an hour. These resolutions professed an undiminished attachment to the liberties of their country, and an unshaken confidence in the justice of Congress. The

result of these proceedings was communicated, by the commander-in-chief, to Congress, accompanied by an impressive letter. "If the whole army," he observes in the course of it, "have not merited whatever a grateful people can bestow, then have I been beguiled by prejudice, and built opinion on the basis of error. If this country should not in the event perform every thing which has been requested in the late memorials to Congress, then will my belief become vain, and the hope that has been excited, void of foundation. * * * But I am under no such apprehension. A country rescued by their arms from impending ruin, will never leave unpaid the debt of gratitude." Congress at length came to resolutions, in which they expressed a desire to gratify the reasonable expectations of the officers of the army, and remove all objections which might exist in any part of the United States to the principles of the half pay, which had been pledged to them. They commuted the half pay for life to full pay for the space of five years, at the option of the parties interested.

The commander-in-chief thus addressed the army on the cessation of hostilities, in April: "The commander-in-chief orders the cessation of hostilities, between the United States of America and the king of Great Britain, to be publicly proclaimed to-morrow at twelve o'clock, at the New Building; and that the proclamation which will be communicated herewith be read to-morrow evening, at the head of every regiment and corps of the army; after which, the chaplains, with the several brigades, will render thanks to Almighty God for all his mercies, particularly for his overruling the wrath of man to his own glory, and causing the rage of war to cease among the nations."

The reduction of the army had been resolved by Congress, but it was a difficult measure, and required deliberation. To avoid the inconvenience of dismissing a great number of soldiers in a body, furloughs were freely granted on the application of individuals, and, after their dispersion, they were not enjoined to return. In this manner a great part of an unpaid army was dispersed over the states, without tumult or disorder.

While the troops under the immediate command of Washington manifested the utmost good conduct, a mutiny broke out among some new levies stationed at Lancaster, in Pennsylvania. About eighty soldiers, in defiance of their officers, marched to Philadelphia, to seek a redress of their alleged grievances from the executive council of the state. They proceeded to the barracks in the city, where some other soldiers were quartered, who joined them. The whole body amounted to about three hundred. On the following day, the insurgents, with drums beating and fixed bayonets, marched to the State-house, the seat of Congress and of the supreme executive council of Pennsylvania. They placed sentinels at every door, sent in a written message to the president and council, and threatened to break in upon them, if their demands were not granted within twenty minutes. No further insult was offered to Congress, but they were confined in this manner for about three hours. Congress resolved that the authority of the United States had been grossly insulted by the armed soldiers, and it was determined that a committee of their body should confer with the executive council, and if it should appear to

the committee, that the state of Pennsylvania ought not to take measures to support the dignity of the federal government, the president should summon the Congress to meet on Thursday, the twenty-sixth, at Princeton or Trenton. The Secretary of War was also directed to communicate to the commander-in-chief the state and disposition of the mutineers.

On receiving information of this disgraceful outrage, Washington immediately despatched Major General Howe, with fifteen hundred men, to quell the mutineers, and punish the most guilty of them. Before his arrival, however, they had dispersed without bloodshed. Several were brought to trial, two were condemned to death, and four others to receive corporal punishment.

On this occasion, General Washington addressed the president of Congress in very feeling and eloquent language:

"While I suffer the most poignant distress in observing that a handful of men, contemptible in numbers, and equally so in point of service, if the veteran troops from the southward have not been seduced by their example, and who are not worthy to be called soldiers, should disgrace themselves and their country, as the Pennsylvania mutineers have done, by insulting the sovereign authority of the United States and that of their own; I feel an inexpressible satisfaction, that even this behavior cannot stain the name of the American soldiery. It cannot be imputable to, or reflect dishonor on, the army at large, but, on the contrary, it will, by the striking contrast it exhibits, hold up to public view the other troops in the most advantageous point of light. On taking all the circumstances into consideration, I cannot sufficiently express my surprise and indignation at the arrogance, the folly, and the wickedness of the mutineers; nor can I sufficiently admire the fidelity, the bravery and patriotism which must forever signalize the unsullied character of the other corps of our army. For when we consider that these Pennsylvania levies, who have now mutinied, are recruits, and soldiers of a day, who have not borne the heat and burden of war, and who can have in reality very few hardships to complain of; and when we at the same time recollect that those soldiers, who have lately been furloughed from this army, are the veterans who have patiently endured hunger, nakedness, and cold; who have suffered and bled without a murmur, and who, with perfect good order, have retired to their homes, without a settlement of their accounts, or a farthing of money in their pockets,—we shall be as much astonished at the virtues of the latter, as we are struck with horror and detestation at the proceedings of the former."

On the second of November, 1783, General Washington issued his farewell orders to the armies of the United States. After noticing a recent proclamation of Congress, he observed that it only remained to address himself for the last time to the armies of the United States, and to bid them an affectionate farewell. He remarked upon the circumstances under which the war was begun; the signal interpositions of Providence in their behalf; and their unparalleled perseverance through eight years of every possible suffering and discouragement. His closing words were—"Your general being now to conclude these his last public orders, to take his ultimate leave, in a short time, of the military charac-

ter, and to bid adieu to the armies he has so long had the honor to command, he can only again offer in their behalf his recommendations to their grateful country, and his prayers to the God of armies. May ample justice be done to them here, and may the choicest of Heaven's favors, both here and hereafter, attend those, who, under the divine auspices, have secured innumerable blessings for others! With these wishes, and this benediction, the commander-in-chief is about to retire from service. The curtain of separation will soon be drawn, and the military scene, to him, will be closed forever."

The treaty of peace was signed on the twenty-third of September, and a proclamation was issued by Congress to disband the army. Painful indeed, was the parting. The old soldiers, who had been sharers for seven years in privation and suffering, were to separate under circumstances of the most distressing character. They were poor, without money or employment, and many with no other prospect than that of painful dependence or miserable penury. Though their whole military life had been a scene of want and wretchedness, it had sometimes been chequered with splendid triumphs, or at any rate had been throughout supported by an anxious excitement. That excitement was now past, for the object of their labors and sacrifices, the liberty of their common country, had been obtained. The glorious hope, that gleamed continually before their eyes in the battles of the revolution, had been changed into a glorious certainty, by the declaration of peace · and now that the wrongs and sufferings of their country had been vindicated, their thoughts were naturally concentrated upon their individual fortunes.

There were sorrow and suffering, want and wretchedness, but no tumult, no mutiny, no disorder. They would not end a succession of generous sacrifices by a violation of their faith and their duty; but determined to abandon their rights, rather than resort to force to recover them.

The British army evacuated New-York in November, and the American troops, under General Knox, took possession of the city. Soon after, General Washington and Governor Clinton, with their suite, made their public entry into the city on horseback, followed by a procession of civil and military officers, and a large number of citizens. General festivity reigned throughout the city, and the governor made a public dinner. This was followed, a day or two afterwards, by an elegant entertainment, given by the governor to the French ambassador, the Chevalier de la Luzerne. General Washington, the principal officers of New-York state, and of the army, and upwards of a hundred other gentlemen, were present.

On Tuesday noon, the fourth of December, the principal officers of the army assembled at Francis's tavern, to take a final leave of their beloved commander-in-chief. When Washington entered the room, his emotions were too strong to be repressed or concealed. Filling a glass, he turned to the surrounding officers and said—"With a heart full of love and gratitude, I now take leave of you. I most devoutly wish that your latter days may be as prosperous and happy as your former ones have been glorious and honorable." Having drank, he added, "I cannot come

to each of you to take my leave, but shall be obliged to you, if each of you will come and take me by the hand." General Knox, being nearest, turned to him. Washington, in tears, grasped his hand, embraced and kissed him. In the same manner he took leave of each succeeding officer, Lincoln, and Greene, and La Fayette, and the other valiant men with whom he had been connected in hours of peril and darkness, to be rewarded with endless gratitude and glory.

Every eye was moistened with tears. Not a word was spoken to interrupt the silent solemnity of the parting. Leaving the room, Washington passed through the corps of light infantry, and walked to Whitehall, where a coach was in waiting to receive him. The whole company followed in mute procession, with sad and dejected countenances. On

entering the barge, he turned to his companions, and, waving his hat, bade them a silent farewell. They paid him a similar mark of respect and affection, and, when they could no longer distinguish in the barge the person of their beloved commander, returned, in the same solemn manner, to the place where they had first assembled.

On the disbanding of the army, Washington proceeded to Annapolis, then the seat of Congress, to resign his commission. On his way thither, he delivered to the comptroller of accounts, at Philadelphia, an account of his receipts and expenditures of public money. The whole amount that had passed through his hands, was only £14,479 18*s.* 9*d.* sterling. Nothing was charged or retained for his own services. The resignation of his command was made in a public audience. Congress received him as the guardian of his country and her liberties. He appeared there under the most affecting circumstances. The battles of a glorious war had been fought, since he first appeared before them to accept, with a becoming modesty, the command of their armies. Now the eyes of a whole nation were upon him, and the voices of a liberated people proclaimed him their preserver.

His resignation was communicated, in the following address, to the President of Congress:

"Mr. President,

"The great events on which my resignation depended, having at length taken place, I have now the honor of offering my sincere congratulations to Congress, and of presenting myself before them to surrender into their hands the trust committed to me, and to claim the indulgence of retiring from the service of my country.

"Happy in the confirmation of our independence and sovereignty, and pleased with the opportunity afforded the United States of becoming a respectable nation, I resign with satisfaction the appointment I accepted with diffidence; a diffidence in my abilities to accomplish so arduous a task, which, however, was superseded by a confidence in the rectitude of our cause, the support of the supreme power of the Union, and the patronage of Heaven.

"While I repeat my obligations to the army in general, I should do injustice to my own feelings, not to acknowledge, in this place, the peculiar services and distinguished merits of the persons who have been attached to my person during the war. It was impossible the choice of confidential officers, to compose my family, should have been more fortunate. Permit me, sir, to recommend, in particular, those who have continued in the service to the present moment, as worthy of the favorable notice and patronage of Congress.

"I consider it as an indispensable duty to close this last solemn act of my official life, by commending the interests of our dearest country to the protection of Almighty God, and those who have the superintendence of them to his holy keeping.

"Having now finished the work assigned me, I retire from the great theatre of action; and, bidding an affectionate farewell to this august body, under whose orders I have long acted, I here offer my commission, and take leave of all the employments of public life."

This address being ended, General Washington advanced, and delivered his commission into the hands of the President of Congress, who received it and made an appropriate reply. Having thus, of his own accord, become one of the people, the American chief hastened to his delightful residence at Mount Vernon.

The feelings and emotions of Washington, on thus going into retirement, were expressed in the following manner: "I feel as a wearied traveller must do, who, after treading many a painful step with a heavy burden on his shoulders, is eased of the latter, having reached the haven to which all the former were directed, and from his house-top is looking back and tracing, with an eager eye, the meanders by which he escaped the quicksands and mire which lay in his way, and into which none but the All-Powerful Guide and Dispenser of human events could have prevented his falling.

"I have become a private citizen on the banks of the Potomac, and, under the shadow of my own vine and my own figtree, free from the bustle of a camp and the busy scenes of public life, I am solacing myself with those tranquil enjoyments of which the soldier, who is ever in pursuit of

fame—the statesman, whose watchful days and sleepless nights are spent in devising schemes to promote the welfare of his own, perhaps the ruin of other countries, as if this globe was insufficient for us all—and the courtier, who is always watching the countenance of his prince, in the hope of catching a gracious smile,—can have very little conception. I have not only retired from all public employments, but am retiring within myself, and shall be able to view the solitary walk, and tread the paths of private life, with heart-felt satisfaction. Envious of none, I am determined to be pleased with all; and this, my dear friend, being the order of my march, I will move gently down the stream of life, until I sleep with my fathers."

Washington now devoted his attention, with untiring industry, to the pursuits of agriculture and the extension of inland navigation. He corresponded with the officers and influential men of all the states on the most prominent subjects of public interest and improvement. He formed a plan to render the rivers Potomac and James navigable as high as practicable, and to open such inland navigation between these waters and those west of the Ohio, as would secure the trade of the western country to Virginia and Maryland. According to this suggestion, two companies were formed for opening the navigation of these rivers; and of each, Washington consented to be the president. The legislature of Virginia directed the treasurer of the state to subscribe for one hundred and fifty shares in each company for the benefit of General Washington. This appropriation was generously made and as generously received. According to the desire of Washington, these shares were appropriated to the support of a college in the vicinity of each river.

Near the close of the revolutionary war, the officers of the American army, with the view of continuing their intercourse and friendship, formed themselves into an association named the society of Cincinnati. Of the general society Washington officiated as president, from its institution in 1783 till the time of his death. By the rules of this society, the honors of it were to be hereditary in the respective families, and distinguished individuals were to be admitted as honorary members for life. These aristocratic features of the institution alarmed the community, and excited a great degree of jealousy. On full inquiry, Washington found that these objections were general, and he therefore exerted his influence among the officers, to induce them to drop the offensive part of the institution. At the annual meeting, in May, 1787, these portions were accordingly expunged; and the modification entirely quieted public apprehensions.

The articles under which the United States originally confederated proved to be inadequate to the purposes of national government. A crisis was expected in public affairs, which would again require the personal presence and influence of Washington. His friends communicated freely with him on this subject, and his own apprehensions were deeply excited. In a letter to Mr. Jay, in 1786, he observed: "Your sentiments, that our affairs are drawing rapidly to a crisis, accord with my own. What the event will be is beyond the reach of my foresight. We have errors to correct; we have probably had too good an opinion of human nature, in forming our confederation. Experience has taught us tha men will not

adopt and carry into execution, measures the best calculated for their own good, without the intervention of coercive power. I do not conceive we can exist long as a nation, without lodging, somewhere, a power which will pervade the whole Union in as energetic a manner, as the authority of the state governments extends over the several states. To be fearful of investing Congress, constituted as that body is, with ample authorities for national purposes, appears to me the very climax of popular absurdity and madness. Could Congress exert them for the detriment of the people, without injuring themselves in an equal or greater proportion? Are not their interests inseparably connected with those of their constituents? By the rotation of appointments, must they not mingle frequently with the mass of citizens? Is it not rather to be apprehended, if they were not possessed of the powers before described, that the individual members would be induced to use them, on many occasions, very timidly and inefficaciously, for fear of losing their popularity and future election? We must take human nature as we find it; perfection falls not to the share of mortals.

"What then is to be done? Things cannot go on in the same strain forever. It is much to be feared, as you observe, that the better kind of people, being disgusted with these circumstances, will have their minds prepared for any revolution whatever. We are apt to run from one extreme to another. To anticipate and prevent disastrous contingencies, would be the part of wisdom and patriotism.

"What astonishing changes a few years are capable of producing! I am told that even respectable characters speak of a monarchical form of government without horror. From thinking proceeds speaking: thence to acting is often but a single step. But how irrevocable and tremendous! What a triumph for our enemies, to verify their predictions! What a triumph for the advocates of despotism, to find that we are incapable of governing ourselves, and that systems, founded on the basis of equal liberty, are merely ideal and fallacious. Would to God that wise measures may be taken in time to avert the consequences we have but too much reason to apprehend.

"Retired as I am from the world, I frankly acknowledge I cannot feel myself an unconcerned spectator. Yet having happily assisted in bringing the ship into port, and having been fairly discharged, it is not my business to embark again on the sea of troubles. Nor could it be expected that my sentiments and opinions would have much weight on the minds of my countrymen. They have been neglected, though given as a last legacy in a most solemn manner. I then, perhaps, had some claims to public attention. I consider myself as having none at present."

Illumination on the subject of enlarging the powers of Congress was gradual. A convention of delegates from the several states was proposed, for the purpose of remodelling the terms of the confederation. This convention met in Philadelphia in May, and unanimously chose George Washington their President. On the seventeenth of September, 1787, they closed their labors, and submitted the result to Congress, with the opinion that it should be submitted to a convention of delegates chosen

in each state by the people thereof, under the recommendation of its legislature, for its assent and ratification.

The constitution being accepted by eleven of the states, and measures being taken for carrying it into execution, all eyes were turned towards Washington as the most suitable person to be President of the United States. He was then fifty-seven years of age, and in the full enjoyment of health and vigor. It would appear, however, from numerous letters written about this period, that the return into public life was to him a source of anxiety and trouble which he would gladly have avoided. He was fond of retirement and private life. "Every personal consideration," he observed in a letter to General Lincoln, "conspires to rivet me to retirement. At my time of life, and under my circumstances, nothing in this world can ever draw me from it, unless it be a conviction that the partiality of my countrymen had made my services absolutely necessary, joined to a fear that my refusal might induce a belief that I preferred the conservation of my own reputation and private ease to the good of my country. After all, if I should conceive myself in a manner constrained to accept, I call Heaven to witness that this very act would be the greatest sacrifice of my personal feelings and wishes that I have ever been called upon to make. It would be to forego repose and domestic enjoyment, for trouble, perhaps for public obloquy; for I should consider myself as entering upon an unexplored field, enveloped on every side with clouds and darkness."

Before the election came on, the expectation of Washington's appointment was so universal, that numerous applications were made to him for the offices of government which would be in his gift. Contemptible as such applications must always be, Washington condescended to notice them with a dignified refusal. To one applicant he wrote as follows "Should it become absolutely necessary for me to occupy the situation in which your letter presupposes me, I have determined to go into it perfectly free from all engagements of every nature whatsoever. A conduct in conformity to this resolution would enable me, in balancing the various pretensions of different candidates for appointments, to act with a sole reference to justice and the public good. This is in substance the answer that I have given to all applications (and they are not few) which have already been made."

The official announcement of his election to the Presidency was made to General Washington on the fourteenth of April, 1789. On the second day after receiving this notice, Washington set out for New-York. The road was thronged with numbers anxious to gaze upon the hero of the revolution, and the man of the people's choice. Escorts of the militia and of gentlemen of the highest rank and character attended him from state to state, and he was every where received with the highest honors. Gray's bridge over the Schuylkill was beautifully decorated for his passage with laurels and evergreens. At each end of it splendid arches were erected, composed of laurels, and on each side was a laurel shrubbery. As Washington passed the bridge, a boy from above dropped a crown of laurel upon his brows. An immense throng of citizens lined the road from the Schuylkill to Philadelphia. Through these he was conducted

to the city. An elegant entertainment was there provided, and was succeeded in the evening by a display of fireworks. When Washington crossed the Delaware and landed on the Jersey shore, he was saluted with three cheers by the assembled inhabitants. When he came to the brow of the hill on his way to Trenton, he again passed through a triumphal

arch ornamented with laurels and flowers. On the crown of it was displayed, in large characters, "December twenty-sixth, 1776." On the sweep of the arch beneath was inscribed, "The Defender of the Mothers will also protect the Daughters." On the north side he was met by a number of female children, dressed in white, with baskets of flowers on their arms and garlands on their heads. In the second row stood the young women, and behind them the married ladies, of the vicinity. As he passed the arch, the children began to sing the following ode.

"Welcome, mighty Chief! once more
Welcome to this grateful shore.
Now no mercenary foe
Aims again the fatal blow,
Aims at thee the fatal blow.
Virgins fair, and matrons grave,—
These thy conquering arm did save,—
Build for thee triumphal bowers:
Strew, ye fair, his way with flowers;
Strew your hero's way with flowers."

While singing the last lines, they strewed the flowers in the path of their great deliverer. How different his feelings from those experienced a few years before upon the same spot! Then all was depression and sadness—now, all joy and triumph.

He was rowed across the bay to New-York by thirteen pilots in an elegant barge. All the vessels in the harbor hoisted their flags. On his landing, he was received and congratulated by the governor of the state and officers of the corporation. He was conducted to the house which had been prepared for his reception, followed by a procession of militia in

their uniforms, and a large number of citizens. In the evening the houses of the inhabitants were brilliantly illuminated. A day was fixed, soon after his arrival, for his taking the oath of office. It was in the following words: "I do solemnly swear, that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States; and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the constitution of the United States." On this occasion he was wholly clothed in garments of American manufacture.

In the morning, the different congregations assembled in their respective places of worship, and offered up prayers for the President and people of the United States. About noon, a procession moved from the President's house to Federal Hall. When they came within a short distance of the hall, the troops formed a line on both sides of the way, through which, accompanied by the Vice-President, Mr. John Adams, Washington passed into the senate chamber. Immediately after, with the two houses of Congress, he went into a gallery fronting on Broad-street, and, before an immense throng of citizens, took the oath prescribed by the constitution. It was administered by Mr. Livingston, the chancellor of the state of New-York. A solemn silence prevailed during the ceremony. The chancellor then proclaimed him President of the United States. This was answered by the discharge of cannon, and the joyful shouts of assembled thousands. The President bowed most respectfully to the people, and retired to the senate chamber in the midst of their acclamations.

After delivering an address to Congress and receiving their reply, the President attended divine service in their company. In the evening there was a very ingenious and brilliant exhibition of fireworks. A transparent painting was displayed, in the centre of which was the portrait of the President, represented under the image of Fortitude. On his right hand was Justice, and on his left Wisdom; emblematic of the Senate and House of Representatives. Thus concluded the ceremonies of the first presidential inauguration.

When Washington commenced his administration, the situation of the United States was highly critical. There were no funds in the treasury, and large debts were due upon every side. The party in opposition to the new constitution was numerous, and several members of this party had been elected to seats in the new Congress. Two of the states for a while refused to accept the constitution, and were, consequently, beyond the reach of its power. The relations of the general government with foreign nations were very unsettled. Animosities raged with considerable violence between the United States and Great Britain. Each charged the other with a violation of the late treaty of peace. Difficulties occurred with Spain in respect to the navigation of the Mississippi, and the boundaries of the states towards the Spanish territories in the South. Fifteen hundred of the northern Indians were at open war with the United States; the Creeks in the southwest, who could bring six thousand fighting men into the field, were at war with Georgia.

Congress having organized the great departments of government, it became the duty of the President to designate proper persons to fill them.

Washington looked round with care and impartiality to fill these posts to his own satisfaction, and to that of the people. He accordingly placed Colonel Hamilton at the head of the Treasury department; General Knox in the department of War; Mr. Jefferson at the head of the department of Foreign Affairs; and Mr. Edmund Randolph in the office of Attorney General.

It was among the first measures of Washington to make peace with the Indians, and commissioners were appointed for this purpose. General Lincoln, Mr. Griffin, and Colonel Humphreys, were deputed to treat with the Creek nation. They met M'Gillivray, their chief, with other chiefs, and about two thousand of the tribe, at Rock Landing, on the Oconee, on the frontiers of Georgia. The negotiation was suddenly broken off by M'Gillivray, on the pretence of a dispute about the boundaries, but in reality, through the influence of the Spanish government. A second mission proved more successful. A number of the Creek chiefs were induced to visit New-York, where a conference was held, and a treaty soon established. The attempt to effect a peace with the Indians of the Wabash and the Miamies, did not terminate with like success. In consequence of this, the President, in September, 1791, despatched General Harmer into the Indian territories, with orders to destroy their settlements on the waters of the Scioto and Wabash. This general was defeated, as was also Major General St. Clair. The final conquest of these tribes was effected in 1794, by General Wayne; and soon after that event, a peace was concluded between the Indians and the United States.

By skilful and prudent management, all the difficulties with Spain were amicably settled; but much greater difficulties stood in the way of a peaceful adjustment of controversies with Great Britain. In the first years of his Presidency, Washington took informal measures to ascertain the views of the British cabinet respecting the United States. This business was intrusted to Mr. Governeur Morris, who conducted it with great ability, but found no disposition to accede to the wishes of our government. In two years from that time, the British, of their own accord, sent their first Minister to the United States, and the President, in return, nominated Mr. Thomas Pinckney as the Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of Great Britain.

About this time war commenced between France and Great Britain. The correct and mature judgment of Washington immediately decided that the proper position of the United States was that of perfect neutrality. A strong disposition existed in the people to favor the cause of France. The benefits that had been conferred upon them by that gallant nation during the revolutionary struggle were fresh in their remembrance. A feeling still existed of resentment towards England, for the oppression which had led to the war, and the miseries that attended it. To compel the observance of neutrality, under these circumstances, was a task that required all the influence and popularity of Washington. Motions were made in Congress for sequestrating debts due to British subjects; to enter into commercial hostility with Great Britain, and even to interdict all intercourse with her till she pursued other measures with respect to the United States. Every thing threatened immediate war. In this

state of affairs, the President, in April, 1794, nominated John Jay, Envoy Extraordinary to the Court of Great Britain. By this measure an adjustment of the points in dispute between the two nations was happily effected, and the result of the mission was a treaty of peace.

This was pronounced by Mr. Jay to be the best that was attainable, and one which he believed it for the interest of the United States to accept. While this treaty was under the consideration of the Senate, a copy of it was furnished to the editor of a newspaper, in violation of the laws of that body. The publication of this document at once rekindled the smothered passions of the people, and meetings were held in all the large cities, to pronounce the treaty unworthy of acceptance and to petition the President to refuse his signature to so obnoxious an instrument. These agitations were naturally the source of much anxiety to Washington, but they did not cause him to swerve for a moment from the true path of his duty. He regretted that the treaty was so generally unpopular, but determined to ratify it, as the only alternative with war. His policy was always peace, if it can be preserved with honor. In a letter to General Knox, he observes on this subject: "Next to a conscientious discharge of my public duties, to carry along with me the approbation of my constituents, would be the highest gratification of which my mind is susceptible. But the latter being secondary, I cannot make the former yield to it, unless some criterion more infallible than partial (if they are not party) meetings, can be discovered as the touchstone of public sentiment. If any person on earth could, or the Great Power above would, erect the standard of infallibility in political opinions, no being that inhabits this terrestrial globe would resort to it with more eagerness than myself, so long as I remain a servant of the public. But as I have hitherto found no better guide than upright intentions, and close investigation, I shall adhere to them while I keep the watch."

Difficult as it was to decide upon the proper policy to be pursued towards England, it was even more embarrassing in respect to France The attachment to the French interests was much increased by the arrival of M. Genet, the first Minister Plenipotentiary from the republic of France to the United States. Encouraged by the indications of good wishes for the success of the French revolution, this gentleman undertook to authorize the fitting and arming of vessels, enlisting men, and giving commissions to vessels to cruise and commit hostilities on nations with whom the United States, were at peace. The British minister complained against these proceedings, and the American government disapproved of them. Still, however, the people continued enthusiastic in the cause of their old allies. At civic festivals, the ensigns of France were displayed in union with those of America, the cap of liberty passed from head to head, and toasts were given expressive of the fraternity of the two nations. To preserve neutrality at such a crisis was a matter of much difficulty, but Washington resolved, at every hazard, to adhere to the principle that the United States would hold all mankind enemies in war, and friends in peace. He at length decided to request the recall of M. Genet, and soon had the satisfaction to learn that the course this gentleman had pursued was entirely disapproved by his own government

The successors of Genet followed in his steps, but with less violence. With a view to reconcile all difficulties, Washington appointed General Pinckney, Minister Plenipotentiary to the French republic. From this mission he anticipated an adjustment of all points in dispute, but the Directory announced their haughty determination not to receive another Minister from the United States, until after a redress of grievances which the French republic had a right to expect from the American government.

Before the result of the mission was known, Washington had ceased to be President of the United States. Having served through eight years of doubt and difficulty, and having brought all the affairs of great public interest into a fair train for equitable adjustment, and being far advanced in life, he announced his intention of declining a re-election in full time for the people to fix upon a successor. His resignation was announced to the people of the United States, in an address which every true lover of his country must be willing to adopt as his political text book. The following passages speak with peculiar force to us at all periods of political and sectional excitement:

"The unity of government, which constitutes you one people, is also now dear to you. It is justly so, for it is the main pillar in the edifice of your real independence; the support of your tranquillity at home, your peace abroad; of your safety, of your prosperity, of that very liberty which you so highly prize. But as it is easy to foresee, that from different causes and from different quarters much pains will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth; as this is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) directed, it is of infinite moment, that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national union, to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual, and immovable attachment to it, accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as the palladium of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can in any event be abandoned; and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.

"For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens by birth or choice of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of AMERICAN, which belongs to you in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism, more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits, and political principles. You have in a common cause fought and triumphed together; the independence and liberty you possess, are the work of joint councils, and joint efforts—of common dangers, sufferings, and successes." * * * * * * "To the efficacy and permanency of your union, a government for the whole is indispensable

No alliances, however strict, between the parts, can be an adequate substitute; they must inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions which all alliances in all times have experienced. Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay, by the adoption of a constitution of government, better calculated than your former, for an intimate union, and for the efficacious management of your common concerns. This government, the offspring of our own choice, uninfluenced and unawed; adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation; completely free in its principles; in the distribution of its powers, uniting security with energy, and containing within itself a provision for its own amendments, has a just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty. The basis of our political systems is the right of the people to make and to alter their constitutions of government. But the constitution which at any time exists, until changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power and the right of the people to establish a government, presupposes the duty of every individual to obey the established government." * * * *

"Though in reviewing the incidents of my administration I am unconscious of intentional error; I am nevertheless too sensible of my defects, not to think it probable that I may have committed many errors. Whatever they may be, I fervently beseech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I shall also carry with me the hope that my country will never cease to view them with indulgence; and that after forty-five years of my life, dedicated to its service, with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the mansions of rest.

"Relying on its kindness in this as in other things, and actuated by that fervent love towards it, which is so natural to a man who views in it the native soil of himself and his progenitors for several generations; I anticipate with pleasing expectation that retreat, in which I promise myself to realize, without alloy, the sweet enjoyment of partaking, in the midst of my fellow-citizens, the benign influence of good laws under a free government—the ever favorite object of my heart, and the happy reward, as I trust, of our mutual cares, labors, and dangers.

"United States, September 17, 1796."

This valedictory address was received in every part of the Union with the most unbounded admiration. Shortly after its promulgation, the President met the National Legislature in the senate chamber for the last time. His address on the occasion touched upon the most important topics that were then in agitation. In the course of it he recommended the establishment of national works for manufacturing implements of defence; of an institution for the improvement of agriculture; and pointed out the advantages of a military academy, of a national university; and the necessity of augmenting the salaries of the officers of the United States.

He concluded in the following words:

"The situation in which I now stand, for the last time, in the midst of

the representatives of the people of the United States, naturally recalls the period when the administration of the present form of government commenced; and I cannot omit the occasion to congratulate you and my country on the success of the experiment, nor to repeat my fervent supplications to the Supreme Ruler of the universe, and Sovereign Arbiter of nations, that his providential care may still be extended to the United States; that the virtue and happiness of the people may be preserved; and that the government which they have instituted for the protection of their liberties may be perpetual."

On the day preceding the termination of his office, in a letter to General Knox, he compared himself to a weary traveller who sees a resting place, and is bending his body thereon. "Although the prospect of retirement is most grateful to my soul, and I have not a wish to mix again in the great world, or to partake in its politics, yet I am not without regret at parting with (perhaps never more to meet) the few intimates whom I love Among these, be assured, you are one."

The numerous calumnies which assailed him never but once drew forth his public notice. A volume had been published by the British, in the year 1776, consisting of letters which they attributed to General Washington. It was the object of this publication to produce impressions unfavorable to the integrity and character of the commander-in-chief. When the first edition of this forgery had been forgotten, it was republished, during his Presidency, by some citizens who differed from him in politics. On the morning of the last day of his office, Washington addressed a letter to the Secretary of State, in which he enumerated the facts and dates connected with the forgery, and declared that he had hitherto thought it unnecessary to take a formal notice of the imposition In this letter he solemnly declared that the correspondence was entirely a base forgery, and that he never saw or heard of it till it appeared in print. He requested that his letter upon the subject should be deposited in the office of the department of state, to be a testimony of the truth to the present generation and to posterity.

The time had now come when his own official power was to cease, and that of his successor, John Adams, was to commence. The old and new Presidents walked together to the house of representatives, where the oath of office was administered. Mr. Adams concluded his address upon the occasion, by an impressive allusion to his predecessor, in observing, that though about to retire, "his name may still be a rampart, and the knowledge that he lives a bulwark, against all open or secret enemies of his country." Washington rejoiced that the way was open for his return to the happiness of domestic and private life. After paying his respects to the new President, he immediately set out for Mount Vernon. He was desirous of travelling privately, but it was impossible. Wherever he passed, crowds came out to meet him and testify their respect for him. In his retirement he resumed his agricultural pursuits; and, in the society of his private friends, looked for a quiet ending to an active and anxious life. He still, however, continued interested in public affairs, and heard, with regret, the insults offered to the United States by the French Directory. These injuries at length obliged our government to adopt

vigorous measures. Congress authorized the formation of a regular army, and all eyes were turned upon Washington as its commander.

President Adams nominated Washington to the chief command of the armies of the United States, with the rank of lieutenant general. To the letter, sent with the commission to Mount Vernon, Washington replied in a letter which concluded as follows; "Feeling how incumbent it is upon every person of every description to contribute at all times to his country's welfare, and especially in a moment like the present, when every thing we hold dear and sacred is so seriously threatened, I have finally determined to accept the commission of commander-in-chief of the armies of the United States; with the reserve only, that I shall not be called into the field until the army is in a situation to require my presence, or it becomes indispensable by the urgency of circumstances. In making this reservation, I beg it to be understood that I do not mean to withhold any assistance to arrange and organize the army, which you may think I can afford. I take the liberty, also, to mention, that I must decline having my acceptance considered as drawing after it any immediate charge upon the public; or that I can receive any emoluments annexed to the appointment, before entering into a situation to incur expense."

After the receipt of this appointment, Washington divided his time between agricultural pursuits and the organization of the army. He always thought an actual invasion of the country very improbable, but he made arrangements to repel it at the water's edge. No sooner had these warlike preparations been made, than France signified her desire for a peaceful accommodation. Mr. Adams immediately sent three envoys extraordinary to negotiate with the French republic. On repairing to France, they found the Directory overthrown, and the government in the hands of Bonaparte. With him negotiations were immediately commenced, and terminated in a peaceful arrangement of all difficulties. Washington, however, did not live to participate in the general joy which this event occasioned.

On the twelfth of December, 1799, Washington rode out in the morning to his farms. The weather soon became very cold, and there was an alternate fall of rain, hail, and snow. He did not return till past three, when he went to dinner without changing his dress. In the evening he appeared as well as usual. On the next day, there was a heavy fall of snow, which prevented him from riding out as usual. He had taken cold from his exposure the day before, and complained of having a sore throat. His hoarseness increased towards evening, but he took no remedy for it, observing, as he would never take any thing to carry off a cold, "Let it go as it came." On Saturday morning he was very seriously unwell, and a physician was sent for to bleed him. Finding that no relief was obtained from bleeding, and that he was entirely unable to swallow any thing, his attendants bathed his throat externally with sal volatile. A piece of flannel was then put round his neck, and his feet were soaked in warm water. It was impossible to procure any relief. Several physicians were immediately sent for, and various remedies resorted to without effect. Between five and six o'clock in the afternoon, his physicians came to his bedside, and Dr. Craik asked him if he would

sit up in the bed. He held out his hands, and was raised up, when he said—"I feel myself going; you had better not take any more trouble about me, but let me go off quietly; I cannot last long." They found what had been done was without effect; he laid down again, and all except Dr. Craik retired. He then said to him, "Doctor, I die hard, but I am not afraid to go; I believed, from my first attack, I should not survive it; my breath cannot last long." The doctor pressed his hand, but could not utter a word; he retired from the bedside, and sat by the fire, absorbed in grief.

About ten o'clock he made several attempts to speak before he could effect it. He at length said, "I am just going. Have me decently buried; and do not let my body be put in the vault in less than two days after I am dead." His attending physician bowed assent. He looked at him again and said, "Do you understand me?" The reply was, "Yes, sir." Washington answered, "'Tis well." About ten minutes before he expired, his breathing became much easier, he lay quietly, and he withdrew his hand from the physician to feel his own pulse. His hand fell from the wrist. Dr. Craik placed his hands over his eyes, and he expired without a struggle or a sigh. While the physicians and attendants were standing fixed in silent grief, Mrs. Washington asked, in a firm and collected voice, "Is he gone?"

When intelligence of the death of Washington reached Congress, they immediately adjourned until the next day. Mr. John Marshall, since chief justice of the United States, then delivered a short and impressive speech to the house of representatives; and the senate addressed a letter to the President. To this letter Mr. Adams returned an answer, which concluded in the following words: "The life of our Washington cannot suffer by a comparison with those of other countries who have been most celebrated and exalted by fame. The attributes and decorations of royalty could only have served to eclipse the majesty of those virtues which made him, from being a modest citizen, a more resplendent luminary. Misfortune, had he lived, could hereafter have sullied his glory only with those superficial minds who, believing that character and actions are marked by success alone, rarely deserve to enjoy it.

"Malice could never blast his honor, and envy made him a singular exception to her universal rule. For himself, he had lived long enough to life and to glory; for his fellow-citizens, if their prayers could have been answered, he would have been immortal; for me, his departure is at a most unfortunate moment. Trusting, however, in the wise and righteous dominion of Providence over the passions of men and the results of their actions, as well as over their lives, nothing remains for me but humble resignation.

"His example is now complete, and it will teach wisdom and virtue to magistrates, citizens, and men, not only in the present age, but in future generations, as long as our history shall be read. If a Trajan found a Pliny, a Marcus Aurelius can never want biographers, eulogists, or historians."

Congress passed a series of resolutions, in which it was determined that a marble monument should be erected by the United States, at the

capitol of the city of Washington, to commemorate the great events of the military and political life of the late President. It was also determined that there should be a funeral oration and procession, and that it should be recommended to the people of the United States to wear crape on their left arm, as mourning, for thirty days. When the resolution of Congress that she should be requested to permit the remains of her husband to be deposited under a marble monument, to be erected at the capitol, was communicated to Mrs. Washington, she replied in the following language: "Taught by the great example which I have so long had before me, never to oppose my private wishes to the public will. I must consent to the request made by Congress, which you have had the goodness to transmit to me; and in doing this, I need not, I cannot say, what a sacrifice of individual feeling I make to a sense of public duty."

Information of the death of Washington was received in every part of the states with expressions of regret, and called forth sentiments of the highest veneration for his memory. Legislative bodies, civil corporations, colleges, and all other societies of importance formed funeral processions and attended upon prayers, eulogies and orations in his honor. The resolution of Congress respecting the monument has not been carried into execution. An appropriation for this purpose was opposed, as an improper use of the public money; the reason assigned for objecting to the measure was that the only fit monument of Washington was in the gratitude and veneration of his countrymen.

It has been difficult to interrupt the narrative of public and important matters, by the introduction of those apparently unimportant anecdotes, which sometimes, more than any thing else, make us familiar with the character of a great man. Those which follow have been collected from a variety of sources, and we believe to be generally well authenticated.

When General Washington had closed his career in the French and Indian war, and had become a member of the House of Burgesses, the Speaker, Robinson, was directed, by a vote of the house, to return their thanks to that gentleman, on behalf of the colony, for the distinguished military services which he had rendered to his country. As soon as Washington took his seat, Mr. Robinson, in obedience to his order, and following the impulse of his own generous and grateful heart, discharged this duty with great dignity; but with such warmth of coloring and strength of expression, as entirely confounded the young hero. He rose to express his acknowledgments for the honor; but such was his trepidation and confusion, that he could not give distinct utterance to a single syllable. He blushed, stammered, and trembled, for a second; when the Speaker relieved him, by a stroke of address, that would have done honor to Louis XIV. in his proudest and happiest moments. "Sit down, Mr. Washington," said he, with a conciliating smile; "your modesty is equal to your valor; and that surpasses the power of any language that I possess."

In the town of ———, in Connecticut, where the roads were extremely rough, Washington was overtaken by night, on Saturday, not being able to reach the village where he designed to rest on the Sabbath. Next morning, about sunrise, his coach was harnessed, and he was

proceeding forward to an inn, near the place of worship, which he proposed to attend. A plain man, who was an informing officer, came from a cottage, and inquired of the coachman whether there was any urgent reasons for his travelling on the Lord's day. The General, instead of resenting this as an impertinent rudeness, ordered the coachman to stop, and with great civility explained the circumstances to the officer, commending him for his fidelity; and assured him that nothing was farther from his intention, than to treat with disrespect the laws and usages of Connecticut, relative to the Sabbath, which met with his most cordial approbation.

Washington accomplished the most of his great work with apparent ease, by a rigid observance of punctuality. It is known that whenever he assigned to meet Congress at noon, he never failed to be passing the door of the hall when the clock struck twelve. His dining hour was four, when he always sat down to his table, only allowing five minutes for the variation of timepieces, whether his guests were present or not. It was frequently the case with new members of Congress, that they did not arrive until dinner was nearly half over, and he would remark, "Gentlemen, we are punctual here; my cook never asks whether the company has arrived, but whether the hour has." When he visited Boston in 1789, he appointed eight o'clock in the morning as the hour when he should set out for Salem, and while the Old South clock was striking eight, he was crossing his saddle. The company of cavalry which volunteered to escort him, not anticipating this strict punctuality, were parading in Tremont-street, after his departure; and it was not until the President had reached Charles river bridge, where he stopped a few minutes, that the troop of horse overtook him. On passing the corps, the President with perfect good nature said:—"Major ———, I thought you had been too long in my family, not to know when it was eight o'clock."

The following anecdote was related by Captain Pease, the father of the stage establishment in the United States. He had purchased a beautiful pair of horses, which he wished to dispose of to the President, who he knew was an excellent judge of horses. The President appointed five o'clock in the morning to examine them at his stable. The captain thinking the hour was too early for so great a man to be stirring, did not arrive with the horses until a quarter after five, when he was told by the groom that the President was there at five, and was then fulfilling other engagements. Pease was much mortified, and called on Major Jackson, the Secretary, to apologize for his delay, and to request the President to appoint some new time; and he added that he found the President's time was wholly preoccupied for several days, and that he was compelled to stay a week in Philadelphia before the examination took place, merely for delaying the first quarter of an hour.

Major Ferguson, who commanded a rifle corps a day or two previous to the battle of Brandywine, was the hero of a very singular accident, which he thus describes in a letter to a friend. It illustrates, in a most forcible manner, the overruling hand of Providence in directing the operations of a man's mind, in moments when he is least aware of it.

"We had not lain long, when a rebel officer, remarkable by a hussar dress, pressed toward our army, within a hundred yards of my right flank, not perceiving us. He was followed by another, dressed in dark green and blue, mounted on a bay horse, with a remarkable high cocked hat. I ordered three good shots to steal near and fire at them; but the idea disgusting me, I recalled the order. The hussar, in returning, made a circuit, but the other passed within a hundred yards of us; upon which, I advanced from the woods towards him. Upon my calling, he stopped; but after looking at me, proceeded. I again drew his attention, and made signs to him to stop, levelling my piece at him; but he slowly cantered away. By quick firing, I could have lodged half a dozen balls in, or about him, before he was out of my reach. I had only to determine; but it was not pleasant to fire at the back of an unoffending individual, who was very coolly acquitting himself of his duty; so I let him alone.

"The next day the surgeon told me that the wounded rebel officers informed him that General Washington was all the morning with the light troops, and only attended by a French officer in a hussar dress, he himself dressed and mounted as I have above described. I am not sorry that I did not know who it was at the time."

It is now settled as a fact beyond dispute, that General Gates was connected with General Lee in a conspiracy to supersede the illustrious Washington. The commander-in-chief was well aware of the means they used to deprive him of the affections of the army, and the confidence of the people. How he sought revenge, is shown in the following anecdote:

"I found General Gates traversing the apartment under the influence of high excitement. His agitation was excessive—every feature of his countenance, every gesture, betrayed it. He had been charged with unskilful management at the battle of Camden, and he had just received official despatches, informing him that the command was transferred to General Greene. His countenance betrayed no resentment, however; it was sensibility alone that caused his emotion. He held an open letter in his hand, which he often raised to his lips, and kissed with devotion, while he repeatedly exclaimed—'Great man! Noble, generous procedure!' When the tumult of his mind had a little subsided, with strong expressions of feeling, he said, 'I have this day received a communication from the commander-in-chief, which has conveyed more consolation to my bosom, more ineffable delight to my heart, than I believed it possible for it ever to have felt again. With affectionate tenderness, he sympathizes with me in my domestic misfortunes, and condoles with me on the loss I have sustained in the recent death of my only son; and then, with peculiar delicacy, lamenting my misfortune in battle, assures me that his confidence in my zeal and capacity is so little impaired, that the command of the right wing of the army will be bestowed on me, as soon as I can make it convenient to join him.'"

Washington entertained a very deep respect and friendship for General Knox, and always kept him near his own person. After the defeat of Gates' army, at Camden, General Greene was offered the arduous

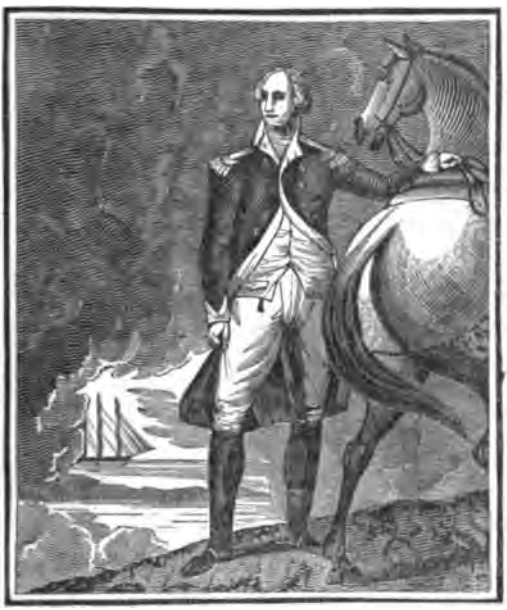
command of the southern department. The quaker General, with his usual modesty, replied, "Knox is the man for that difficult undertaking; all obstacles vanish before him; his resources are infinite." "True," answered Washington, "and therefore I cannot part with him."

While the American army, under the command of Washington, lay encamped in the environs of Morristown, New-Jersey, it occurred that the service of the communion (there observed semi-annually only,) was to be administered in the Presbyterian Church of the village. In a morning of the previous week, the General, after his accustomed inspection of the camp, visited the house of the Rev. Dr. Jones, then pastor of that church, and after the usual preliminaries, thus accosted him. "Doctor, I understand that the Lord's supper is to be celebrated with you next Sunday; I would learn if it accords with the canons of your church to admit communicants of another denomination?" The Doctor rejoined —"Most certainly: ours is not the Presbyterian table, General, but the Lord's table; and we hence give the Lord's invitation to all his followers, of whatever name." The General replied, "I am glad of it: that is as it ought to be; but as I was not quite sure of the fact, I thought I would ascertain it from yourself, as I propose to join with you on that occasion. Though a member of the Church of England, I have no exclusive partialities." The Doctor reassured him of a cordial welcome, and the General was found seated with the communicants the next Sabbath.

Shortly after his election to the Presidency of the United States, General Washington, his lady, and secretary, Major Jackson, on their way from the seat of government to Mount Vernon, stopped for the night at Chester. The President had scarcely arrived, and expressed a wish not to be disturbed, when a message was brought that an old gentleman, once honored with his favor and protection, requested permission to pay his respects, adding, that his name was Lydick. "Let him enter, by all means," said the President; "he is the man, Major Jackson, who, at the hazard of his life, entered New-York, while in possession of the enemy, for the purpose of distributing among the German troops, proclamations, inviting them to our standard; and who, afterwards, superintended, for many years, our baking establishment with zeal and diligence." As the old man entered, the General, taking him kindly by the hand, said—"My worthy friend, I am rejoiced to see you, and truly happy to express my thanks to a man to whom I feel myself under great obligation. You ever served your country with exemplary fidelity, and her warmest gratitude is richly your due" "Such praise from my beloved commander," replied Lydick, "is high reward. I shall now go to my grave in peace, since it has been my happiness once again to meet and pay my duty to your Excellency."

The person of Washington was unusually tall, erect, and well proportioned. His muscular strength was very great. His features were of a beautiful symmetry. He commanded respect without any appearance of haughtiness, and was ever serious without being sullen or dull. "It is natural," says Dr. Thacher, "to view with keen attention the countenance of an illustrious man, with a secret hope of discovering in his features some peculiar traces of the excellence which distinguishes him from and

elevates him above his fellow mortals. These expectations are realized, in a peculiar manner, in viewing the person of General Washington. His



tall and noble stature and just proportions, his fine, cheerful, open countenance, simple and modest deportment, are all calculated to interest every beholder in his favor, and to command veneration and respect. He is feared even when silent, and beloved even while we are unconscious of the motive."

Of the character of Washington it is impossible to speak but in terms of the highest respect and admiration. The more that we see of the operations of our government, and the more deeply we feel the difficulty of uniting all opinions in a common interest, the more highly we must estimate the force of the talent and character which have been able to challenge the reverence of all parties, and principles, and nations, and to win a fame as extended as the limit of the globe, and which we cannot but believe will be as lasting as the existence of man.

JOHN ADAMS.

John Adams was born at Quincy, in Massachusetts, on the nineteenth day of October, (Old Style,) 1735, of John and Susannah Boylston Adams. He was the fourth in descent from Henry Adams, who, to quote the inscription upon his tombstone, "took his flight from the dragon persecution, in Devonshire, England, and alighted with eight sons near Mount Wollaston." He early gave proof of superior abilities, and he enjoyed the best advantages for their cultivation, which the country afforded. He entered Harvard College in 1751, and was graduated in four years afterwards. His course in the University was creditable to his character and talents, and after completing it, he, like most of the distinguished men in New-England, from the earliest times to the present day, engaged for a time in the employment of teaching. He instructed in the grammar school in Worcester, and at the same time studied law with Mr. Putnam, a lawyer of considerable eminence in that town. In 1758, he was admitted to the bar, and commenced the practice of his profession in Braintree, his native town, and his success was soon made certain by the ability with which he argued a criminal cause before a jury in Plymouth. In 1759, he was admitted into the bar of Suffolk, at the request of Jeremy Gridley, the Attorney General of the province, and of the highest eminence in his profession. Mr. Gridley was the active friend and patron of Adams, and had also been the instructer in law of the celebrated James Otis; and, proud of these highly promising young men, he was wont to say, "that he had raised two young eagles, who were, one day or other, to peck out his eyes." In compliance with his advice, Mr. Adams applied himself diligently to the study of the civil law, which was not much known to the lawyers at that time. In 1761, he was admitted to the degree of barrister of law, and succeeded, by the death of his father, to a small landed estate. The same year was made memorable by an event, pregnant with the most important results to the country, and which awakened the most enthusiastic flame of patriotism in the breast of Mr. Adams.

For many years the feelings between the mother country and the colonies, particularly that of Massachusetts, had been any other than those of good-will and mutual confidence. The Parliament viewed with a jealous eye their rapidly increasing wealth and population, and began to interfere with their external and internal relations, in a manner that roused the old puritan spirit of resistance. The colonies regarded themselves as under the immediate protection and patronage of the King, and denied the power of the Parliament, a body in which they were not represented, to violate their charters, or to impose any restraints upon the employment of their industry and capital. These feelings of ill-will,

though apparent to all sagacious observers, did not lead to any overt act of resistance till 1761.

An order of council had been passed in Great Britain, ordering the officers of the customs in Massachusetts Bay, to execute the acts of trade. The custom-house officers, in order that they might fully perform this duty, petitioned the Supreme Court, to grant "writs of assistance,' according to the usage of the Court of Exchequer in England, which authorized those who held them to enter houses, &c. in search of goods liable to duty. This created a great excitement, and the right to grant them was strenuously denied. Its legality was made the subject of a trial. Mr. Gridley, the King's Attorney General, argued in support of the power of the court, and he was opposed by the celebrated James Otis, a man of splendid abilities and ardent patriotism, at that time, in the prime of life, and the full blaze of his reputation. His speech was a magnificent display of eloquence, argument, and learning. And Mr. Adams, who heard it, has recorded his impressions of it, in his glowing and peculiar language. "Otis," says he, "was a flame of fire! With a promptitude of classical allusion, a depth of research, a rapid summary of historical events and dates, a profusion of legal authorities, a prophetic glance of his eyes into futurity, a rapid torrent of impetuous eloquence, he hurried away all before him. American Independence was then and there born; every man of an immensely crowded audience, appeared to me to go away ready to take up arms against writs of assistance." On another occasion, he says of the same speech, "that James Otis, then and there, breathed into this nation the breath of life."

The court decided against the legality of the writs, but it is generally supposed that they were issued clandestinely.

In 1764, Mr. Adams married Abigail, daughter of the Rev. William Smith, of Weymouth, and few men have been so fortunate in their choice, or so happy in their domestic relations. Mrs. Adams was a woman of great personal beauty, and strength of character, with a highly cultivated mind, and the most feminine sweetness of disposition. She sympathized with her husband, in his patriotic enthusiasm, was the confidant of all his plans and feelings; cheered and supported him in his hours of trial, and submitted, without repining, to the long separations, which his duty to the public rendered necessary.

In 1765, the British ministry, with what now seems a providential infatuation, passed the memorable stamp act, by which stamped paper was required to be used in all legal instruments, and imposing a tax upon it, by which a large amount was to be raised in the colonies. A flame of opposition blazed out immediately throughout the whole country. The right of Parliament to lay the tax was denied, pamphlets were written against it, the newspapers contested it, town-meetings were held, and the most spirited resolutions passed. The men who took the lead in the opposition, were Patrick Henry, of Virginia, and James Otis, who was powerfully supported by Mr. Adams. These two last gentlemen, together with Mr. Gridley, appeared before the Governor and Council, and argued that the courts should administer justice without stamped paper.

About this time he gave to the world, his first printed performance,

his "Dissertation on the Canon and Feudal Law." The object of this work, was to show the absurdity and tyranny of the monarchical and aristocratic institutions of the old world, and, in particular, the mischievous principles of the canon and feudal law. He contends that the New-England settlers had been induced to cross the ocean to escape the tyranny of church and state, and that they had laid the foundations of their government in reason, justice, and a respect for the rights of humanity. It exhorts his countrymen not to fall short of these noble sentiments of their fathers, and to sacrifice any thing rather than liberty and honor. "The whole tone of the essay is so raised and bold," says Mr. Wirt, "that it sounds like a trumpet-call to arms." It was much read and admired in America and Europe, and was pronounced by Mr Hollis, of London, to be the best American work which had crossed the Atlantic.

In 1766, he removed his residence to Boston, to reap the more abundant harvest of professional honor and emolument which the capital afforded, but still continued his attendance on the neighboring circuits. The stamp act was opposed throughout the colonies, with such spirit and unanimity, that on the tenth of March, 1766, it was repealed; but still the British cabinet, notwithstanding the eloquent remonstrances of Burke and Chatham, would not give up the idea of raising a revenue in America, and the repeal act was accompanied by a declaratory act, in which it was asserted, "that the Parliament had, and of right ought to have, power to bind the colonies in all cases whatsoever." In the next year, a law was passed, laying duties in the British colonies, on glass, paper, painters' colors, and tea. These proceedings, coupled with the declaration above-mentioned, raised a new storm in the colonies, who were determined to resist the tax, and to extort from the British ministry the acknowledgment that they had no right to tax them. The town of Boston had, also, its peculiar sources of irritation and dislike to the mother country. It had always been considered as taking the lead in the opposition, and in order to overawe the inhabitants, some armed vessels were stationed in the harbor, and two regiments of foot were quartered in the town.

During these troubled times, Mr. Adams was zealous and unremitting in asserting the rights of his country. The value and importance of his services in behalf of liberty, may be estimated by the fact that the crown officers thought him worthy of being purchased by a high price. They offered to him the place of Advocate General in the Court of Admiralty, a very lucrative office at that time, and a steppingstone to still higher ones. But as he could not accept it, without abandoning his friends and principles, he declined it, as he himself says, "decidedly and peremptorily, though respectfully."

In 1769, he was the chairman of a committee, consisting of himself, Richard Dana and Joseph Warren, chosen by the citizens of Boston, to prepare instructions to their representatives to resist the encroachments of the British government. These were conceived in a bold tone of spirited remonstrance, and particularly urged the removal of the troops from Boston.

But the soldiers still continued in town, and this gave rise to an incident, which was highly honorable to the professional firmness and moral courage of Mr. Adams. The inhabitants looked with an evil eye upon the soldiers. Squabbles were perpetually taking place between them, and on the fifth of March, 1770, a bloody affray occurred in State-street, in which five citizens were killed and many others wounded. This is commonly called the Boston massacre, about which it is almost impossible to learn the exact truth, even at this day, or to settle the amount of blame which ought to be attached to both parties. The town was thrown into a most violent ferment, as may well be supposed, and nothing but the most active exertions of the leading men prevented the populace from rising *en masse*, and putting to death every man who wore a red coat. The inhabitants assembled in town-meeting and chose a committee, of which Samuel Adams was the chairman, to present a remonstrance to the Governor, with a demand that the regular troops should be removed from the town. The state of popular feeling is well described in the words of John Adams himself. "Not only the immense assemblies of the people from day to day, but military arrangements from night to night, were necessary to keep the people and the soldiers from getting together by the ears. The life of a red coat would not have been safe in any street or corner of the town. Nor would the lives of the inhabitants been much more secure. The whole militia of the city was in requisition, and military watches and guards were every where placed. We were all upon a level, no man was exempted; our military officers were our only superiors. I had the honor to be summoned in my turn, and attended at the state-house with my musket and bayonet, my broadsword and cartridge-box, under the command of the famous Paddock. I know you will laugh at my military figure, but I believe there was not a more obedient soldier in the regiment, nor one more impartial between the people and the regulars. In this character, I was upon duty all night upon my turn."

The Governor did not attempt to stem the current of popular feeling, but the soldiers were sent to the castle, and Captain Preston, the commanding officer, and some of the privates, were arrested and held for trial. Mr. Adams was applied to, to be their counsel. This request placed him in an embarrassing situation. The people were clamorous against the criminals, and demanded their blood with one voice; and any man who appeared in their defence, was in danger of losing his popularity and influence with them; and Mr. Adams, who had been so zealous a champion in the popular cause, ran the risk of being accused of deserting his former principles, and becoming the advocate of tyranny. But these considerations had no weight with him. His life was ordered in obedience to duty, and his conduct was never influenced by the hope of gaining, or the fear of losing, the favor of the people. He undertook the defence without any hesitation, and Josiah Quincy, Jr., another eminent patriot, was associated with him. The result of the trial was, in the highest degree, honorable to the community. Captain Preston was acquitted by a jury, chosen from the exasperated inhabitants of the town, and his counsel, who defended him with great ability and eloquence, lost nothing in their good opinion by their resolute performance of their

professional duty. Such incidents as these show us the exalted motives, and the sublime sense of right and justice, which influenced the men of the revolution, and of the dark days that preceded it.

Mr. Adams was chosen, in the same year, one of the representatives in the General Assembly. The session which ensued was signalized by an obstinate contest with Lieutenant Governor Hutchinson, as to whether the General Court should be held in Cambridge, where Governor Barnard had removed it, or in Boston, the usual place. Mr. Adams was one of a committee chosen to remonstrate with the acting Governor on his changing the place of assembly, to gratify the wishes of his Majesty's ministers; and their eloquent appeal to him, probably proceeded from his pen. But the Lieutenant (and acting) Governor was determined not to go to Boston, of whose bold and spirited population, he stood in no little awe. Urged by the necessity of the times, the members proceeded to transact business at Cambridge, protesting, however, against the restraint they were under.

In 1772, the ministers introduced a regulation, by which the salaries of the judges were paid in such a manner, as rendered them wholly dependent upon, and subservient to, the crown. This excited great offence, and gave rise to a controversy in the public papers, between William Brattle, the senior member of the council, on one side, and Mr. Adams, on the other. Mr. Adams' numbers were learned and able, and communicated much useful information to the people. These essays were published in the Boston Gazette, of February, 1773, under his proper signature.

When the General Court met in January, 1773, Hutchinson, who had been appointed Governor, made a very injudicious and violent speech to the two houses, on the supremacy of Parliament, and the impolicy of resisting it. To their reply, he made an elaborate rejoinder, and the sense in which Mr. Adams was held, may be learned from the fact, that, though not a member, he was called upon to furnish a reply. He produced an eloquent and argumentative dissertation, remarkable both for the beauty of its style and the cogency of its reasoning. It was republished by Dr. Franklin, in England, as the ablest exposition of colonial affairs that had appeared.

Soon after this, he was chosen a member of the Assembly, and nominated by them on their list of Councillors, but his name was erased by Governor Hutchinson, and the same compliment was paid him the next year by Governor Gage.

The act of 1767, which granted duties in the British colonies on glass, paper, painters' colors, and tea, had been repealed as to all the articles except tea, and, in consequence, associations were formed in all the colonies, to discourage the use of it. Large shipments of it were made.

The consignees were prevailed upon to send it back to England, but the custom-house officers refused a clearance.

The patience of the inhabitants became quite exhausted, and on the evening of the fifteenth of December, a band of them, amounting to between seventy and eighty in number, went quietly down to the wharf, boarded the vessels, hoisted the chests upon deck, and emptied their contents into the sea. A consideration of the circumstances of the times exalts this seeming frolic into an act of the most sublime daring. It was the first open act of rebellion. It was the throwing the gauntlet of defiance to the mother country. It removed all chances of reconciliation, and rendered an appeal to arms inevitable.*

The British ministry were highly incensed at this outrage, and determined to visit it with signal punishment. An act was passed for closing the port of Boston, which is commonly called the Boston Port Bill. This was a deadly blow to the prosperity of the place, and the inhabitants looked anxiously to the sister colonies for aid in carrying on the contest. They resolved to make application to them to refuse all importations from Great Britain; they sent agents among them to ascertain their views, and to persuade them to the adoption of their own sentiments. Among these was a plan for a general Congress, deeming that the condition of the colonies was such as to require the most vigorous and united measures. To this Congress they chose five delegates, James Bowdoin, Thomas Cushing, Samuel Adams, John Adams, and Robert Treat Paine. While the General Court were engaged in the discussion of these important measures, and electing the delegates, Governor Gage, having been informed of what was passing, sent his secretary with a message dissolving them. But he found the doors locked, and was resolutely refused admission. The secretary, by the Governor's orders, came to the door of the room, and read a proclamation for dissolving the assembly. This was the close of the power of England in and over Massachusetts. From that moment she was, to all intents and purposes, an independent state.

An interesting incident is related, as having happened to Mr. Adams at this time, and which is valuable, as illustrating the state of his feelings. Soon after he was elected a delegate, his friend, Mr. Sewall, the King's Attorney General, labored earnestly to dissuade him from accepting the appointment. He told him "that Great Britain was determined on her system; her power was irresistible, and would be destructive to him and all those who should persevere in opposition to her designs." Mr. Adams replied to him, "I know Great Britain has determined on her system, and that very determination determines me on mine; you know I have been constant and uniform in opposition to her measures. The die is now cast. I have passed the Rubicon. Sink or swim, live or die, survive or perish with my country, is my unalterable determination."

The delegates from Massachusetts, with the exception of Mr. Bowdoin, took their seats in Congress, the first day of its meeting, September fifth,

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* For a minute and interesting account of this transaction, see Tudor's Life of James Otis, chap. xxv

1774, in Philadelphia. The proceedings of the first Congress are too well known to be minutely detailed. They form one of the noblest chapters in the history, not only of our country, but of the world; and they have left to every American citizen a heritage of glory, before which all the fabled splendor which tradition has thrown around the origin of older nations, fades into insignificance. The public papers issued by them drew from Lord Chatham the compliment "that he had studied and admired the free states of antiquity, the master-spirits of the world; but that, for solidity of reasoning, force of sagacity, and wisdom of conclusion, no body of men could stand in preference to this Congress." The first session continued eight weeks, during which Mr. Adams was in active and constant attendance. He was a member of some of the most important committees, such as that which drew up a statement of the rights of the colonies, and that which prepared the address to the King.

Mr. Adams and his colleagues, being inhabitants of the colony which had been the most oppressed and insulted, and in which the most determined spirit of opposition had been roused, were convinced of the entire impracticability of any reconciliation, and that it would be necessary to throw off the allegiance of the mother country, and to act as an independent nation. But these were by no means the sentiments and feelings of the inhabitants generally, and they were highly unpopular among them. Mr. Adams, in particular, from his ardent temperament and enthusiastic character, was an object of particular suspicion and dislike. He was charged not to make public the idea of a dissolution of the connexion, as it was as unpopular as the stamp act itself. He was even pointed at in the streets as the visionary advocate of the most desperate measures. His own views, and those of some of his most distinguished colleagues, may be learned from an extract from one of his own letters. "When Congress had finished their business, as they thought, in the autumn of 1774, I had with Mr. Henry, before we took leave of each other, some familiar conversation, in which I expressed a full conviction that our resolves, declarations of rights, enumeration of wrongs, petitions, remonstrances, and addresses, associations, and nonimportation agreements, however they might be expected in America, and however necessary to cement the union of the colonies, would be but waste water in England. Mr. Henry said they might make some impression among the people of England, but agreed with me that they would be totally lost upon the government. I had but just received a short and hasty letter, written to me by Major Joseph Hawley, of Northampton, containing a 'few broken hints,' as he called them, of what he thought was proper to be done, and concluding with these words, 'After all, we must fight.' This letter I read to Mr. Henry, who listened with great attention; and as soon as I had pronounced the words, 'After all, we must fight,' he raised his head, and, with an energy and vehemence that I can never forget, broke out with 'By God, I am of that man's mind.' I put the letter into his hand, and when he had read it he returned it to me, with an equally solemn asseveration, that he agreed entirely in opinion with the writer.

"The other delegates from Virginia returned to their state in full

confidence that all our grievances would be redressed. The last words that Mr. Richard Henry Lee said to me, when we parted, were, 'We shall infallibly carry all our points; you will be completely relieved; all the offensive acts will be repealed; the army and fleet will be recalled; and Britain will give up her foolish project.' Washington only was in doubt. He never spoke in public. In private he joined with those who advocated a nonexportation, as well as a nonimportation agreement. With both he thought we should prevail; without either he thought it doubtful. Henry was clear in one opinion, Richard Henry Lee in an opposite opinion, and Washington doubted between the two."

The sentiments of Mr. Lee, were those of the great majority of the nation. They were strongly attached to the mother country, and believed that the feeling was mutual. They felt confident both of her justice and generosity. But these fond anticipations were destined not to be realized. The ministers of England, at that time, were deficient in high, magnanimous, and statesman-like views, and were resolved to use no arguments but those of force. They, as well as the whole people, were ignorant, to a ludicrous degree, of the condition, extent, population, geography, and resources of the colonies. Even the Prime Minister talks of the "island" of Virginia.

The Congress adjourned in November, and Mr. Adams returned to his family. At this time, his literary talents were again called into exertion for the service of his country. His friend, Mr. Sewall, the Attorney General, had been publishing a series of able essays, under the name of Massachusettensis, contending for the supreme authority of the Parliament and against the revolutionary spirit of the country. Mr. Adams wrote a series of papers, under the name of Novanglus, in defence of the doctrines and conduct of the whigs. These are written with strength and ability, and are remarkable, as showing the extent of the author's general reading, and, in particular, his acquaintance with colonial history. This last merit, even his adversary was compelled to acknowledge. "Novanglus," he says, "strives to hide the inconsistencies of his hypothesis under a huge pile of learning." In writing these papers, Mr. Adams was embarrassed with peculiar difficulties. He was obliged to defend the principles of natural liberty and equality, to deny the authority of Parliament, but, at the same time, to acknowledge the rightful power of the King. To the monarch himself the people were so much attached, that even after the battle of Lexington, which, one would think, would have severed every tie which bound them to Great Britain, the militia that had been engaged in actual battle with the royal forces, were called the "King's troops," and the regular soldiers were termed "Bute's men," in allusion to Lord Bute, who was highly unpopular, and was supposed to exercise a pernicious influence over the young King's mind.

Mr. Adams and his colleagues were reelected members of the Continental Congress, John Hancock being chosen in the place of Mr. Bowdoin. It assembled in Philadelphia, on the tenth of May, 1775. In the month of April of that year, the first blood of the revolution had been shed at Lexington and Concord, and Congress were obliged to take measures for active resistance. Still, the minds of men were not ripe for

independence, and they clung to the hope that their grievances would be redressed. They took up arms in self-defence merely. It was necessary to select some one for the post of commander-in-chief of the forces raised, and to be raised. A short history of this transaction will afford proof of Mr. Adams' disinterested patriotism, and sacrifice of sectional prejudice to the common good.

The only thing like an army at that time in the country, was a handful of New-England militia, hastily assembled at Boston, in consequence of the skirmishes at Lexington and Concord. These were under the command of General Artemas Ward, whom the New-England delegation were desirous of having made commander-in-chief; but Mr. Adams urged them to lay aside all local partialities, and appoint Colonel George Washington, of Virginia, who had given proof of uncommon military talents in the French war. His colleagues were extremely averse to this plan. They thought it disrespectful to their own friends, to appoint a stranger, who had no higher rank than that of colonel, over the heads of generals, at the head of brigades and divisions. Mr. Adams persisted in his own views, and in the determination that Washington should be appointed. He was accordingly nominated the next day, by Governor Johnson, of Maryland, at the instigation of Mr. Adams, and seconded by him, to the great surprise of many of the members, and none more so, than of Washington himself, who was present as a member, and who, with characteristic modesty, immediately rose and left the house. It is needless to remark how honorable this selection was, not only to Mr. Adams' patriotism, but to his sagacity. It is impossible to say how large a part of the success of any undertaking is to be ascribed to the agency of any one individual, but it seems to us, that our revolutionary struggle, if it had been successful at all, must have been protracted many years longer, and have cost much more blood and treasure, if any other man than Washington had been at the head of our armies. Soon after the appointment of General Washington, Mr. Jefferson took his seat in Congress from Virginia, having been chosen in the place of Mr. Peyton Randolph, who had retired on account of ill health. Between him and Mr. Adams, a warm intimacy, arising from congeniality of feeling and agreement on the great points which agitated the minds of men, commenced, which continued, with some unfortunate interruptions, as long as they lived.

The Congress assembled again in the spring of 1776. At this time the feelings of the people had undergone a material change. The battle of Bunker Hill had been fought, and the British army had evacuated Boston. The Parliament had declared the provinces in a state of rebellion, and it was voted to raise and equip a force of twenty-eight thousand seamen and fifty-five thousand land troops. The indignation of the people was raised to the highest pitch, by learning that Lord North had engaged sixteen thousand German mercenaries, to assist in subduing them. To cherish the hope of an amicable adjustment of their differences, was little short of madness. The time had come for them to draw the sword and throw away the scabbard; to assume the erect attitude and bold tone of independence. Such had been Mr. Adams' opinions from the first com-

mencement of the difficulties; and the time had now come, when it was no longer dangerous or inexpedient to express them. Accordingly, on the sixth of May, 1776, he moved in Congress a resolution, which was in fact a declaration of independence, recommending to the colonies "to adopt such a government as would, in the opinion of the representatives of the people, best conduce to the happiness and safety of their constituents and of America."

This proposition was adopted on the tenth. On the same day, the Massachusetts House of Representatives voted a resolution, that if the Congress should think proper to declare independence, they were ready to support it with their lives and fortunes.

Five days afterwards, Mr. Adams reported and advocated a preamble to the resolutions already passed, which, after reciting the insults and aggressions of the British government, and that they had called in the assistance of foreign mercenaries, proceeded in the following terms; "Whereas it appears absolutely irreconcilable to reason and good conscience, for the people of these colonies now to take the oaths and affirmations necessary for the support of any government under the crown of Great Britain, and it is necessary that the exercise of every kind of authority under the said crown should be totally suppressed, and all the powers of government exerted under the authority of the people of the colonies, for the preservation of internal peace, virtue, and good order, as well as for the defence of their lives, liberties, and properties, against the hostile invasions and cruel depredations of their enemies."

This preamble was adopted, after an animated discussion. It was published for the consideration of the colonies. They all expressed a wish for independence; North Carolina being the first, and Pennsylvania the last, to make it publicly known.

It now remained to issue a formal Declaration of Independence, in the name of the United Colonies. Virginia being the leading state, it was thought proper that the motion should proceed from one of her delegation. Richard Henry Lee, being chosen by his colleagues, offered, on the seventh of June, the glorious and immortal resolution, "that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown; and that all political connexion between them and the state of Great Britain is, and of right ought to be, totally dissolved." This motion was seconded by Mr. Adams, and was debated with great warmth till the tenth, when the further discussion of it was postponed till the first of July. At the same time, it was voted, that a committee be appointed to prepare a draft of a declaration, to be submitted to Congress for its consideration. This committee was chosen by ballot, and consisted of Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Roger Sherman, and Robert R. Livingston; being arranged in order, according to the number of votes which each had received. Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Adams, being at the head of the committee, were requested by the other members to act as a subcommittee, to prepare the draft; and Mr. Jefferson, at Mr. Adams' earnest request, drew up the paper.

The declaration was reported to Congress by the committee, on the

first day of July. Mr. Lee's original resolution was passed on the second and on the fourth, the Declaration of Independence, after having under gone a few changes, was adopted in the committee of the whole. It was not engrossed and signed, however, till the second of August. We omit to make any remarks on the Declaration itself, as they more properly belong to the life of Jefferson.

During all the discussions that preceded this important measure, and they were long and animated, Mr. Adams took the lead. Mr. Jefferson has said, "that the great pillar of support to the Declaration of Independence, and its ablest advocate and champion on the floor of the house, was John Adams." On another occasion, he said of him, "He was our Colossus on the floor. Not graceful, not elegant, not always fluent in his public addresses, he yet came out with a power, both of thought and expression, which moved us from our seats."

The Congress of the Revolution debated with closed doors, and their discussions are preserved only by memory and tradition. The late Governor M'Kean, of Pennsylvania, said, on this point, "I do not recollect any formal speeches, such as are made in the British Parliament, and our late Congress, to have been made in the Revolutionary Congress; we had no time to hear such speeches, little for deliberation; action was the order of the day."

The eloquence of Mr. Adams was precisely adapted to the state of the times. It was manly and energetic, warmed and animated by his ardent temperament, and bold, independent character. He has indeed, without being conscious of it, drawn the character of his own eloquence: "Oratory, as it consists in expressions of the countenance, graces of attitude and motion, and intonation of voice, although it is altogether superficial and ornamental, will always command admiration; yet it deserves little veneration. Flashes of wit, coruscations of imagination, and gay pictures, what are they? Strict truth, rapid reason, and pure integrity, are the only ingredients in sound oratory. I flatter myself that Demosthenes, by his 'action! action! action!' meant to express the same opinion."

On the day after the Declaration of Independence was passed, while his soul was yet warm with the glow of excited feeling, he wrote a letter to his wife, which, as we read it now, seems to have been dictated by the spirit of prophecy. "Yesterday," he says, "the greatest question was decided that ever was debated in America; and greater, perhaps, never was or will be decided among men. A resolution was passed, without one dissenting colony, 'that these United States are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states.' The day is passed. The fourth of July, 1776, will be a memorable epoch in the history of America. I am apt to believe it will be celebrated, by succeeding generations, as the great anniversary festival. It ought to be commemorated as the day of deliverance, by solemn acts of devotion to Almighty God. It ought to be solemnized with pomps, shows, games, sports, guns, bells, bonfires, and illuminations, from one end of the continent to the other, from this time forward for ever. You will think me transported with enthusiasm, but I am not. I am well aware of the toil, and blood, and treasure, that

it will cost to maintain this declaration, and support and defend these states; yet, through all the gloom, I can see the rays of light and glory. I can see that the end is worth more than all the means; and that posterity will triumph, although you and I may rue, which I hope we shall not."

On his return to Massachusetts, he was chosen a member of the Council of Massachusetts, which occupied the place formerly held by the Governor's Council. He accepted the appointment, and assisted in their deliberations, but declined the office of Chief Justice, which they urged upon him, since it would interfere with his duties in Congress.

In August, 1776, the American army on Long Island were attacked and defeated by the forces under Lord Howe, who, supposing this a favorable moment for negotiation, requested an interview with some of the members of Congress. Mr. Adams opposed the plan, as likely to produce no favorable result; but he was overruled, and a committee appointed to treat with the British General, consisting of himself, Dr. Franklin, and Edward Rutledge. They were received with much politeness by General Howe, but he was not willing to treat with them as a committee of Congress, and they were not willing to be considered in any other capacity. "You may view me in any light you please," said Mr. Adams, "except in that of a British subject." The only terms on which peace was offered, were, that the colonies should return to the allegiance and government of Great Britain, and these, the commissioners stated to him, were entirely out of the question; and thus, as Mr. Adams had predicted, the negotiation was entirely fruitless.

During the remainder of the year 1776, and throughout 1777, Mr. Adams was assiduous in his attendance upon Congress, and in attention to public affairs. He was a member of ninety committees, a greater number than any other member, and twice as many as any, except R. H. Lee and Samuel Adams. Of these he was the chairman of twenty-five, and in particular, of the laborious and important board of war. From these arduous duties he was relieved by being appointed, in November, 1777, a commissioner to France, in the place of Silas Deane, who was recalled. The other members were Dr. Franklin and Arthur Lee. The object of the mission was, to obtain assistance, in arms and money, from the French government.

Mr. Adams accepted the appointment without hesitation, though it separated him from his family, and obliged him to cross the ocean in the depth of winter, and when it was swarming with ships of the enemy, and he knew that he should be treated with the utmost rigor if captured. He embarked on board the frigate Boston, in the month of February, 1778, from the shores of his native town. An incident occurred on the voyage, which proved that Mr. Adams' courage was not exclusively moral. Captain Tucker, the commander of the Boston, saw a large English ship, showing a tier of guns, and asked Mr. Adams' consent to engage her. This was readily granted. Upon hailing her, she answered by a broadside. Mr. Adams had been requested to retire to the cockpit; but Tucker, looking forward, observed him among the marines, with a musket in his hands, having privately applied to the officer of the marines for a gun, and taken his station among them. At this sight Captain Tucker became alarmed;

and, walking up to the ambassador, desired to know how he came there? Upon which the other smiled, gave up his gun, and went immediately below.

The treaty of alliance and commerce with France had been signed, before Mr. Adams arrived in Europe; and on the appointment of Dr. Franklin as Minister Plenipotentiary, Mr. Adams asked and received permission to return home, which he accordingly did, in the summer of 1779.

On his return to America, he was chosen a member of the Convention which was called to prepare a constitution for the state of Massachusetts. He was placed on the subcommittee chosen to draft the plan of the constitution; and much of its character and spirit is due to his exertions.

Soon after this, Congress determined to send a Minister Plenipotentiary to negotiate a peace with Great Britain. Mr. Adams and Mr. Jay, at that time President of Congress, were put in nomination, and received an equal number of votes. On the next day, it being proposed to send a Minister to Spain, Mr. Jay was almost unanimously elected, and Mr. Adams received the appointment of Minister to England. He received instructions, by which he was to be guided; among which were, that the United States should be treated with as a free and independent state, and that the right to the fisheries should be insisted on. His salary was fixed at twenty-five hundred pounds sterling. He embarked in the French frigate La Sensible, November 17, 1779, and was obliged to land at Corunna, in Spain, from which place he travelled over the mountains to Paris, where he arrived in February, 1780. He communicated the objects of his mission immediately, to Dr. Franklin, the American Envoy at Paris, and the Count de Vergennes, the French Prime Minister. The latter was very pressing to learn the nature of Mr. Adams' instructions, but they were not communicated to him. Mr. Adams soon became convinced, that a peace with Great Britain on the terms required, was quite impracticable, and that it would be needless for him to go to that country. The French government, also, were averse to the negotiation. He accordingly remained in Paris for some time. In August, 1780, he repaired to Holland, and a vote of approbation was passed upon his conduct. Congress, upon hearing of the captivity of Mr. Laurens, who had gone out as Minister to Holland, appointed Mr. Adams in his place, to negotiate a loan; and in December he was invested with full powers to conclude a treaty of amity and commerce with that country.

Mr. Adams had great difficulties to contend with in Holland. He was thrown among capitalists and money brokers, with the details of whose business he was unacquainted, and with whom he had often no language in common. He was opposed by the whole strength of the British influence. The Dutch people were extremely ignorant of the resources and wealth of the United States, and of course, their moneyed men were unwilling to advance their property, without knowing what security they had to depend upon. Mr. Adams commenced the writing of a series of papers, in answer to a set of queries proposed to him by Mr. Kalkœn, an eminent jurist of Amsterdam, containing an account of the rise and progress of the disputes between the colonies and the mother country;

and of the resources and prospects of the United States. These papers were circulated by newspapers, all over Holland, and had a good deal of effect upon public opinion. We will leave, for a moment, the order of dates, and state that this portion of Mr. Adams' labors was concluded by the negotiation of a loan, in September, 1782, of eight millions of gilders, upon reasonably favorable terms.

In July, 1781, while residing at Holland, he was summoned to Paris, for the purpose of consulting upon a plan of mediation, proposed by the Courts of Austria and Russia, which was not accepted, as the mediating powers would not acknowledge the independence of America, without the consent of Great Britain. During these negotiations, Mr. Adams was much annoyed, and the interests of his country much injured, by the selfish and intriguing conduct of the Count de Vergennes. He seems to have taken a dislike to the straight forward, manly character of the American minister. It was the policy of France, also, that the Americans should be debarred from some of the advantages which they insisted upon as indispensable preliminaries of a pacification with Great Britain. It was not desirable for France, that the British Parliament should be aware of Mr. Adams' powers, respecting a treaty of commerce, because it was her intention, as the more important country, in settling the conditions of peace, to secure to herself the lion's share of the commercial privileges, which England might be disposed to yield to her colonies. But Mr. Adams had too much skill, and too much independence to be either the dupe or the tool of the Count de Vergennes. Early in the year 1781, a message was transmitted to Congress, through the French Minister, at Philadelphia, complaining somewhat of the conduct of the Plenipotentiary, and requesting them, "to be impressed with the necessity of prescribing to their Plenipotentiary, a perfect and open confidence in the French Ministers, and a thorough reliance on the King; and would direct him to take no step without the approbation of his Majesty; and after giving him, in his instructions, the principal and most important outlines for his conduct, they would order him, with respect to the manner of carrying them into execution, to receive his directions from the Count de Vergennes, or from the person who might be charged with the negotiations, in the name of the King."

Congress instructed their Minister to repose the utmost confidence in the Ministers of the King of France, and to undertake nothing in the negotiation for peace or truce without their knowledge and concurrence But, as we have stated, the negotiation was broken off, and Mr. Adams returned to Holland.

In 1782, Congress appointed Mr. Adams, Dr. Franklin, Mr. Jay, Mr Henry Laurens, and Mr. Jefferson, commissioners for negotiating a peace; and, in a spirit of unworthy concession to the French government, added to their instructions that "they should govern themselves by the advice and opinion of the Ministers of the King of France." This placed them almost entirely under the control of the Count de Vergennes. The commissioners were displeased at finding themselves thus shackled, and strangers appointed to act upon the most vital interests of their country. They determined, therefore, to disobey the rash orders of Congress, and

to secure for their country much better terms than fell in with the views of the French Ministry. The treaty of peace was signed November 30, 1782, and ratified January 14, 1784; and its honorable and favorable terms are mainly due to the firmness and ability of the commissioners.

A full account of Mr. Adams' labors and services, from his first arrival in Europe to the peace, belongs to the diplomatic history of the country, and not to a sketch of his own life. The works which can be advantageously consulted on this subject, are Lyman's Diplomatic History of the United States, and Sparks' Diplomatic Correspondence of the Revolution.

In January, 1785, Congress resolved to appoint a Minister Plenipotentiary at the Court of Great Britain, and Mr. Adams was chosen for this important and delicate office. A letter was written by him, to Mr. Jay, giving a graphic and interesting account of the circumstances of his public reception, which we will quote.

"During my interview with the Marquis of Carmarthen, he told me it was customary for every foreign Minister, at his first presentation to the King, to make his Majesty some compliments conformable to the spirit of his credentials; and when Sir Clement Cottrel Dormer, the master of the ceremonies, came to inform me that he should accompany me to the Secretary of State and to court, he said that every foreign minister whom he had attended to the Queen, had always made an harangue to her Majesty, and he understood, though he had not been present, that they always harangued the King. On Tuesday evening the Baron de Lynden (Dutch ambassador) called upon me, and said he came from the Baron de Nolkin, (Swedish envoy,) and had been conversing upon the singular situation I was in, and they agreed in opinion that it was indispensable that I should make a speech, and that it should be as complimentary as possible. All this was parallel to the advice lately given by the Count de Vergennes to Mr. Jefferson. So that finding it was a custom established at both these great courts, that this court and the foreign ministers expected it, I thought I could not avoid it, although my first thought and inclination had been to deliver my credentials silently and retire. At one, on Wednesday, the first of June, the master of ceremonies called at my house, and went with me to the Secretary of State's office, in Cleveland Row. where the Marquis of Carmarthen received me, and introduced me to Mr. Frazier, his under secretary, who had been, as his lordship said, uninterruptedly in that office, through all the changes in administration for thirty years, having first been appointed by the Earl of Holderness. After a short conversation upon the subject of importing my effects from Holland and France free of duty, which Mr. Frazier himself introduced, Lord Carmarthen invited me to go with him in his coach to court. When we arrived in the antichamber, the Œil de Bœuf of St. James, the master of the ceremonies met me and attended me while the Secretary of State went to take the commands of the King. While I stood in this place, where it seems all ministers stand upon such occasions, always attended by the master of ceremonies, the room very full of ministers of state, bishops, and all other sorts of courtiers, as well as the next room, which is the King's bedchamber, you may well suppose that I was the focus of all eyes. I

was relieved, however, from the embarrassment of it, by the Swedish and Dutch ministers, who came to me and entertained me in a very agreeable conversation during the whole time. Some other gentlemen whom I had seen before, came to make their compliments too; until the Marquis of Carmarthen returned and desired me to go with him to his Majesty! I went with his lordship through the levee room into the King's closet. The door was shut, and I was left with his Majesty and the Secretary of State alone. I made the three reverences; one at the door, another about half way, and the third before the presence, according to the usage established at this and all the northern courts of Europe, and then addressed myself to his Majesty in the following words: 'Sir, the United States of America have appointed me their Minister Plenipotentiary to your Majesty, and have directed me to deliver to your Majesty this letter, which contains the evidence of it. It is in obedience to their express commands, that I have the honor to assure your Majesty of their unanimous disposition and desire to cultivate the most friendly and liberal intercourse between your Majesty's subjects and their citizens, and of their best wishes for your Majesty's health and happiness, and for that of your royal family.

"'The appointment of a Minister from the United States to your Majesty's court, will form an epoch in the history of England and America. I think myself more fortunate than all my fellow-citizens, in having the distinguished honor to be the first to stand in your Majesty's royal presence, in a diplomatic character; and I shall esteem myself the happiest of men, if I can be instrumental in recommending my country more and more to your Majesty's royal benevolence, and of restoring an entire esteem, confidence, and affection, or in better words, "the old good nature, and the old good harmony," between people, who, though separated by an ocean, and under different governments, have the same language, a similar religion, and kindred blood. I beg your Majesty's permission to add, that although I have sometimes before been intrusted by my country, it was never in my whole life, in a manner so agreeable to myself.' The King listened to every word I said, with dignity, it is true, but with apparent emotion. Whether it was the nature of the interview, or whether it was my visible agitation, for I felt more than I did or could express, that touched him, I cannot say, but he was much affected, and answered me with more tremor than I had spoken with, and said, 'Sir—The circumstances of this audience are so extraordinary, the language you have now held is so extremely proper, and the feelings you have discovered, so justly adapted to the occasion, that I must say, that I not only receive with pleasure the assurances of the friendly disposition of the people of the United States, but that I am very glad the choice has fallen upon you to be their Minister. I wish you, Sir, to believe, and that it may be understood in America, that I have done nothing in the late contest, but what I thought myself indispensably bound to do, by the duty which I owed to my people. I will be frank with you. I was the last to conform to the separation: but the separation having been made, and having become inevitable, I have always said, as I say now, that I would be the first to meet the friendship of the United States, as

an independent power. The moment I see such sentiments and language as yours prevail, and a disposition to give this country the preference, that moment I shall say, let the circumstances of language, religion, and blood, have their natural and full effect.'

"I dare not say that these were the King's precise words, and it is even possible that I may have, in some particular, mistaken his meaning; for although his pronunciation is as distinct as I ever heard, he hesitated sometimes between his periods, and between the members of the same period. He was indeed much affected, and I was not less so, and therefore I cannot be certain that I was so attentive, heard so clearly, and understood so perfectly, as to be confident of all his words or sense; this I do say, that the foregoing is his Majesty's meaning, as I then understood it, and his own words as nearly as I can recollect them.

"The King then asked me, whether I came last from France? and upon my answering in the affirmative, he put on an air of familiarity, and smiling, or rather laughing, said, 'there is an opinion among some people, that you are not the most attached of all your countrymen to the manners of France.' I was surprised at this, because I thought it an indiscretion, and a descent from his dignity. I was a little embarrassed, but determined not to deny the truth on one hand, nor leave him to infer from it any attachment to England on the other. I threw off as much gravity as I could, and assumed an air of gaiety and a tone of decision, as far as it was decent, and said 'That opinion, Sir, is not mistaken. I must avow to your Majesty I have no attachment but to my own country.' The King replied as quick as lightning, 'An honest man will never have any other.'

"The King then said a word or two to the Secretary of State, which, being between them, I did not hear; and then turned round and bowed to me, as is customary with all kings and princes, when they give the signal to retire. I retreated, stepping backwards, as is the etiquette, and making my last reverence at the door of the chamber, I went my way; the master of ceremonies joined me at the moment of my coming out of the King's closet, and accompanied me through all the apartments down to my carriage. Several stages of servants, gentlemen porters, and under porters, roared out like thunder as I went along, 'Mr. Adams' servants. Mr. Adams' carriage,'" &c.

Notwithstanding this courteous reception at the British court, the feelings of the Ministry were soon discovered to be unfriendly towards the United States. The irritations produced by the long strife were not yet allayed, and the parent had not quite magnanimity enough to forgive her rebellious child. They refused to listen to any proposals for entering into a commercial treaty.

While Mr. Adams was residing in London, he was enabled to render his country material service by the exercise of his literary talents. The new states of America were of course objects of great interest to the philosophers and statesmen of Europe, and a variety of opinions were held upon their policy and prospects. Among those who expressed themselves as dissatisfied with their political organization, were Mons. Turgot, the Abbé de Mably, and Dr. Price. M. Turgot, in a letter to

Dr. Price, observes, "The Americans have established three bodies, viz. a Governor, Council, and House of Representatives, merely because there is in England a King, a House of Lords, and a House of Commons; as if this equilibrium, which, in England, may be a necessary check to the enormous influence of royalty, could be of any use in republics founded upon the equality of all the citizens." M. Turgot recommends the concentration of the whole power upon one representative assembly These opinions derived weight from the high character of their author. This was a dark period in our history—the federal government was not yet formed—our credit was low—and the minds of men desponding and disposed to regard any state of things as better than that which actually existed.

To counteract these impressions, Mr. Adams wrote and published in London, his Defence of the American Constitutions, in three volumes. It is a work of learning and ability, though bearing marks of the haste wi'h which it was written. It did much service to his country, not only in correcting the influence of the above-mentioned writings at home, but in rendering the American cause respectable abroad. Mr. Adams moved in the most enlightened circles of English society, and occupied himself n gathering information which might be useful to his own country.

In 1787, he asked, and received permission to return home, and had the happiness to join his family and friends, after an absence of between eight and nine years. Congress at the same time, passed a resolution of thanks to be presented to him, for his able and faithful discharge of he various and important commissions with which he had been entrusted while abroad.

In 1788, he was elected Vice President of the United States, and re-elected in 1792. In 1796, General Washington retired from public life, and Mr. Adams was elected President of the United States, though not without a good deal of opposition. After serving in this office four years, he was succeeded, as is well known, by Mr. Jefferson.

To trace the history of Mr. Adams' administration, and to show the causes of his unpopularity, would fall within the province of general history, rather than of biography. But a slight sketch of his motives and principles, is due both to his own character and to the expectations of those who wish to obtain correct views of it.

The French Revolution was the point upon which he was at issue with the majority of his countrymen. That tremendous political convulsion shook the whole earth to its centre, and created the most frantic excitement throughout the civilized world. The young and the enthusiastic, hailed it as the dawn of a brighter day, not only for France, but for Europe, and pardoned its sanguinary excesses, regarding them as the natural results of that wild transport which would take possession of an uneducated population, at the sudden change from the most galling despotism to entire freedom. In this country, in particular, just beginning to enjoy the republican institutions which we had so dearly purchased, there was an almost universal expression of admiration and sympathy. But there were not wanting many, even in our own country, who viewed the French Revolution with alarm and disgust. They abhorred its

atrocities regarded with suspicion and dislike the characters of its leaders, and dreaded the influence of its principles, as tending to overthrow the whole social fabric, and introduce the most visionary schemes of polity in the place of the governments, whose excellence had stood the test of ages. To this latter class, Mr. Adams and his party belonged. He had imbibed a strong, and, in truth, an unreasonable prejudice against the French people, while he resided in Europe; and he viewed them, and their conduct, through its distorting medium. At the very commencement of his administration he found the country involved in a dispute with France, and one of his earliest communications to Congress complained, in dignified and elegant language, of an insult offered to the ambassador of the United States, by the government of that country. So strong, however, was the partiality to the French, that many believed that the first provocation had been given by us, and that it was our duty to tender an apology, and not demand satisfaction. Mr. Adams persisted, however, in the course which he deemed required by a regard for the honor of his country. He sent a commission, consisting of three envoys, Messrs. Pinckney, Marshall, and Gerry, to France, who were treated with insolence and contumely by the French Directory. In these transactions, it was Mr. Adams' misfortune to please neither one of the great parties, which then divided the country. The democratic party considered them as too strong, and actuated by too great an hostility towards France, while the federalists thought a more high-spirited conduct and more dignified attitude were required by the circumstances of the case.

The bitterness with which this party strife was carried on, is probably fresh in the recollections of many of our readers. It was actively fomented by a most licentious press, which violated all the confidences of private life, and indulged in the most unwarrantable personal allusions and reflections. Mr. Adams was accused of favoring monarchical institutions, though his whole life had been spent in resisting them. It is curious to observe how the malice of his enemies warped and perverted the best acts of his life. His Defence of the American Constitution, which favors the plan of having an executive and two houses of legislation, was quoted as a proof of his prepossessions in favor of a king, lords, and commons; and his noble, moral courage, at the beginning of his career, in defending Captain Preston and his soldiers, was brought up at this late day, as giving evidence of his being under British influence. It is but doing justice to Mr. Jefferson, the leader of the opposing and triumphant party, to state, that he always retained the highest personal respect for Mr. Adams, though, in political opinions, he differed so widely from him. When some young politicians were, in his presence, accusing Mr. Adams of designs hostile to republican institutions, he remarked, "Gentlemen, you do not know that man; there is not upon this earth a more perfectly honest man than John Adams. Concealment is no part of his character. It is not in his nature to meditate any thing that he would not publish to the world. The measures of the general government, are a fair subject for differences of opinion, but do not found your opinion on the notion that there is the smallest spice of dishonesty, moral

or political, in the character of John Adams, for I know him well, and I repeat, that a man more perfectly honest never issued from the hands of his Creator."

Mr. Adams was also firm in his conviction of the importance of a naval establishment, and he deserves the title of Father of the American Navy. Time has confirmed the justness of his views on this subject, but they were not popular at the time.

His own manners and bearing were not dignified or conciliating, and, in this respect, he was decidedly inferior to Mr. Jefferson. The warmth of his temperament, and the ardor of his feelings, often betrayed him into intemperate expressions and rash actions, which no one would regret more than he, in his cool moments.

In March, 1801, in the sixty-seventh year of his age, he retired to his quiet home, at Quincy, where he passed the remainder of his days. He amused himself with agricultural pursuits, and still retained a lively interest in the politics and literature of the day. He had an extensive correspondence, to fill up his leisure hours, and a large circle of friends, to whom he devoted much of his time. He was invited to become a candidate for the office of Governor of Massachusetts, but declined. He defended the policy of Mr. Jefferson's administration towards England; and when the dispute terminated in war, he advocated its expediency and necessity, in opposition to the views and sentiments of the majority of the people of Massachusetts. He published a series of letters on this subject, in one of the Boston papers, and when a loan was opened by the General Government, to meet the expenses of the war, he immediately took up a portion of the stock. In 1815, he had the pleasure of seeing his son at the head of the commission which signed the treaty of peace with Great Britain. He also renewed that friendship with Mr. Jefferson, which had been interrupted by party strife, and some beautiful and characteristic letters passed between them, many of which have been printed. In 1816, he was chosen a member of the college of electors, which voted for Mr. Monroe for President.

In 1818 he was called upon to sustain the severest affliction that had ever befallen him, by the death of his beloved wife, who had been for so many years his guide, solace, and friend, and who had shared his patriotic enthusiasm, and borne without a murmur, all the sacrifices which duty to their country had required them both to make. On this occasion he received the following beautiful letter from Mr. Jefferson.

"Monticello, November 13, 1818.

"The public papers, my dear friend, announce the fatal event of which your letter, of October twentieth, had given me ominous foreboding. Tried myself in the school of affliction, by the loss of every form of connexion which can rive the human heart, I know well, and feel, what you have lost—what you have suffered—are suffering—and have yet to endure. The same trials have taught me, that, for ills so immeasurable, time and silence are the only medicines. I will not, therefore, by useless condolences, open afresh the sluices of your grief, nor, although mingling sincerely my tears with yours, will I say a word more where words are

vain, but that it is of some comfort to us both, that the term is not very distant, at which we are to deposit, in the same cerement, our sorrows and suffering bodies; and to ascend, in essence, to an ecstatic meeting with the friends we have loved and lost, and whom we shall still love and never lose again. God bless you and support you under your heavy afflictions. THOMAS JEFFERSON."

In 1820, a Convention of the people of Massachusetts was called, for the purpose of revising their State Constitution, and Mr. Adams was elected a member from Quincy. The Convention testified their sense of his services to his country, and their respect for his character, by electing him unanimously to the office of President, passing at the same time the following highly flattering resolution.

"IN CONVENTION, NOVEMBER 15, 1820.

"Whereas, the Honorable John Adams, a member of this Convention, and elected the President thereof, has, for more than half a century, devoted the great powers of his mind and his profound wisdom and learning to the service of his country and mankind:

"In fearlessly vindicating the rights of the North American provinces against the usurpations and encroachments of the superintendant government:

"In diffusing a knowledge of the principles of civil liberty among his fellow subjects, and exciting them to a firm and resolute defence of the privileges of freemen:

"In early conceiving, asserting, and maintaining the justice and practicability of establishing the independence of the United States of America:

"In giving the powerful aid of his political knowledge in the formation of the Constitution of this his native state, which Constitution became, in a great measure, the model of those which were subsequently formed:

"In conciliating the favor of foreign powers, and obtaining their countenance and support in the arduous struggle for independence:

"In negotiating the treaty of peace, which secured forever the sovereignty of the United States, and in defeating all attempts to prevent it, and especially in preserving in that treaty the vital interest of the New-England States.

"In demonstrating to the world, in his Defence of the Constitutions of the several United States, the contested principle, since admitted as an axiom, that checks and balances, in legislative power, are essential to true liberty:

"In devoting his time and talents to the service of the nation, in the high and important trusts of Vice-President and President of the United States:

"And, lastly, in passing an honorable old age in dignified retirement, in the practice of all the domestic virtues; thus exhibiting to his countrymen and to posterity an example of true greatness of mind and of genuine patriotism:

"Therefore, Resolved, That the members of this Convention, representing the people of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, do joyfully avail themselves of this opportunity to testify their respect and gratitude

to this eminent patriot and statesman, for the great services rendered by him to his country, and their high gratification that, at this late period of life, he is permitted, by divine Providence, to assist them with his counsel in revising the Constitution, which, forty years ago, his wisdom and prudence assisted to form.

"Resolved, That a committee of twelve be appointed by the chair, to communicate this proceeding to the Honorable John Adams, to inform him of his election to preside in this body, and to introduce him to the chair of this Convention."

This station he declined on account of his advanced age, being then eighty-five years old, but he was able to attend upon the Convention and fulfil his duties as a member.

The world has hardly ever seen a spectacle of more moral beauty and grandeur, than was presented by the old age of Mr. Adams. The violence of party feeling had died away, and he had begun to receive that just appreciation which, to most men, is not accorded till after death. He had been always happy in his domestic relations, and he had a large circle of friends and acquaintances, who looked up to him with affectionate admiration. He was also an object of great interest to intelligent strangers from all parts of the world, all of whom were desirous of seeing a man who done so much for the glory and happiness of his country. No one could look upon his venerable form, and think of what he had done and suffered, and how he had given up all the prime and strength of his life to the public good, without the deepest emotions of gratitude and respect. It was his peculiar good fortune, to witness the complete success of the institutions which he had been so active in creating and supporting. He saw, every day, the influences of the revolution widening and extending, and the genial light of freedom continually adding increase to the wealth, intelligence, and happiness of his countrymen. He could look around upon the thriving towns, the smiling villages, the busy factories, the crowded warehouses of his country, and exclaim, "Behold the work of my hands, the fruits of my labors, the result of my toils, dangers, and sacrifices." It was his privilege also to preserve his mind unclouded to the last. He always retained his enjoyment of books, conversation, and reflection. In 1824, his cup of happiness was filled to the brim, by seeing his son elevated to the highest station in the gift of the people.

The fourth of July, 1826, which completed the half century since the signing of the Declaration of Independence, arrived, and there were but three of the signers of that immortal instrument left upon earth, to hail its morning light. And, as it is well known, on that day two of these finished their earthly pilgrimage, a coincidence so remarkable, as to seem miraculous. For a few days before, Mr. Adams had been rapidly failing, and on the morning of the fourth, he found himself too weak to rise from his bed. On being requested to name a toast for the customary celebration of the day, he exclaimed, "INDEPENDENCE FOREVER." When the day was ushered in, by the ringing of bells, and the firing of cannon, he was asked by one of his attendants, if he knew what day it

was? He replied, "O yes; it is the glorious fourth of July—God bless it —God bless you all." In the course of the day he said, "It is a great and glorious day." The last words he uttered were, "Jefferson survives." But he had, at one o'clock, resigned his spirit into the hands of his God.

When the news was spread throughout the country that these two men, who had been associated together in so many important labors, and whose names were identified with the glory and prosperity of their country, had both died on the same day, and on that which completed the half century since they signed the Declaration of Independence, of which one was the author, and the other the most powerful advocate and defender; the effect was solemn and thrilling in the highest degree. It seemed a direct and special manifestation of God's power. The general feeling was, (to borrow the beautiful words of one of their eulogists,) "that had the prophet lent his 'chariot of fire,' and his 'horses of fire,' their ascent could hardly have been more glorious." In all parts of the country a day was set apart, by the large towns, for the solemn commemoration of their death, and men of the most distinguished talents were invited to pronounce their eulogies. All political prejudices were forgotten in the general burst of feeling; nothing was recollected but their long lives of devoted patriotism, and the sublime circumstances which attended their close.

The character of Mr. Adams has been displayed in his life so fully, that only a few remarks need now be made upon it. He was a man of bold and ardent temperament, and strong passions, and was occasionally led by them into imprudences and indiscretions. But his motives were always high and honorable. No man was less selfish, or less swayed by personal considerations. He was ready to sacrifice every thing to the public good. He thought for himself, and expressed his sentiments and opinions with great, sometimes with too great, boldness. He did not always treat with proper respect the views of those who differed from him, nor show a sufficient toleration to their honest prejudices. But his frank, manly, intrepid character and bearing, which kept nothing in reserve, and permitted his weakness and his strength to be equally seen, secured him the warm attachment of his friends, and the respect of his political enemies. His intellectual powers were of a high order. He had much of that vividness of conception, and glow of feeling, which belong to the temperament of genius. But there was nothing that was visionary and Utopian in his mind; on the contrary, it was distinguished by a large share of the practical and useful, by good sense, judgment, shrewdness, and knowledge of the world. He had read and studied, both books and men, with great attention; his writings bear witness to the former, and his life to the latter. He took large and comprehensive views, and saw a great way ahead; we have already remarked in his life, that, from the first beginning of the disturbances, he clearly foresaw that it must end in a rupture between the two countries, and ar appeal to arms; and in this opinion he was almost alone for some time. Time has also shown, how correct his views were, with regard to the French Revolution, though they were those, at the moment, of a very small

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

The early life of any man so distinguished as the subject of this memoir, must ever be interesting, not only to the philosopher, who delights to follow the gradually expanding mind, from the weakness of infancy, through all the stages of existence, to the full maturity of manhood, and to mark the effect of even trifling causes in ennobling or debasing the mind, and in forming the character; but also, in a degree, to all, whose interest in mankind is not lost in self. When we find a man, to whom have been intrusted the destinies of nations; who has constructed and set in motion great moral machines, whose influence and effects have been felt long after he has passed away; who has been active in promoting either the good or the evil of the human race; we naturally ask, whence he has sprung? With eager curiosity we look back, and in the sports of the child, in the pursuits and occupations of youth, we seek the origin and source of all that is noble and exalted in the man, the germ and the bud from which have burst forth the fair fruit and the beautiful flower; and we carefully treasure up each trifling incident and childish expression, in the hope to trace in them some feature of his after greatness.

Feeling that even the childhood of a man like Thomas Jefferson, and the growth of those feelings and opinions which afterwards embodied themselves in the Declaration of American Independence, would be interesting to every American, we should deem it fortunate, could we give even a short sketch of his early life. But of this, or of his family, we have few accounts; and must, therefore, content ourselves with a general outline of his after life, so full of striking events and useful labors.

Thomas Jefferson, the third President of the United States, was born on the second day of April, 1743, (Old Style,) at Shadwell, an estate owned by his father, in Albermarle County, Virginia, and near to Monticelio, where he afterwards resided. His family emigrated at a very early period from a part of Wales, near Mount Snowden, as is supposed, and occupied a most respectable situation in the colony. His father, Peter Jefferson, although self educated, was a man of talent and science, as would appear from the fact, that he was appointed, together with Joshua Fry, then Professor of Mathematics, in William and Mary College, to complete the boundary line between Virginia and North Carolina, which had been begun some time before; and also to make the first map of the State, since that made, or rather conjectured, by Captain Smith, could scarcely be called one. His father was married in 1739, to Jane, daughter of Isham Randolph, by whom he had six daughters and two sons, of whom Thomas was the elder.

At the age of five years, Thomas was sent to an English school, and at the age of nine, was placed under the care of Mr. Douglass, with whom he continued till his father's death, in August, 1757; by which event he became possessed of the estate of Shadwell, his birth-place. The two years after his father's decease were passed under the instructions of the Rev. Mr. Maury, who is represented to have been a fine classical scholar, at the termination of which period, that is, in 1760, he entered William and Mary College, where he remained two years. While at this institution, he enjoyed the instruction and conversation of Dr. Small, Professor of Mathematics; and we do not know how we can better express the benefit he received from that source, than in Jefferson's own words. "It was my great good fortune," says he, in the short memoir he has left us, "and probably fixed the destinies of my life, that Dr. William Small, of Scotland, was then Professor of Mathematics; a man profound in most of the useful branches of science, with a happy talent of communication, correct and gentlemanly manners, and an enlarged and liberal mind. He, most happily for me, became soon attached to me, and made me his daily companion, when not engaged in the school; and from his conversation, I got my first views of the expansion of science, and of the system of things in which we are placed. Fortunately, the philosophical chair became vacant soon after my arrival at college, and he was appointed to fill it *per interim:* and he was the first who ever gave, in that college, regular lectures in Ethics, Rhetoric, and Belles Lettres. He returned to Europe in 1762, having previously filled up the measure of his goodness to me, by procuring for me, from his most intimate friend, George Wythe, a reception as a student of law, under his direction, and introduced me to the acquaintance and familiar table of Governor Fauquier, the ablest man who had ever filled that office. With him and at his table, Dr. Small and Mr Wythe, his *amici omnium horarum*, and myself, formed a *partie quarrée*, and to the habitual conversations on these occasions, I owed much instruction. Mr. Wythe continued to be my faithful and beloved Mentor in youth, and my most affectionate friend through life."

In 1767, Mr. Jefferson was called to the bar; and for the short time he continued in the practice of his profession, rose rapidly, and distinguished himself by his energy and acuteness as a lawyer, and by his enlarged and liberal views. But the times called for greater action; and the dull pleadings and circumscribed sphere of a colonial court were ill fitted for such a mind and for such views as Jefferson's. The policy of England, never kind and affectionate towards her colonies, whom she was disposed to treat as a froward child, had for several years past, manifested itself in more open violations of the rights of her American subjects. Her ministers seemed blinded to consequences, and wholly forgetful that the same spirit of liberty, which led the Pilgrims across the Atlantic to seek a refuge from the oppressions of a king and an archbishop, would compel them, now that the arm of the oppressor had followed them across the waters, to resist even unto blood the exactions of a Parliament. This spirit of resistance was already roused among the colonists, and was gradually spreading itself from Massachusetts Bay to

the Carolinas; and every proceeding of the mother country was scrutinized and weighed with the utmost jealousy. This, then, was no time for mere professional labor; the political arena was open, and the courts of law were soon deserted; the rights of individuals were forgotten for the rights of nations; the contests for things were neglected, in the contest for principles.

The enlarged views which Mr. Jefferson had ever entertained, soon led him to take an active part in political life, and he abandoned, in a great measure, the profession of the law. In 1769, he was elected a member of the General Assembly of Virginia, for Albemarle County, and it was in this body that he made his first effort in favor of the emancipation of slaves, but without success; for, as he himself remarks, under a regal government, and while every thing was to be made subservient to the interests of the mother country, "nothing liberal could expect success." This session was of short duration, the Assembly being very early dissolved by the Governor, Lord Botetourt, on account of some offensive resolutions which were passed, countenancing the proceedings of Massachusetts. Mr. Jefferson was, however, immediately reelected, and continued a member until the Revolution put an end to the meeting of those bodies.

In 1773 the Legislature of Virginia appointed a committee of correspondence, of which Mr. Jefferson was one, to communicate with similar committees, which should be appointed in the other parts of the country, for the purpose of animating the people of the different colonies in their resistance to British aggression; and the wisdom of this measure soon became apparent in the unity of operations which it produced during that eventful period, and in the community of sentiment and brotherhood among the inhabitants of the several colonies, whose cause was the same, and who now began to feel themselves one nation.

The people of Virginia, though they had already shown themselves determined not to submit to any infringement of their liberties, were yet far behind Massachusetts in their opposition to the encroachments of the British government. They had not yet felt the full weight of the iron arm of oppression; the acts of Parliament had pressed most heavily on Massachusetts; and the cup of her wrongs was nearly full, when the Boston Port Bill completed the measure. The passage of this bill sent a shock through the colonies, that roused them to a consideration of their situation; for although it was aimed at and intended to operate in a single place, yet it showed too well the determination of the government to destroy, one by one, the liberties of America; it taught them that they must live and die the slaves of absolute power, or promptly and manfully make common cause with Massachusetts. The news of the passage of this bill was received while the Assembly of Virginia was in session; and through the agency of Patrick Henry, Jefferson, and a few other members, a resolution was passed, setting apart the first day of June, 1774, on which the act was to go into operation, as a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer, "devoutly to implore the divine interposition for averting the heavy calamities which threatened destruction to their civil rights, and the evils of a civil war, and to give them one mind to oppose, by all just and proper means, every injury to American rights."

This resolution was of course highly offensive to the royal Governor, Lord Dunmore, who immediately had recourse to the usual expedient, and dissolved the assembly. He could not, however, prevent the members from meeting in convention as private individuals, which they immediately did, and passed resolutions, recommending the people of the colony to elect deputies to a State Convention, for the purpose of considering the affairs of the colony, and also to appoint delegates to a a General Congress, in case such a measure should be agreed to by the other colonies. Mr. Jefferson was afterwards chosen a member of the State Convention, which met in pursuance of these resolutions, bu was himself unable to attend from sickness. He sent them, however, a draught of some instructions for the delegates to the General Congress, which, though not adopted, were published by the convention, under the title of "A Summary View of the Rights of British America." The terms in which the rights of the colonies were asserted, the authority claimed by the Parliament absolutely and totally denied, and the conduct of the King and the administration commented upon, were esteemed so bold and severe by the majority of the members, that they refused to adopt them; and, in consequence, more mild and temperate instructions were given. The pamphlet soon found its way to England, where, after undergoing some alterations by Mr. Burke, it was published, and several editions circulated. In consequence of this publication, Mr. Jefferson was threatened with a prosecution for high treason by Lord Dunmore, and in England his name was added to those of Hancock, Henry, the Adamses, and others, in a bill of attainder commenced in Parliament, but suppressed in its early stages.

The doctrine advocated by Mr. Jefferson, however universally admitted at the present day, must then have been esteemed singularly bold, as is indeed evident from the fact, that it was disapproved by some of the most ardent patriots of the Revolution. The people, attached as they were to England, were certainly not prepared for it at that period. The substance of it is given by Mr. Jefferson as follows. "I took the ground that, from the beginning, I had thought the only one orthodox or tenable, which was, that the relation between Great Britain and these colonies, was exactly the same as that of England and Scotland, after the accession of James and until the Union, and the same as her present relations with Hanover, having the same executive chief, but no other necessary political connexion; and that our emigration from England to this country, gave her no more rights over us, than the emigrations of the Danes and Saxons, gave to the present authorities of the mother country over England. In this doctrine, however, I had never been able to get any one to agree with me but Mr. Wythe. He concurred in it from the first dawn of the question, What was the political relation between us and England? Our other patriots, Randolph, the Lees, Nicholas, Pendleton, stopped at the half-way house of John Dickinson, who admitted that England had a right to regulate our commerce, and to lay duties on it for the purposes of regulation, but not of raising revenue. But for this ground there was no foundation in compact, in any acknowledged principles of colonization, nor in reason;

expatriation being a natural right, and acted on as such by all nations, in all ages."

The proceedings of the first Congress which met at Philadelphia on the fifth September, 1774, in pursuance of resolutions passed by the several colonies, similar to those of Virginia, do not properly belong to the life of Mr. Jefferson, who was not a member, and are therefore passed over here without remark. Before the meeting of the second Congress, however, Mr. Jefferson was elected in the place of Peyton Randolph, who, as Speaker of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, was obliged to attend the meeting of that body, and accordingly took his seat on the twenty-first June, 1775, and was very soon placed on several very important committees.

As Mr. Jefferson, with his colleagues, Mr. Lee and Mr. Harrison, were on their way to Philadelphia, an incident is said to have occurred of a most flattering nature, showing the confidence placed in them by their fellow-citizens. They were met by some of the inhabitants of the colony, who, living in the remoter parts of the country, had heard only by report of the tyranny which was preparing for them, and thus addressed: "You assert that there is a fixed design to invade our rights and privileges. We own that we do not see this clearly, but since you assure us that it is so, we believe the fact. We are about to take a very dangerous step, but we confide in you, and are ready to support you in every measure you shall think proper to adopt."

In August, 1775, Mr. Jefferson was reelected by the Convention of Virginia, to the third Congress, and, during the winter, took an active part in all its proceedings.

To us who now look calmly back on the events of that momentous period, the conduct of the British Ministry seems little short of infatuation. When the American colonists first raised their voice against the acts of the Parliament, it was but to obtain a redress of a few particular grievances; the thought had not occurred to them of a separation from the mother country, and had it been but whispered to them, the proposition would have been universally rejected. They loved their fatherland; they were Englishmen, or the sons of Englishmen, and they looked up to the institutions and the customs of England, with the deepest veneration. They would have endured any thing, but slavery, every thing, but the loss of those rights, which, as Englishmen, they believed unalienable, and which they held dearer than existence itself; and had the British Ministry but adopted conciliatory measures, and relaxed somewhat of their pretensions, they might still have retained the brightest jewel of the British crown. But instead of adopting the wise counsels of Chatham and Burke, they imposed greater burdens, and added insult to oppression, till it was too late; till the spirit of opposition had acquired a fearful and resistless energy; till the cloud, at first no bigger than a man's hand, had spread over the whole heavens, and the storm burst with a violence that swept before it the firmest bulwarks of British power. For a year or two before the meeting of the Congress of '76, the belief that a separation from the mother country was necessary, had prevailed among the leading men of the colonies, and was now fast increasing

among the great body of the people. They felt that the period for reconciliation had gone by; the blood of American citizens had been shed on the plains of Lexington and Concord, and on the heights of Bunker Hill, and nothing was now left but a resort to arms, and an assumption of their rights as an independent nation.

On Friday, June seventh, 1776, in conformity with the instructions given them by the Convention, the Virginia delegates in Congress moved, "that the Congress should declare that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connexion between them and the State of Great Britain, is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; that measures should be immediately taken for procuring the assistance of foreign powers, and a confederation be formed to bind the colonists more closely together." A proposition like this, fraught as it was with the most momentous consequences, was not to be adopted hastily. It was very fully discussed on the Saturday and Monday following, when the further consideration of it was postponed to the first day of July, and a committee of five were appointed in the mean time to draft a Declaration of Independence. This committee consisted of Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Dr. Franklin, Roger Sherman, and Robert R. Livingston. Mr. Jefferson, as chairman of the committee, was desired by his colleagues to prepare the draft.

Here let us pause for a moment, and consider the causes, which, operating for a series of years, had at last led, or rather compelled, the colonists, to sever the ties which had so long bound them to England.

The measures which Great Britain had adopted towards her American colonies, had ever been most arbitrary and unjust. These colonies had grown up entirely without her aid or fostering care. Separated by the wide Atlantic from every civilized nation, unassisted by the troops or the money of England, they had struggled successfully against all the dangers and disadvantages of their situation. With a savage foe continually hovering on their borders, and whose incursions were every where marked by the blood of their wives and children, and the ashes of their dwellings, the settlers had still subdued the forests, cultivated the soil, built up flourishing towns over every part of the Atlantic States, and sent forth their ships to every part of the commercial world. When the parent saw her colonies thus rapidly increasing in wealth and power, and that, so far from being a burden and a drawback, they could be made a source of a great and continually growing revenue, it was then that she thought of protection. From that moment it became the fixed and determined policy of the British government to make America, in every thing, contribute to the wealth, the importance, and the glory of England; and every measure tended to this end, no matter how injurious in its effects to the colonies. One of the first encroachments upon their rights was, by denying them the exercise of free trade with all parts of the world. In order to make them a source of profit, Great Britain was to be the depot of all their most valuable exports, which were afterwards to be shipped to other countries by the British merchant for his own benefit. All the most necessary articles for home consumption were to be purchased

of the British manufacturers, at such prices as they, fearing no competition from abroad, might choose to demand; and, to enhance this profit, the colonies were not only forbidden to purchase of any other nation than England, but even to manufacture themselves. Or if this privilege was in any case granted them, they were prohibited from advancing beyond the first stages, and were only allowed to prepare the material for the hands of the British workman; and the Governors of the different provinces were directed, under severe penalties, to abate the manufactories and mills of certain sorts as *common nuisances*. But Great Britain did not content herself with barely regulating the commerce of her colonies, she soon interfered with their domestic affairs, and made manifest her determination to reduce them to a state of absolute dependence and subjection. It is not our intention here to particularize all the various encroachments upon American liberties; such detail would far exceed the narrow compass of this work. Let the Stamp Act, the Tea Act, the Boston Port Bill, bear witness to those invasions. But the descendants of those men who had dared all the hardships of an inhospitable shore, and an unexplored wilderness, were not to be tamely enslaved; they were not the men to sit quietly by, and see their rights and liberties, as Englishmen, as men, one by one taken from them, without raising a voice or an arm in their defence. They believed, that although the Atlantic rolled between, they were still entitled to the same rights and the same privileges as British subjects in the old world, and they determined to contend for those rights. When the course of oppression began, they petitioned; those petitions were but the occasion of new injuries. They remonstrated respectfully, but firmly; those remonstrances were disregarded, insult was added to oppression, and every opportunity was taken to irritate and exasperate them. In vain did Burke raise his voice against this mad policy of the Ministry; in vain did Chatham warn them of the disastrous consequences. Led on by a blind fate, they heeded not, they stopped not, till America, stript of every resource, and driven to desperation, could only appeal to arms. The moment when that appeal was to be made, so full of interest, so big with the destinies of a world, had now arrived. The step which was now to be taken, could never be retraced; the declaration now to be made could never be recalled; once made, there could be no hope of reconciliation but in absolute submission. The Rubicon was before them. On the one side was slavery; on the other—clouds and darkness.

What must have been the feelings of that man—what the emotions which swelled his breast—who was charged with the preparation of that Declaration, which, while it made known the wrongs of America, was also to publish her to the world, free, sovereign, and independent? For himself he had not a thought; a cold, calculating prudence, in vain warned him how great was the risk, how few the chances of success; in vain told him of his country pillaged by foreign troops, and deluged in the blood of its own citizens; in vain pointed to the gibbet, the rebel's doom. What though the loss of all things, and the death of a traitor were before him—it was his country demanded the sacrifice, and it was cheerfully made. Through all the darkness of the present, he saw the brightness of the

future; he saw, in imagination, his country the abode of a free and happy people, and he was content; his hand trembled not, as he wrote, America, Free and Independent.

Living as we now do in a free land, far removed from all the troubles and vicissitudes of war, in the full enjoyment of liberties, which seem as necessary to our existence as the air we breathe, we can hardly conceive of the thoughts which must have crowded on the mind of Jefferson, while penning the Declaration of Independence. A man of weaker mind, or ess firmness and decision of character, would have been overwhelmed, and have shrunk in dismay from the task. But Jefferson did not disappoint the high expectations which had been formed of him. He went to his task with the full assurance that his cause was the cause of liberty; and he rose from it confirmed in the resolution, to die, if necessary, in its defence. The Declaration of Independence is one of the most remarkable papers ever written; and did no other effort of the mind of its author exist, that alone would be sufficient to stamp his name with immortality. The Declaration, as drafted by Mr. Jefferson, was by him submitted to his colleagues, and, after a few unimportant alterations made by them, was reported by the committee, and read on Friday, the twenty-eighth of June. The original motion made by the Virginia delegation, namely, that Congress should declare the colonies free, sovereign, and independent, having been disposed of in the affirmative, on Tuesday, the second of July, by a vote of all the States except New-York, (whose members did not consider themselves authorized by their instructions to vote on this question,) Congress proceeded to a consideration of the Declaration, which, after being debated during the greater parts of the second, third, and fourth of July, and after some passages which were thought objectionable had been stricken out, and some other alterations made, was finally agreed to by the House, and signed on the evening of the fourth by all the members present, except Mr. Dickinson.

The Declaration of Independence is so intimately connected with the name of Thomas Jefferson, that any sketch of his life would seem imperfect without it. We therefore present it as originally reported by him, together with the alterations of Congress.

A Declaration by the Representatives of the United States of America, in [*General*] Congress assembled.*

When in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind, requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

* The parts struck out by Congress are printed in italics, and enclosed in brackets; and the parts added are placed in the margin, or in a concurrent column.

We hold these truths to be self evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with [*inherent and*] inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it; and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate, that governments long established, should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves, by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations [*begun at a distinguished period and*] pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to [*expunge*] their former systems of government. The history of the present King of Great Britain, is a history of [*unremitting*] injuries and usurpations, [*among which appears no solitary fact to contradict the uniform tenor of the rest, but all have*] in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world, [*for the truth of which we pledge a faith yet unsullied by falsehood.*]

certain

alter

repeated

all having

He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome, and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation, till his assent should be obtained, and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other laws, for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature, a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved representatives houses repeatedly [*and*

continually] for opposing with manly firmness, his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused for a long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected, whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise, the state remaining, in the mean time, exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavored to prevent the population of these states; for that purpose obstructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners, refusing to pass others to encourage their migrations hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

obstructed by

He has [*suffered*] the administration of justice, [*totally to cease in some of these states,*] refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

He has made [*our*] judges dependant on his will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new offices, [*by a self-assumed power*] and sent hither swarms of new officers, to harass our people, and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us in times of peace, standing armies [*and ships of war*] without the consent of our legislatures.

He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

He has combined with others, to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitutions, and unacknowledged by our laws, giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation, for quartering large bodies of armed troops among us; for protecting them by a mock trial from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these states; for cutting off our trade with all parts of the world; for imposing taxes on us with

in many cases

out our consent; for depriving us [ ] of the benefits of trial by jury; for transporting us beyond seas, to be tried for pretended offences; for abolishing the free system of English laws, in a neighboring province; establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these

colonies

[*states;*] for taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering fundamentally the forms of our governments; for suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us, in all cases whatsoever.

by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war against us

He has abdicated government here, [*withdrawing his governors, and declaring us out of his allegiance and protection.*]

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries, to complete the works of death, desolation, and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty, and perfidy, [ ] unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally

He has constrained our fellow-citizens taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

He has [ ] endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions [*of existence.*]

excited domestic insurrections among us, and has

[*He has incited treasonable insurrections of our fellow-citizens, with the allurements of forfeiture, and confiscation of our property.*

He has waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty, in the persons of a distant people, who never offended him, captivating and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither. This piratical warfare, the opprobium of infidel *powers, is the warfare of the* Christian *King of Great Britain. Determined to keep open a market, where* men *should be bought and sold, he has prostituted his negative for suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or to restrain this execrable commerce. And that this assemblage of horrors might want no fact of distinguished die, he is now exciting those very people to rise in arms among us, and to purchase that liberty of which he has deprived them, by murdering the people on whom he also obtruded them: thus paying off former crimes committed against the* liberties *of one people, with crimes which he urges them to commit against the* lives *of another.*]

In every stage of these oppressions, we have petitioned for redress, in the most humble terms; our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injuries.

A prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a [ ] people, [*who mean to be free. Future ages will scarcely believe, that the hardiness of one man adventured, within the short compass of twelve years only, to lay a foundation so broad and so undisguised for tyranny, over a people fostered and fixed in principles of freedom.*]

free

Nor have we been wanting in attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature, to extend [*a*] jurisdiction over [*these our states.*] We have reminded them of the

an unwarrantable

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circumstances of our emigration and settlement here, [*no one of which could warrant so strange a pretension: that these were effected at the expense of our own blood and treasure, unassisted by the wealth or the strength of Great Britain: that in constituting indeed our several forms of government, we had adopted one common king, thereby laying a foundation for perpetual league and amity with them, but that submission to their Parliament, was no part of our constitution, nor ever in idea, if history may be credited, and*] we [ ] appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, [*as well as to*] the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations which [*were likely to*] interrupt our connexion and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity, [*and when occasions have been given them, by the regular course of their laws, of removing from their councils the disturbers of our harmony, they have, by their free election, reestablished them in power. At this very time, too, they are permitting their Chief Magistrate to send over not only soldiers of our common blood, but Scotch and foreign mercenaries, to invade and destroy us. These facts have given the last stab to agonizing affection, and manly spirit bids us to renounce forever these unfeeling brethren. We must endeavor to forget our former love for them, and hold them as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace friends. We might have been a free and a great people together; but a communication of grandeur and of freedom, it seems, is below their dignity. Be it so, since they will have it. The road to happiness and to glory is open to us too. We will tread it apart from them, and*] acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our [*eternal*] separation [ ]!

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and hold them as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace friends.

We therefore, the representatives of the United States of America, in general Congress assembled, do in the name, and by the authority of the good people of these [*states reject and renounce all allegiance and subjection to the Kings of Great Britain, and all others, who may hereafter claim by, through, or under them; we utterly dissolve all political connexion which may here-*

We therefore, the representatives of the United States of America, in general Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do in the name, and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, that these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states; that they are

tofore have subsisted between us and the people or Parliament of Great Britain; and finally we do assert and declare these colonies to be free and independent states] and that, as free and independent states, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent states may of right do. And for the support of this declaration, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connexion between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that, as free and independent states, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things, which independent states may of right do.

And for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

Mr. Jefferson continued an active member of the second Congress, and was appointed, together with Dr. Franklin and Silas Deane, a Commissioner to the Court of France, to negotiate treaties of alliance and commerce with that nation, but was compelled, on account of the state of his health, and other causes of a private nature, to decline the appointment. During the year 1776, the people of Virginia had been occupied in forming a constitution and plan of government for that state, and now that the more important measures of Congress had been carried, and the bark of Independence fairly launched, and though still tossing upon a wide and tempestuous sea, was yet under the guidance of bold hearts and strong hands, Mr. Jefferson turned his attention to his native state, and thinking that he could be of more use in her counsels, resigned the seat to which he had been elected in the third Congress, in September, 1776, and having been returned a member of the state legislature, immediately took his seat in that body in the following October.

Early in the session, a committee was appointed in pursuance of a motion made by Mr. Jefferson, to make a careful revision of the laws of the state. This committee consisted of Mr. Jefferson, Edmund Pendleton, George Mason, Thomas L. Lee, and George Wythe, the former instructor of Jefferson, and afterwards Chancellor of Virginia. From this committee Mr. Mason and Mr. Lee soon excused themselves, considering themselves as not qualified for the undertaking, on account of their not being lawyers. The work was therefore divided between the other three members, who in June, 1779, reported to the legislature a code of laws, comprised in the compass of one hundred and twenty-six bills. A few of these were from time to time passed by the legislature, as occasion or necessity required, but the greater part were deferred until after the peace in 1785, when most of them were enacted with little alteration.

The labors of Mr. Jefferson, while a member of this committee, were so various and so extensive, that it would be impossible to convey an adequate idea of them, without encroaching upon other matters, of equal

importance, and, perchance, of more interest. Mr. Jefferson has perhaps been considered by many, as an innovator; as too fond of destroying the old established customs and laws of society, and substituting in their place, the fanciful theories of his own brain. He had, it is true, no veneration for old laws and customs, merely because they were old; he looked alone to their justice, and their adaptedness to human nature, and the existing state of things; and if he found not those qualities in them, their antiquity was no protection. He was not willing to live under a bad law, because his fathers had done so, when a better one could be obtained. But whether the charge of love of innovation be just or not, it must be confessed by all, that the alterations introduced by his means, into the constitution and laws of Virginia, were changes of the most beneficial nature. Many of these were important, as tending to abolish those customs of the old countries, which, whenever introduced, or suffered to remain in a newly established nation, must prove serious obstructions to its growth and prosperity—such, for instance, as the laws converting estates tail into fee-simple, abolishing the right of primogeniture, and establishing the freedom of religious opinion. To these may be added the laws for the general establishment of schools, and the abolishment of the slave trade—all these were proposed, and eventually carried, though with modifications in some cases, almost exclusively by the exertions of Mr. Jefferson. "I considered," says Mr. Jefferson, "four of these bills, passed or reported, as forming a system, by which every fibre would be eradicated, of ancient or future aristocracy; and a foundation laid for a government truly republican. The repeal of the laws of entail, would prevent the accumulation and perpetuation of wealth, in select families, and preserve the soil of the country from being daily more and more absorbed in mortmain. The abolition of primogeniture, and equal partition of inheritances, removed the feudal and unnatural distinctions which made one member of every family rich, and all the rest poor, substituting equal partition, the best of all Agrarian laws. The restoration of the rights of conscience, relieved the people from taxation, for the support of a religion not theirs; for the establishment" (that is, of the Church of England,) "was truly the religion of the rich, the dissenting sects being entirely composed of the less wealthy people; and these, by the bill for a general education, would be qualified to understand their rights, to maintain them, and to exercise with intelligence their parts in self government: and all this would be effected, without the violation of a single natural right, of any one individual citizen."

In June, 1779, Mr. Jefferson was elected successor to Mr. Henry, as Governor of Virginia, a situation of peculiar difficulty, to one so entirely unused to military matters. Yet even here his genius showed itself equal to every emergency, and every thing was done by him that could be, to protect the state from the attacks made by the traitor Arnold on the seaboard, and Tarlton and Cornwallis on the southern frontier: but in 1781, the term for which he was elected having expired, believing that the people would be better satisfied with having a military man at the head of affairs, and the defence of the country better conducted, he resigned the office and was succeeded by General Nelson.

But two days after his resignation, Mr. Jefferson narrowly escaped being made a prisoner by Tarlton, who, with his regiment of horse, had been despatched by Lord Cornwallis, for the purpose of surprising the Governor, and the members of the Assembly, then in session at Charlottesville. Notice of the approach of the enemy was, however, brought to Charlottesville so early, that the members had time to escape.

Mr. Jefferson was at breakfast with his family and some guests, when the intelligence of this movement was received at Monticello. He immediately sent off his family to a place of safety, while he himself remained to make some arrangements in his house, and while so occupied, a neighbor rode up to inform him that the enemy were then actually ascending the hill at full speed, and so near were they, that he had barely time to throw himself upon his horse and plunge into the woods, by which means he escaped the search that was made for him.

Soon after Mr. Jefferson's retirement from office, however, some members of the then legislature, believing, or pretending to believe, that he had been remiss, and culpably negligent, in the measures which he had adopted for the defence of the seaboard, at the time of Arnold's descent upon Richmond, moved for an investigation of his conduct. To this neither Mr. Jefferson or his friends made any opposition, and at the session of the legislature, when the investigation was to have taken place, the movers, convinced that there was no ground for complaint, wholly declined the farther prosecution of the charges.

It has been a distinguishing feature in the lives of some of the most celebrated characters the world has ever produced, that, amidst the confusion of war or the cares of state, they have still, with that true economy so little understood, the economy of *minutes*, found time to devote to the cause of literature and science. It was so with Mr. Jefferson at this period. Notwithstanding the conspicuous part he had taken in public affairs, and the laborious duties he had been called upon to perform, amidst all the tumult of a civil war, he had still found time for works of a more peaceful nature. During the year 1781, M. de Marbois, Secretary of the French Legation in the United States, having been instructed by his own Court, to obtain all useful statistical information concerning the American States, that was in his power, addressed some inquiries to Mr. Jefferson, concerning Virginia. Mr. Jefferson had ever been in the habit of committing to writing, all the information he could at any time collect, and the numerous memoranda he had in this way obtained, now furnished him with materials for his answers to M. de Marbois' questions. These he replied to at great length, giving a most interesting statement of the natural history, the soil, productions, institutions, and statistics of his native state. This work was afterwards published by him, under the title of "Notes on Virginia."

But in those times of emergency and danger, talents of so high an order as Mr. Jefferson's, could not long be spared by his country, and she therefore soon made a new call for his services. In the early part of 1781, Mr. Jefferson had been appointed a Minister Plenipotentiary, together with Mr. Adams, Mr. Jay, Mr. Laurens, and Dr. Franklin, for the negotiation of peace which was then expected to take place. His ill

health, and the situation of affairs at home, however, compelled him to decline the appointment, and no progress was ever made in regard to the treaty. In 1782, he was again appointed a commissioner for the same purpose, and the hope of promoting the public interests, and at the same time of restoring his own health by a change of climate, induced him to accept the appointment; but before his embarkation, news was received that the preliminaries of peace had already been signed by the other ministers, and he was therefore excused.

In 1783 and 4, we find Mr. Jefferson again in Congress, and active in all important measures, especially as chairman of the committee upon the state of the treasury, and also of the committee to which was referred the definitive treaty of peace between Great Britain and the United States, which was finally ratified by this Congress, on the fourteenth January, 1784. On the seventh May, of the same year, in pursuance of a vote of Congress, Mr. Jefferson was appointed, together with Mr. Adams, and Dr. Franklin, who were then in Europe, a Minister Plenipotentiary for the purpose of forming treaties of commerce with foreign nations, and accordingly embarked, with his eldest daughter, at Boston, on the fifth of July, and, after a pleasant voyage, arrived at Paris on the sixth of August, where he was immediately joined by Dr. Franklin, and soon after by Mr. Adams. The commissioners were by no means as successful in their attempts to form treaties, as had been anticipated, and at the end of a year, spent in almost fruitless negotiations, the only powers with whom treaties had been effected, were Prussia and Morocco, and their commission expired without any thing of importance having been accomplished.

In February, 1786, Mr. Jefferson, who had been previously appointed to succeed Dr. Franklin, as Minister to France, at the solicitation of Mr. Adams, then at the Court of St. James, went over to England, in the hope of effecting a treaty of commerce with that nation: how discouraging was his reception, can best be learnt from his own words. "On my presentation," says he, "as usual, to the King and Queen at their *levées*, it was impossible for any thing to be more ungracious, than their notice of Mr. Adams and myself. I saw at once, that the ulcerations of mind in that quarter, left nothing to be expected on the subject of my attendance; and on the first conference with the Marquis of Caermarthen, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, the distance and disinclination which he betrayed in his conversation, the vagueness and evasions of his answers to us, confirmed me in the belief of their aversion to have any thing to do with us." Mr. Jefferson, therefore, finding his visit fruitless, returned to Paris on the thirtieth of April, after an absence of seven weeks.

It would be useless, in this hasty sketch, to attempt to give any account of the various diplomatic transactions in which Mr. Jefferson was engaged, during his residence in France, a period of little more than five years, from August, 1784, to October, 1789, especially, as they would not be of great interest to the general reader. As the representative of a new country at a foreign court, there was, of course, much to be done by him, yet there was nothing which required the exercise of any great talents or

powers of mind, at least when compared with the scenes of deep and eventful interest through which we have lately followed him; and after contemplating such scenes and such transactions, the mere details of business and diplomatic negotiations must necessarily appear dull and even insignificant. But the years passed by Mr. Jefferson in Europe, although not now so interesting to most readers, as the other periods of his life, was still one of great enjoyment to him. Fond as he had ever been of science, the stirring scenes in which he had been called to take so conspicuous a part, had allowed him little time for study and investigation: that time, it is true, had been carefully employed, but he now found full opportunity for the free indulgence of his literary and scientific tastes. In the most polite court in Europe, surrounded by the most learned men of the age, honored and esteemed by them, not only as a statesman, but as a philosopher, he led a life most congenial to a mind like his, so eager in the pursuit of knowledge, and so capable of enjoying all that was elegant and refined. He was, too, the friend of Franklin, and so great was the enthusiasm felt by the French people for that remarkable man, that to be his friend, was of itself, apart from all other circumstances of public character, a sufficient passport to the society and friendship of Condorcet, Buffon, D'Alembert, and all the wise and learned of the French capital. To the happiness Mr. Jefferson experienced there, and the many pleasant attachments formed there, must be in part attributed the strong preference he ever afterwards exhibited towards that nation. In his memoirs, when speaking of his departure from France on his return to America, he adds, "And here I cannot leave this great and good country, without expressing my sense of its preeminence of character among the nations of the earth. A more benevolent people I have never known, nor greater warmth and devotedness in their select friendships. Their kindness and accommodation to strangers is unparalleled, and the hospitality of Paris is beyond any thing I had conceived to be practicable in a large city. Their eminence too in science, the communicative dispositions of their scientific men, the politeness of the general manners, the ease and vivacity of their conversation, give a charm to their society, to be found no where else. In a comparison of this with other countries, we have the proof of primacy, which was given to Themistocles after the battle of Salamis. Every general voted to himself the first reward of valor, and the second to Themistocles. So, ask the travelled inhabitant of any nation, In what country on earth would you rather live? Certainly in my own, where are all my friends, my relations, and the earliest and sweetest affections and recollections of my life. Which would be your second choice? France."

Yet notwithstanding his love of France and its society, America still held the first place in his heart, and, amidst all the refinement and learning of Paris, he often sighed for the retirement of Monticello. In a letter to the Baron Geismer, dated at Paris, September sixth, 1785, he says,

The character in which I am here, at present, confines me to this place, and will confine me as long as I continue in Europe. How long this will be, I cannot tell. I am now of an age, which does not easily accommodate itself to new manners and new modes of living, and I am

savage enough to prefer the woods, the wilds, and the independence of Monticello, to all the brilliant pleasures of this gay capital. I shall therefore rejoin myself to my native country, with new attachments, and with exaggerated esteem for its advantages; for though there is less wealth there, there is more freedom, more ease, and less misery."

Mr. Jefferson was naturally led, during his residence in Europe, to compare the state of the French people, their advancement in morals, in science, and the arts of life, with his own countrymen. As a citizen of a new republic, where perfect freedom of religious opinions existed, and where the only end of government was to improve the people, and deeply anxious as to the result of the great experiment which was then on trial, Whether the people could rule themselves?—he was constantly watching the effects of the government, and the long established institutions of France, on the character and happiness of the people, and instituting comparisons between the inhabitants of that and of his own land; and although America was even then suffering all the evils which a long and bloody war, carried on in the midst of her own territories, had inflicted on her, the result of his observations was uniformly in her favor. In a letter to Mr. Bellini, dated Paris, 1785, he thus expresses himself—"Behold me at length on the vaunted scene of Europe! It is not necessary for your information, that I should enter into details concerning it. But you are, perhaps, curious to know how this new scene has struck a savage of the mountains of America. Not advantageously, I assure you. I find the general fate of humanity here most deplorable. The truth of Voltaire's observation offers itself perpetually, that every man here must be either the hammer or the anvil. While the great mass of the people are thus suffering under physical and moral oppression, I have endeavored to examine more nearly the condition of the great, to appreciate the true value of the circumstances in their situation, which dazzle the bulk of spectators, and, especially, to compare it with that degree of happiness which is enjoyed in America by every class of people. Intrigues of love occupy the younger, and those of ambition the elder part of the great. Conjugal love having no existence among them, domestic happiness, of which that is the basis, is utterly unknown. In lieu of this, are substituted pursuits which nourish and invigorate all our bad passions, and which offer only moments of ecstacy, amidst days and months of restlessness and torment. Much, very much inferior, this, to the tranquil, permanent felicity, with which domestic society in America blesses most of its inhabitants; leaving them to follow steadily those pursuits which health and reason approve, and rendering truly delicious the intervals of those pursuits.

"In science the mass of the people is two centuries behind ours; their literati, half a dozen years before us. With respect to what are termed polite manners, without sacrificing too much the sincerity of language, I would wish my countrymen to adopt just so much of European politeness, as to be ready to make all those little sacrifices of self, which really render European manners amiable, and relieve society from the disagreeable scenes to which rudeness often subjects it. Here, it seems that a man might pass a life without encountering a single rudeness. In the plea-

sures of the table they are far before us, because with good taste they unite temperance. They do not terminate the most sociable meals by transforming themselves into brutes. I have never yet seen a man drunk in France, even among the lowest of the people. Were I to proceed to tell you how much I enjoy their architecture, sculpture, painting, music, I should want words. It is in these acts they shine. The last of them, particularly, is an enjoyment, the deprivation of which with us cannot be calculated. I am almost ready to say, it is the only thing which from my heart I envy them, and which, in spite of all the authority of the Decalogue, I do covet."

In another letter to Mr. Wythe, dated Paris, August, 1786, when speaking of the revision of the laws in which the Assembly of Virginia had been engaged, he writes—"I think, by far the most important bill in our whole code, is that for the diffusion of knowledge among the people. No other sure foundation can be devised for the preservation of freedom and happiness. If any body thinks that kings, nobles, or priests, are good conservators of the public happiness, send him here. It is the best school in the universe, to cure him of that folly. He will see here with his own eyes, that these descriptions of men are an abandoned confederacy against the happiness of the mass of the people. The omnipotence of their effect cannot be better proved, than in this country particularly, where notwithstanding the finest soil upon earth, the finest climate under heaven, and a people of the most benevolent, the most gay and amiable character, of which the human form is susceptible; where such a people, I say, surrounded by so many blessings from nature, are loaded with misery by kings, nobles, and priests, and by them alone. Preach, my dear Sir, a crusade against ignorance; establish and improve the law for educating the common people. Let our countrymen know, that the people alone can protect us against these evils, and that the tax which will be paid for this purpose, is not more than the thousandth part of what will be paid to kings, priests, and nobles, who will rise up among us if we leave the people in ignorance."

During Mr. Jefferson's residence in Europe, his official duties demanded so much of his attention, and confined him so closely to Paris, that he had few opportunities for visiting the other parts of the continent. We have already mentioned, that soon after his appointment, at the request of Mr. Adams, and in the hope of effecting a commercial treaty with England, he visited London. He also went to the Hague at a later period, to meet Mr. Adams, for the purpose of negotiating a loan to Congress, and returned thence along the banks of the Rhine. In the early part of 1787, having suffered much from a dislocated wrist, he was induced to try the warm mineral springs of Aix, in Provence, in the hope that they would prove beneficial, but not finding them of the service he had expected, he took the opportunity to visit the southern provinces of France, and the northern parts of Italy; and the short journal he has left us, is enough to make us regret that he had not possessed more leisure, or that fortune had not made him a traveller.

While in Paris, Mr. Jefferson became acquainted with Ledyard, the celebrated American traveller, who had come there with the intention of

forming a company for the prosecution of the fur trade on the northwest coast, and in which plan he found an active coadjutor in Paul Jones, who was at that time in France. Not succeeding in this, Mr. Jefferson suggested to him the idea of a journey through the Russian dominions to Kamschatka; thence to cross to Nootka Sound, and return across the continent of America to the United States. This plan was readily adopted by Ledyard, who was eager for any expedition of discovery, whether to the frozen regions of Siberia, or the burning deserts of Africa. Mr. Jefferson accordingly undertook to obtain the permission of the Empress Catharine, for him to journey through her dominions. This, however, was peremptorily refused by the Empress. But Ledyard, once started in an enterprise, was not to be deterred by an obstacle of this nature; he therefore left Paris for St. Petersburg, thinking that in person he might obtain the necessary permission. Not finding the Empress at St. Petersburg, and unwilling to suffer any delay, he proceeded without it, and had actually arrived on the banks of the Lena, and within a few days' journey of Kamschatka, when he was overtaken by officers despatched after him, brought back to the frontiers of Russia, and there dismissed.

Hitherto we have regarded Mr. Jefferson merely as a statesman, but it is not in this light only that he is to be viewed. During all the time of his residence abroad, the numerous letters to his friends in America, detailing all the new discoveries made in science and the arts, prove how deeply he was interested in those subjects; and the following letter will show how readily he could turn from the cares of state, to familiar intercourse of the lightest and most sportive kind. Of the lady to whom it was addressed we know nothing, but we are confident its playfulness and the goodness of heart which it exhibits, will prove an ample apology for the length of the extract.

"To Mrs. Cosway.

"Paris, October 12, 1786.

"My dear Madam,

"Having performed the last sad office of handing you into your carriage, at the *pavillon de St. Dénis*, and seen the wheels get actually into motion, I turned on my heel and walked, more dead than alive, to the opposite door, where my own was awaiting me. Mr. Danquerville was missing. He was sought for, found, and dragged down stairs. We were crammed into the carriage, like recruits for the Bastile; and not having soul enough to give orders to the coachman, he presumed Paris our destination, and drove off. After a considerable interval, silence was broke, with a "*Je suis vraiment affligé du depart de ces bons gens.*" This was a signal for mutual confession of distress. We began immediately to talk of Mr. and Mrs. Cosway, of their goodness, their talents, their amiability; and though we spoke of nothing else, we seemed hardly to have entered into the matter, when the coachman announced the Rue St. Dénis, and that we were opposite Mr. Danquerville's. He insisted on descending there, and traversing a short passage to his lodgings, I was carried home. Seated by my fireside, solitary and sad, the following dialogue took place between my Head and my Heart.

"*Head.* Well, friend, you seem to be in a pretty trim.

"*Heart.* I am indeed the most wretched of all earthly beings. Overwhelmed with grief, every fibre of my frame distended beyond its natural powers to bear, I would willingly meet whatever catastrophe should leave me no more to feel or to fear.

"*Head.* These are the eternal consequences of your warmth and precipitation. This is one of the scrapes into which you are ever leading us. You confess your follies, indeed; but still you hug and cherish them; and no reformation can be hoped, where there is no repentance.

"*Heart.* Oh! my friend, this is no moment to upbraid my foibles. I am rent into fragments by the force of my grief! If you have any balm, pour it into my wounds; if none, do not harrow them by new torments. Spare me in this awful moment. At any other, I will attend with patience to your admonitions.

"*Head.* On the contrary, I never found that the moment of triumph, with you, was the moment of attention to my admonitions. While suffering under your follies, you may perhaps be made sensible of them; but the paroxysm over, you fancy it can never return. Harsh, therefore, as the medicine may be, it is my office to administer it. * * * * * * * * * I wish to make you sensible how imprudent it is to place your affections without reserve on objects you must so soon lose, and whose loss, when it comes, must cost you such severe pangs. Remember the last night. You knew your friends were to leave Paris to-day. This was enough to throw you into agonies. All night you tossed us from one side of the bed to the other; no sleep, no rest. The poor crippled wrist, too, never left one moment in the same position; now up, now down, now here, now there; was it to be wondered at if its pains returned? The surgeon then was to be called, and to be rated as an ignoramus, because he could not divine the cause of this extraordinary change. In fine, my friend, you must mend your manners. This is not a world to live at random in, as you do. To avoid those eternal distresses, to which you are forever exposing us, you must learn to look forward before you take a step, which may interest our peace. Every thing in this world is matter of calculation. Advance, then, with caution, the balance in your hand. Put into one scale the pleasures which any object may offer; but put fairly into the other the pains which are to follow, and see which preponderates. The making an acquaintance is not a matter of indifference. When a new one is proposed to you, view it all round. Consider what advantages it presents, and to what inconveniences it may expose you. Do not bite at the bait of pleasure, till you know there is no hook beneath it. The art of life is the art of avoiding pain; and he is the best pilot, who steers clearest of the rocks and shoals with which it is beset. Pleasure is always before us, but misfortune is at our side; while running after that, this arrests us. The most effectual means of being secure against pain, is to retire within ourselves, and to suffice for our own happiness. Those which depend on ourselves, are the only pleasures a wise man will count on; for nothing is our own, which another may deprive us of. Hence the inestimable value of intellectual pleasures. Ever in our own power, always leading us to something new, never cloying, we ride secure and sublime above the concerns of this mortal world, contemplating truth

and nature, matter and motion, the laws which bind up their existence, and that eternal Being, who made and bound them up by those laws. Let this be our employ. Leave the bustle and tumult of society to those who have not talents to occupy themselves without them. Friendship is but another name for an alliance with the follies and the misfortunes of others. Our own share of miseries is sufficient. Why enter, then, as volunteers into those of another? Is there so little gall poured into our cup, that we must need help to drink that of our neighbor? A friend dies or leaves us: we feel as if a limb was cut off. He is sick: we must watch over him and participate of his pains. His fortune is shipwrecked: ours must be laid under contribution. He loses a child, a parent, or a partner: we must mourn the loss as if it were our own.

Heart. And what more sublime delight, than to mingle tears with one whom the hand of Heaven hath smitten! to watch over the bed of sickness, and to beguile its tedious and its painful moments! to share our bread with one to whom misfortune has left none! This world abounds indeed with misery; to lighten its burden, we must divide it with one another. But let us now try the virtue of your mathematical balance; and as you have put into one scale the burdens of friendship, let me put its comforts into the other. When languishing, then, under disease, how grateful is the solace of our friends! how are we penetrated with their assiduities and attentions! how much are we supported by their encouragements and kind offices! When Heaven has taken from us some object of our love, how sweet is it to have a bosom whereon to recline our heads, and into which we may pour the torrent of our tears! Grief with such a comfort is almost a luxury. In a life where we are perpetually exposed to want and accident, yours is a wonderful proposition, to insulate ourselves, to retire from all aid, and to wrap ourselves in the mantle of self-sufficiency! For assuredly, nobody will care for him, who cares for nobody. But friendship is precious, not only in the shade, but in the sunshine of life; and thanks to a benevolent arrangement of things, the greater part of life is sunshine. I will recur for proof to the days we have lately passed. On these, indeed, the sun shone brightly! How gay did the face of nature appear! Hills, valleys, chateaux, gardens, rivers, every object wore its liveliest hue! Whence did they borrow it? From the presence of our charming companion. They were pleasing, because she seemed pleased. Alone, the scene would have been dull and insipid: the participation of it with her gave it relish. Let the gloomy monk, sequestered from the world, seek unsocial pleasures in the bottom of his cell! Let the sublimated philosopher grasp visionary happiness, while pursuing phantoms dressed in the garb of truth! Their supreme wisdom is supreme folly, and they mistake for happiness the mere absence of pain. Had they ever felt the solid pleasure of one generous spasm of the heart, they would exchange for it all the frigid speculations of their lives, which you have been vaunting in such elevated terms. Believe me, then, my friend, that that is a miserable arithmetic, which could estimate friendship at nothing, or at less than nothing. Respect for you has induced me to enter into this discussion, and to hear principles uttered, which I detest and abjure. Respect for myself now obliges me to recall you into the

proper limits of your office. When nature assigned us the same habitation, she gave us over it a divided empire. To you she allotted the field of science, to me that of morals. When the circle is to be squared, or the orbit of a comet is to be traced, when the arch of greatest strength or the solid of least resistance is to be investigated, take up the problem; it is yours; nature has given me no cognizance of it. In like manner, in denying to you the feelings of sympathy, of benevolence, of gratitude, of justice, of love, of friendship, she has excluded you from their control. To these she has adapted the mechanism of the heart. Morals were too essential to the happiness of man, to be risked on the uncertain combinations of the head. She laid their foundation, therefore, in sentiment, not in science. That she gave to all, as necessary to all; this to a few only, as sufficing with a few. I know, indeed, that you pretend authority to the sovereign control of our conduct in all its parts; and a respect for your grave saws and maxims, a desire to do what is right, has sometimes induced me to conform to your counsels. A few facts, however, which I can readily recall to your memory, will suffice to prove to you, that nature has not organized you for our moral direction. When the poor wearied soldier, whom we overtook at Chickahominy, with his pack on his back, begged us to let him get up behind our chariot, you began to calculate that the road was full of soldiers, and that if all should be taken up, our horses would fail in their journey. We drove on therefore. But soon becoming sensible you had made me do wrong, that though we cannot relieve all the distressed, we should relieve as many as we can, I turned about to take up the soldier, but he had entered a by-path, and was no more to be found; and from that moment to this, I could never find him out to ask his forgiveness. Again, when the poor woman came to ask charity in Philadelphia, you whispered that she looked like a drunkard, and that half a dollar was enough to give her for the alehouse. Those who want the dispositions to give, easily find reasons why they ought not to give. When I sought her out afterwards, and did what I should have done at first, you know that she employed the money immediately towards placing her child at school. If our country, when pressed with wrongs at the point of the bayonet, had been governed by its heads instead of its hearts, where should we have been now? Hanging on a gallows as high as Haman's. You began to calculate, and to compare wealth and numbers; we threw up a few pulsations of our blood; we supplied enthusiasm against wealth and numbers; we put our existence to the hazard, when the hazard seemed against us, and we saved our country: justifying, at the same time, the ways of Providence, whose precept is to do always what is right, and leave the issue to Him. In short, my friend, as far as my recollection serves me, I do not know that I ever did a good thing on your suggestion, or a dirty one without it. I do forever, then, disclaim your interference in my province. Fill paper as you please with triangles and squares; try how many ways you can hang and combine them together: I shall never envy nor control your sublime delights. But leave me to decide when and where friendships are to be contracted. You say I contract them at random. So you said the woman at Philadelphia was a drunkard. I receive none into my esteem, till I know they are worthy of it. Wealth, title, office,

are no recommendations to my friendship. On the contrary, great good qualities are requisite to make amends for their having wealth, title, and office. You confess that, in the present case, I could not have made a worthier choice. You only object that I was so soon to lose them. We are not immortal ourselves, my friend; how can we expect our enjoyments to be so? We have no rose without its thorn, no pleasure without its alloy. It is the law of our existence, and we must acquiesce. It is the condition annexed to all our pleasure, not by us who receive, but by Him who gives them. True, this condition is pressing cruelly on me at this moment. I feel more fit for death than life; but when I look back on the pleasures of which it is the consequence, I am conscious they were worth the price I am paying. Notwithstanding your endeavors, too, to damp my hopes, I comfort myself with expectations of their promised return. Hope is sweeter than despair, and they were too good to mean to deceive me. "In the summer," said the gentleman; but "in the spring," said the lady; and I should love her forever, were it only for that. Know then, my friend, that I have taken these good people into my bosom; that I have lodged them in the warmest cell I could find; that I love them, and will continue to love them through life; that if fortune should dispose them on one side the globe and me on the other, my affections shall pervade its whole mass to reach them. Knowing, then, my determination, attempt not to disturb it. If you can at any time furnish matter for their amusement, it will be the office of a good neighbor to do it. I will, in like manner, seize any occasion which may offer, to do the like good turn for you with Condorcet, Rittenhouse, Madison, La Cretelle, or any other of those worthy sons of science, whom you so justly prize.

"I thought this a favorable proposition whereon to rest the issue of the dialogue. So I put an end to it by calling for my nightcap. Methinks, I hear you wish to Heaven I had called a little sooner, and so spared you the *ennui* of such a sermon."

In October, 1789, Mr. Jefferson having obtained from government the permission he had long solicited, to return home for a short time, embarked at Havre for the United States. It was not his intention, at that time, to resign his station at the Court of Versailles. France, ever a desirable residence to him, was at this time an object of the strongest interest. The flame of revolution which had been kindled in America had already touched the shores of Europe, and the spirit of republicanism was rapidly spreading through all classes of people in France. To Mr. Jefferson, to the citizen of a country, itself just emancipated, just escaped from servitude, the struggle which was now rapidly approaching between the people and the throne, between liberty and long established oppression, was one of peculiar interest, desirous as he must have been to see the rights and principles for which he had so successfully contended in America, transplanted and flourishing in the soil of Europe. It was therefore his intention, after a short visit to his native country, to return and resume his office. Immediately, however, upon his arrival at Norfolk, in the latter part of November, he was met by a letter from General Washington, containing an appointment to be Secretary of State. To this Mr. Jefferson replied, stating his desire to return to France, but at

the same time assuring the President of his willingness to remain, could his services be more beneficial to his country at home. A second letter from the President, expressing the same wish as the former, but giving him the choice of the two situations, induced him to forego his own inclinations, and accept the appointment. During Mr. Jefferson's long absence, great changes had taken place in the United States. The country which he had left five years before, just emerging from a protracted and exhausting war, without a government, and in almost as great danger from the internal dissensions, which were naturally to be expected among a people so peculiarly situated, as she had previously been, from external enemies, he now beheld flourishing, and happy, and rapidly increasing in wealth and population. During that interval, the Federal Constitution had been adopted, a government organized, and at its head the gratitude of a free people had placed that man, who had so successfully conducted her armies, and who, as the first President of the Western Republic, proved himself as wise in counsel, as he had before shown himself victorious in war.

Mr. Jefferson immediately entered upon the duties of his station, and during his continuance in office, he ever discharged them with the greatest zeal and ability. We can here, of course, speak only in general terms: to enter into a detail of the whole course of his administration would be impossible, without at the same time writing the political history of the country. The duties assumed by him were of the most arduous and responsible nature, embracing the superintendance, both of domestic affairs, and of foreign relations: and they were at that time more difficult from the infancy both of the office and the government. Nevertheless, our intercourse with foreign nations, for the management of which, Mr. Jefferson was eminently qualified by his former diplomatic experience, was so conducted, that the interests and rights of the citizen were protected, and the honor and dignity of the nation supported, without any infringement of the rights of others; and in the home department, the numerous reports and state papers on subjects of the highest importance, which from time to time he laid before Congress, furnish abundant proof of his talents and industry.

At the close of the year 1793, Mr. Jefferson, finding himself one of an administration, from a majority of whose members he differed in views, which were every day becoming of more and more importance, and that he could not consistently act with them, in the measures which would be adopted, especially in regard to our foreign relations, retired from the office of Secretary of State. Party spirit, never long asleep in any country, and least of all in a republic, had already risen high in America, and the whole body of the people, from the first statesman in the cabinet, down to the merest village alehouse politician, were ranged under the banners of one or the other of the contending parties. To that one of these parties, known by the name of Democratic, Mr. Jefferson found himself strongly drawn by the whole course of his previous habits and opinions. The other members of the cabinet, however, were attached to the opposite party; and Mr. Jefferson, therefore, thought himself called upon to withdraw.

For a time, therefore, Mr. Jefferson retired from public life, and devoted himself to the cultivation of his estate, and to those literary and scientific pursuits of which he was so fond; and at Monticello, in the bosom of his family, and undisturbed by the calls of office, he experienced, for a few years, the domestic happiness and quiet, he was so well fitted to enjoy. He was about this time, too, chosen President of the American Philosophical Society, as successor to Rittenhouse, and, for the long period that he filled the chair, was active in promoting, in every way in his power, the prosperity of the institution. Mr. Jefferson, however, was not long permitted to remain a private citizen. In September, 1796, General Washington, the only person who could unite the affections of the whole people, in his Farewell Address to the people of the United States, declined being any longer considered a candidate for the office of Chief Magistrate. The two great parties, into which the nation was divided, therefore, immediately brought forward their candidates. Mr. Adams was nominated by the one, and Mr. Jefferson by the other; and at the election which took place in the fall of that year, Mr. Adams was chosen President, and Mr. Jefferson Vice-President, for the four years next ensuing. As the principal duty of the Vice-President, unless in case of the death of the President, is merely to preside in the Senate, much of these four years, except during the sessions of Congress, was spent by Mr. Jefferson in the tranquillity of Monticello.

In 1801, Mr. Jefferson, who had again been nominated as a candidate, in opposition to Mr. Adams, received a majority of the votes of the people. But as the number of votes given for Mr. Jefferson and for Mr. Burr, who had been nominated by the democratic party for Vice-President, were equal, and the constitution did not require that the votes should specify the office to which each one was respectively elected, neither having such a majority as was necessary to a choice, the election devolved upon the House of Representatives. When the election came on, the opponents of Mr. Jefferson threw their votes for Mr. Burr, and it was not until after thirty-five unsuccessful ballots, that Mr. Jefferson was elected President, and Mr. Burr became, of course, Vice-President.

On the fourth of March, 1801, Mr. Jefferson took the oath of office, and delivered his inaugural address in presence of both houses of Congress. After declaring his diffidence and distrust of his own powers, in the conduct of the affairs of so vast a nation, he thus expresses the hope that all parties would unite in the support of the government and the union. "Let us then, fellow-citizens, unite with one heart and one mind; let us restore to social intercourse that harmony and affection, without which liberty, and even life itself, are but dreary things. And let us reflect that, having banished from our land that religious intolerance under which mankind so long bled and suffered, we have yet gained little, if we countenance a political intolerance, as despotic, as wicked, and capable of as bitter and bloody persecutions. During the throes and convulsions of the ancient world, during the agonizing spasms of infuriated man, seeking through blood and slaughter his long lost liberty, it was not wonderful that the agitation of the billows should reach even this distant and peaceful shore; that this should be more felt and feared by

some, and less by others; and should divide opinions as to measures of safety; but every difference of opinion is not a difference of principle. We have called by different names brethren of the same principle. We are all republicans; we are all federalists. If there be any among us who would wish to dissolve this union, or to change its republican form, let them stand undisturbed as monuments of the safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated, where reason is left free to combat it. I know, indeed, that some honest men fear that a republican government cannot be strong; that this government is not strong enough. But would the honest patriot, in the full tide of successful experiment, abandon a government which has so far kept us free and firm, on the theoretic and visionary fear, that this government, the world's best hope, may, by possibility, want energy to preserve itself? I trust not. I believe this, on the contrary, the strongest government on earth. I believe it the only one, where every man, at the call of the law, would fly to the standard of the law, and would meet invasions of the public order as his own personal concern. Sometimes it is said that man cannot be trusted with the government of himself. Can he then be trusted with the government of others? Or have we found angels, in the form of kings, to govern him? Let history answer this question."

He then proceeds to give, in the following summary manner, a brief statement of the principles which were to be the rule of his administration. "About to enter, fellow-citizens, on the exercise of duties which comprehend every thing dear and valuable to you, it is proper you should understand what I deem the essential principles of our government, and, consequently, those which ought to shape its administration. I will compress them within the narrowest compass they will bear, stating the general principle, but not all its limitations. Equal and exact justice to all men, of whatever state or persuasion, religious or political;—peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none;—the support of the state governments in all their rights, as the most competent administrations for our domestic concerns, and the surest bulwarks against anti-republican tendencies;—the preservation of the general government in its whole constitutional vigor, as the sheet anchor of our peace at home, and safety abroad;—a jealous care of the rights of election by the people, a mild and safe corrective of abuses which are lopped by the sword of revolution, where peaceable remedies are unprovided;—absolute acquiescence in the decisions of the majority, the vital principle of republics, from which is no appeal but to force, the vital principle and immediate parent of despotism;—a well disciplined militia, our best reliance in peace, and for the first moments of war, till regulars may relieve them;—the supremacy of the civil over the military authority;—economy in the public expense, that labor may be lightly burdened;—the honest payment of our debts, and sacred preservation of the public faith;—encouragement of agriculture, and of commerce as its handmaid;—the diffusion of information, and arraignment of all abuses at the bar of the public reason;—freedom of religion, freedom of the press, and freedom of person, under the protection of the habeas corpus, and trials by juries impartially selected. These principles form the bright constel-

lation which has gone before us, and guided our steps through an age of revolution and reformation. The wisdom of our sages and blood of our heroes have been devoted to their attainment; they should be the creed of our political faith, the text of civic instruction, the touchstone by which to try the services of those we trust;—and should we wander from them in moments of error or of alarm, let us hasten to retrace our steps, and to regain the road which alone leads to peace, liberty, and safety."

The democratic party having now gained the ascendency in the national councils, the policy of the country underwent considerable changes. Of the merits of the different measures sanctioned and pursued by the respective administrations, it is not necessary here to speak; the distinctions which then prevailed, and led to so much bitterness and hostility, are passed away, and the measures of government are now to be adjudged wise or unwise, beneficial or injurious, without reference to the party from which they emanated. The policy of Mr. Jefferson's administration, however, at that time, was so far approved, that in 1805, at the expiration of the term for which he had been chosen, he was reelected to the chief magistracy by a large majority, notwithstanding all the exertions of the federal party. There can be no doubt that many of the acts of Mr. Jefferson were beneficial, and probably would be allowed to be so now, by those who, in the excitement of party, believed them to be destructive of the best interests of the country. Of this character is the purchase of Louisiana, and the annexation of all that fertile country to the United States, thereby giving us not only a vast extent of valuable territory, but what was also of the greatest importance, the undisputed navigation of the Mississippi, the great outlet of the west. Of others, as of the embargo of 1807, the expediency, to say the least, may be doubtful. Since the adoption of the Federal Constitution, perhaps no act of the government, at any period, has ever been more warmly supported by its friends, or more violently and unsparingly attacked by the opposition. The deep and continued aggressions of the two great belligerent powers of Europe, England and France, upon the neutral commerce of the country, after negotiation and remonstrance had been tried in vain, called for more efficient measures for protection on the part of the government.

These aggressions, by the injuries offered to our trade, especially with the British colonies, by the impressment of seamen and the numerous depredations on our coasts, had become so annoying, that, in December of 1805, Mr. Jefferson thus calls the attention of Congress to the subject. "Our coasts have been infested, and our harbors watched, by private armed vessels, some of them without commissions, some with illegal commissions, others with those of legal form, but committing piratical acts beyond the authority of their commissions. They have captured in the very entrance of our harbors, as well as on the high seas, not only the vessels of our friends coming to trade with us, but our own also. They have carried them off under pretence of legal adjudication, but, not daring to approach a court of justice, they have plundered and sunk them by the way, or in obscure places, where no evidence could arise against them, maltreated the crews, and abandoned them in boats in the open sea, or

on desert shores, without food or covering. The same system of hovering on our coasts and harbors, under color of seeking enemies, has been also carried on by public armed ships, to the great annoyance and oppression of our commerce. New principles, too, have been interpolated into the law of nations, founded neither in justice nor the usage or acknowledgment of nations. According to these, a belligerent takes to itself a commerce with its own enemy, which it denies to a neutral, on the ground of its aiding that enemy in the war. But reason revolts at such an inconsistency; and the neutral having equal rights with the belligerent to decide the question, the interests of our constituents, and the duty of maintaining the authority of reason, the only umpire between just nations, impose on us the obligation of providing an effectual and determined opposition to a doctrine so injurious to the rights of peaceable nations. In consequence of these suggestions of the Executive, the first measures taken by Congress were the preparations for the defence of our coast in case of a war, and the non-importation act, passed in the early part of 1806. Commissioners were also appointed at the several foreign courts, to make some adjustment of the existing difficulties, and prevent a repetition of such injuries.

While these negotiations were pending, a most flagrant outrage, committed by the British frigate Leopard upon the frigate Chesapeake, in our very waters, and almost in sight of our coast, produced the proclamation of the President of July second, 1807, requiring all British armed vessels, then within the waters of the United States, to depart, and forbidding them to enter. Scarcely, however, was this injury disavowed and offers of reparation made, when the British Orders in Council, of November of the same year, appeared. By these the British government prohibited all commerce between the United States and the ports of his enemies in Europe, unless the articles had been first landed in England, and the duties paid for their re-exportation. Under these circumstances, more decided measures were called for on the part of our government. Submission was not for a moment thought of; and the only alternative was between open war, or such measures as should take us completely out of the power of our enemies and the operation of these orders.

In the opinion of Mr. Jefferson, the country was not then in a situation to hazard a war; and, therefore, the only means left to prevent the entire destruction of our commerce, was a prohibition of all intercourse, which it was supposed would have the desired effect, not only by keeping our own shipping in port, out of the way of the enemy, but by depriving them of the benefit of our commerce, thereby inducing them to come to some terms. Consequently, an embargo was laid on all our vessels, prohibiting their departure from any port of the United States, by an act of Congress, passed December twenty-second, 1807. The consideration, whether this measure was expedient, or the best one which could be adopted, belongs to the political historian.

The early part of Mr. Jefferson's second administration, was disturbed by an event, which threatened the tranquillity and peace of the union; this was the conspiracy of Aaron Burr. Defeated in the late election to the Vice-Presidency, and led on by an unprincipled ambition, this

extraordinary man formed the plan of a military expedition into the Spanish territories, on our southwestern frontier, for the purpose of forming there a new republic. This, however, as has been generally supposed, was a mere pretext; and although it has never been accurately known what his real plans were, there is no doubt that they were of a far more dangerous character. The opinion generally received, is, that his object was to bring about a separation of the states west of the Alleghanies from the general government, and form them into an independent state. The plan, however, whatever it might have been, was never matured, for no sooner were the government apprized that bodies of men were organizing, and arming themselves for the avowed purpose of an attack upon a neighboring government, then at peace with us, without the authority of Congress, than measures were taken to disperse those who had assembled, to seize their arms and stores, and to arrest the ringleaders. Immediately upon the discovery of the plan, Colonel Burr fled, but was soon overtaken, and brought back to Richmond, Virginia. Here he was examined before Chief Justice Marshall, upon a charge of high misdemeanor, in preparing, within the limits of the United States, an expedition against the Spanish provinces, and also on a charge of treason, and bound over for trial on the former, there not being sufficent evidence to justify a commitment on the latter, and upon the trial for the misdemeanor, in August, 1807, he was also acquitted for a like want of evidence.

In 1809, at the expiration of the second term for which Mr. Jefferson had been elected, he determined to retire forever from political life. For a period of nearly forty years, he had been continually before the public, and all that time had been employed in offices of the greatest trust and responsibility. Having thus devoted the best part of his life to the service of his country, he now felt desirous of that rest which his declining years required, and upon the organization of the new government, in March, 1809, he bid forever farewell to public life, and retired to Monticello, there to enjoy all

> "That which should accompany old age,
> As honor, love, obedience, troops of friends."

From this time, Mr. Jefferson never took any part in politics; but to one like him, even old age had its duties, and in the cultivation of his estate, in study, and in the exercise of a boundless hospitality, he found full employment for his time. But the object which most interested him during his later years, was the establishment of a system of general education in Virginia, and especially the superintendance of the new university of Virginia, which was founded in 1818, through his instrumentality. Of this institution, which was located at Charlottesville, a town at the foot of the mountain on which the estate of Monticello was situated, Mr. Jefferson was chosen rector at the time of its foundation, and continued in that office during the remainder of his life, devoting himself unremittingly to the interests and advancement of this child of his old age.

There was one circumstance, however, which contributed in some

degree to disturb the happiness of the last years of his life. As the greater part of his life had been spent in the service of his country, and in public stations, to the support of which the small salary, which the more than Spartan economy of a republic allowed, was by no means equal, the estate of Mr. Jefferson, though originally large, had been constantly diminishing, and in 1825, he found himself obliged to apply to the Legislature of Virginia, for leave to dispose of his estate of Monticello by lottery, to prevent its being sacrificed, and in order to raise money sufficient to discharge his debts. This indeed was granted, but the days of the patriot were numbered, the time was fast approaching when his earthly wants were to cease, and the name of Jefferson must ever remain another instance of the tardy gratitude of republics.

The fourth of July, 1826, being the fiftieth anniversary of the Declaration of American Independence, great preparations were made, in every part of the Union for its celebration, as the nation's jubilee, and the citizens of Washington, to add to the solemnity of the occasion, invited Mr. Jefferson, as the framer, and one of the few surviving signers, of the Declaration, to participate in their festivities. But an illness, which had been of several weeks' duration, and had been continually increasing, compelled him to decline the invitation. In his reply, on the twenty-fourth of June, he gives evidence, that although his earthly frame was fast perishing, his mind was still the same; still animated with the same ardent love of liberty, still eager for the universal emancipation of man. "It adds sensibly," he writes, "to the sufferings of sickness, to be deprived by it of a personal participation in the rejoicings of that day; but acquiescence under circumstances, is a duty not placed among those we are permitted to control. I should, indeed, with peculiar delight, have met and exchanged there congratulations, personally, with the small band, the remnant of the host of worthies who joined with us, on that day, in the bold and doubtful election we were to make for our country, between submission and the sword; and to have enjoyed with them the consolatory fact, that our fellow-citizens, after half a century of experience and prosperity, continue to approve the choice we made. May it be to the world, what I believe it will be, (to some parts sooner, to others later, but finally to all,) the signal of arousing men to burst the chains, under which monkish ignorance and superstition had persuaded them to bind themselves, and to assume the blessings and security of self government. The form which we have substituted, restores the free right to the unbounded exercise of reason and freedom of opinion. All eyes are opened, or opening, to the rights of man. The general spread of the lights of science has already laid open, to every view, the palpable truth, that the mass of mankind has not been born with saddles on their backs, nor a favored few, booted and spurred, ready to ride them legitimately, by the grace of God. These are grounds of hope for others; for ourselves, let the annual return of this day forever refresh our recollections of these rights, and an undiminished devotion to them."

Soon after this letter was written, the illness, which before had not been considered at all dangerous, increased rapidly, and on the twenty-sixth, he was obliged to confine himself to his bed. On the second of

July, the disease, under which he was laboring, left him, but in such a reduced state, that his medical attendants entertained no hope of his recovery. From this time he himself was perfectly sensible, that his last hour was at hand, and with the utmost calmness he conversed with the different members of his family, and gave directions concerning his coffin, and his funeral, which he was desirous should be at Monticello, and without any display or parade. On the next day, which was Monday, he asked of those around him, the day of the month, and on being told it was the third of July, he expressed the earnest wish that he might be permitted to breathe the air of the fiftieth anniversary. His prayer was heard—that day, whose dawn was hailed with such rapture through our land, burst upon his eyes, and then they were closed forever. And what a noble consummation of a noble life! To die on that day,—the birthday of a nation,—the day which his own name and his own act had rendered glorious; to die amidst the rejoicings and festivities of a whole nation, who looked up to him, as the author, under God, of their greatest blessings, was all that was wanting to fill up the record of his life. Fifty summers had rolled over his head, since the day when the Congress of '76 declared America independent; fifty years he had watched over her like a parent over his child; and he had been permitted to see that country, whose cause in her hour of darkness he had so nobly maintained, prosperous and happy. He had prayed that he might see that day; and on that day, amidst the acclamations of twelve millions of freemen, in the hour within which, fifty years before, he had signed the Magna Charta of American Freedom, his spirit was freed from the bondage of earth. Happy in his life, more happy in his death, of him it may truly be said, that

> "————Nothing in his life,
> Became him like the leaving it."——

And almost at the same hour, the kindred spirit of the venerable Adams, as if to bear him company, left the scene of his earthly honors. Hand in hand they had stood forth, the champions of freedom; hand in hand, during the dark and desperate struggle of the revolution, they had cheered and animated their desponding countrymen; for half a century they had labored together for the good of their country; and now hand in hand they departed. In their lives they had been united in the same great cause of liberty, and in their deaths they were not divided.

At the time of his death, Mr. Jefferson had attained the age of eighty-three years and a few months. In January, 1772, he was married to Martha, widow of Bathurst Skelton, and daughter of John Wayles, a lawyer of considerable eminence in the then colony of Virginia. Their union, however, was of short duration; she died in September, 1782, leaving three daughters, one of whom died young, the other two were married, one to Thomas M. Randolph, afterwards Governor of Virginia, the other to Mr. Eppes.

In person Mr. Jefferson was tall and thin, rather above six feet in height, but well formed; his eyes were light, his hair, originally red, in after life became white and silvery; his complexion was fair, his forehead broad, and his whole countenance intelligent and thoughtful. He pos-

sessed great fortitude of mind as well as personal courage; and his command of temper was such, that his oldest and most intimate friends never recollected to have seen him in a passion. His manners, though dignified, were simple and unaffected, and his hospitality was so unbounded, that all found at his house a ready welcome. In conversation he was fluent, eloquent, and enthusiastic; and his language was remarkably pure and correct. He was a finished classical scholar, and in his writings is discernible the care with which he formed his style upon the best models of antiquity. His style is pleasing and attractive, seeking rather to persuade by the beauty and refinement of manner, than to convince by the mere force of argument. Of Mr. Jefferson's Notes on Virginia, we have already spoken; another work published by him, while he was Vice-President, and, consequently, presiding officer of the Senate, was a Manual of Parliamentary Practice, which has since been a standard work on that subject, and probably contains the best collection of rules for forensic debate in existence. But for Mr. Jefferson's most numerous and most important productions, we must go to the archives of the government, and there in the state papers, and reports made by him, we shall find the evidence of his talents, industry, and learning. His correspondence was very extensive, embracing not only the great men of his own country, but also the most distinguished philosophers and statesmen of France. Since his death, four volumes of his writings, edited by his grandson, Thomas Jefferson Randolph, have been published, containing a short memoir of his life, to the time of his appointment to be Secretary of State, written by himself, in 1821, and also a large collection of his letters, to various persons, and on various subjects.

It is neither our intention or wish, to speak of the religious opinions of Mr. Jefferson. Discarding as we do, all political prejudices, we have heretofore been enabled to speak of him in terms of approbation, and that too, as we trust, without any sacrifice of truth. This could not be the case, however, should we now enter upon the consideration of his religious sentiments. As a mere moralist, he must ever be esteemed for opinions and doctrines, which would have done honor to the purest sages of Greece and Rome, and which certainly far surpassed the theories and the practice of his masters in religion, the sceptics of the French school.

But little now remains to be said of Mr. Jefferson; his whole life was passed before the public eye, and his actions speak his character better than any words can express them. Whatever may be the judgment of posterity, in regard to Mr. Jefferson's administration, it is as the bold and fearless patriot of the revolution,—as the framer of the Declaration of American Independence, that he will be best known. Posterity may be divided, as the present age has been, concerning the wisdom and the expediency of his measures, while he occupied the chair of the Chief Magistrate, for those measures were of such doubtful tendency, that the best and wisest might differ concerning them; but as one of the Congress of '76, as one of the firmest opposers of British aggressions, as one of the most able statesmen of the revolution, his conduct has been stamped by the approbation of a whole nation, and a judgment rendered, that no future age will ever reverse. The latter part of Mr. Jefferson's life also

presents a most pleasing picture. It is delightful to see a man of such vast acquisitions, and such varied powers, after a life spent in the service of his country, and in the fulfilment of the highest duties, calmly retire from public stations, to spend his declining years, not in inactivity and lethargy, but in untiring exertions for the advancement of the human race; and instead of sinking into a second childhood, by constant exercise maintaining all the faculties of his mind unimpaired to the last. We hardly know which is the more interesting object—Thomas Jefferson, as the young and ardent patriot of '76, or as the silver haired philosopher of Monticello. Or if the former is the more interesting, surely the latter is the more pleasing. When we look upon the former, while we admire his noble spirit, and his holy daring, we yet tremble for his safety, as we think of the rocks and quicksands by which he is surrounded, and of which the least may make shipwreck of him forever. But when we contemplate the latter, in all the serenity of an honored old age, resting from his labors, and seeking in the cultivation of philosophy the highest pleasures of the intellect, and the means still to benefit mankind—we feel an emotion of thankfulness rising in our hearts, at the thought that all those dangers we so much dreaded have been passed; that the course so prosperously commenced, has been gloriously pursued, and the long wished for haven at last obtained. The admiration we involuntarily feel for the former, is more than equalled by the veneration we willingly offer to the latter.

JAMES MADISON.

MATERIALS for the biography of a public man are to be found, for the most part, in the history of the great events in which he was an actor. In our own country this is particularly the case. It is, perhaps, hardly to be regretted that the private life of our distinguished men is in some measure sacred from the offensive notoriety which is the lot and the penalty of eminence in other countries. The numerous dependants on the periodical press of Great Britain deem themselves privileged to annoy men of any reputation, by what they term sketches of their lives. They pick up garbled and inaccurate stories, invent one or two leading incidents, and, to complete the biography, fasten upon its unfortunate subject a few of the most popular anecdotes that have been current for the last century. These accounts circulate for the truth, and a man is obliged to see himself the hero of battles which he never fought, and an actor upon boards which he never trod.

But there is some satisfaction in reading even an incorrect, but well written account of a great man's life, for the same reason that there is pleasure in looking on an indifferent likeness, which is well painted and handsomely framed. Taste is pleased, if curiosity is not satisfied. A void is filled; we have learned something, and if that something is not accurate, we still have high authority for believing that *all* history is little better than fable.

Of the early life of Mr. Madison we have been able to collect no authentic anecdotes. His later years were passed in the most entire seclusion, as he lived in the strictest privacy at his seat in Montpelier, Virginia. He was born in the year 1750, and took an early and efficient interest in the affairs of our infant republic. Sound principles on subjects of public and political interest seem to have been instilled into him from his birth. To state what little we know of his private life, before commencing the narration of that part of his career which is the property of his country, Mr. Madison, in 1794, was married to Mrs. Todd, in Philadelphia, widow of John Todd, Esq. a practitioner of the Pennsylvania bar. Her maiden name was Paine, and her father, who was of the Society of Friends, emigrated from Virginia to Philadelphia. She was eighteen years of age at the time of her first marriage, and as her husband died in less than three years afterwards, she was still quite young when she became the wife of Mr. Madison. Her manners were agreeable, her deportment mild and dignified, and her conversation fascinating. With the wish to please, and a willingness to be pleased, she was popular in her circle of associates; and when her second husband was called to his high office, she discharged, with a dignified affability, those polite attentions which were so constantly required of her. She exerted a woman's tender influ-

ence to soften the political asperities of the time by the amenities of social life; and strove to hide the thorns of public controversy under the roses of private cheerfulness. It has been said, to her great praise, that in her highest fortune she never neglected her early friends, but extended to all who approached her, those attentions which please the exalted and inspire the humble with confidence.

The first knowledge that we have of Mr. Madison finds him, at an early age, a very active member of the Continental Congress. To him, more than to any one living, the people of the United States are indebted for the constitution under which they live. He was a leader in the convention that framed the Federal Constitution, and the most influential of its supporters in the Virginia Convention which adopted it. He wrote the greatest part of the Federalist; was the author of the Virginia Resolutions of 1798, and the Virginia Report of 1799, and for sixteen years was charged with the administration of the government, as the incumbent successively of the second and first offices in the Executive.

The first subject that pressed upon the attention of Congress, at the close of the revolution, was the debt incurred during the war, and which it was imperative upon them either to fund or pay. The national commerce had been annihilated. To revive it was the first step towards reviving prosperity. But as a preliminary to any commercial arrangements or treaties with foreign powers, a settlement of their own debt was indispensable. In this first step, however, Congress immediately felt its utter inefficiency, its incapability of even moving with its actual powers. To the impost laid on during the war, divers states had refused acquiescence. How was that or any tax to be now enforced? Nevertheless a committee was appointed. It drew up a report, which was soon issued, as an address to the several states, praying them to make provision for the national creditors. The address was received with the same spirit which had endangered the commonwealth so lately, by holding out against the claims of the veterans of the war; and as Congress had resolved not to raise money from one state till all had consented to the measure, each waited for its neighbor to commence, and each excused itself by its neighbor's backwardness.

At the same time Congress felt its want of authority marring the national interests upon another point. Envoys had been despatched to Europe for the purpose of concluding commercial treaties. England, the first applied to, held off, declaring that Congress had not power to conclude one. In vain did Mr. Jefferson argue that the American government had in reality sufficient authority. If it had, it was certainly not very clear; and the British ministry, well pleased at an opportunity to disappoint the United States envoys, and to flout the inexperience of their government, held firm in its denial.

The states were in the mean time dispensed from coming to a determination respecting raising a general fund, as the envoys of Congress had found it necessary to meet pressing demands by a loan. Individuals still smarting from the losses of a war were very willing to throw forward, as it were, the burden of taxes to a future and more prosperous time.

They were disappointed in these selfish calculations. Prosperity came

not, nor promised to come. Commerce was not restored. England still kept up her prohibitions or high duties upon all the great exports of America; nor could France consent to receive them, notwithstanding her own inclination, and all the efforts of Jefferson. To England, and to some relaxation in that country's rigid prohibition, they were obliged to look; and this alone produced the consolidation of the Federal Government.

England had changed her policy. She had laid aside the sword; but she still carried on, what, to America, was as destructive,—a commercial war. She monopolized the fisheries, shut out the American ships from her West Indies, and essayed to take to herself the whole carrying trade of her late colonies. Jefferson and Adams labored in Europe to open markets for their countrymen. They concluded treaties with Portugal, with Sweden, with divers European powers. But shut out from the Mediterranean by the Barbary corsairs; from France, notwithstanding the amity of the countries, by the monopoly of tobacco and other causes; the only alternative left to America was to force England to be equitable. This, however, could not be done by the state legislatures; for if one admitted British ships, whilst the other excluded them, the union of the commonwealth was not only destroyed, but the object of exclusion defeated. Congress, in 1784, therefore, demanded powers to exclude generally the vessels of all countries not having treaties of commerce with America. Most of the states acceded to this request; but delays and difficulties intervened; some could not be brought to understand it. Ere it was accepted, the necessity of powers more extended and minute were felt, so that Congress made a fresh demand of being permitted to regulate the entire commerce of the republic.

To these commercial difficulties were added political causes of quarrel between England and America. Notwithstanding the express stipulation of the treaty, the British creditors remained still unpaid; and the ministry refused, in consequence, to evacuate the military posts within the northwestern frontier of the United States. The fault lay with divers states of the Union, who resisted carrying into effect the honest stipulation of Congress.

The progress of the United States was thus effectually arrested. It was in vain that Congress or its leading members discussed or passed votes for forming treaties, raising funds, or regulating commerce. It was vain to devise remedies without the power of applying them. Every American of eminence and experience saw the necessity of giving more authority to Congress, of forming a federal head, and giving, in fact, an efficient government to the country.

The foremost in their opinions were the Virginians. Seeing the weakness of Congress, this state had early united with Maryland in a prohibitory system. Proving the good effect of this, they had besought the other states to send commissioners to agree upon making it general. This proposition, made by Mr. Madison, produced what was called a convention, or a meeting of delegates from five states, at Annapolis, in September, 1786. The assembly soon perceived that unity upon commercial regulations must depend upon the political and fundamental unity of the

state, and that the only possibility of agreeing as to a common tariff, was to frame an efficient constitution. For this important task the delegates at Annapolis were not prepared. They declared, however, the necessity of taking such a measure into consideration, and, ere they separated, agreed as to the expediency of calling a more general and solemn meeting of delegates from all the states, to meet in the following year at Philadelphia.

At this period broke forth that political schism, that separation of the Americans into two parties, which had been brooding and preparing since the peace. The war had been a struggle between whig and tory; the supporters of independence on one side, the favorers of monarchy and British connexion on the other. By the destruction of the latter, the independents were left alone to split into new parties, as the nature of every political society requires. Those which were formed on the present occasion, have ever since endured, and the flags which each then hoisted long continued to float with their ancient principles inscribed.

But the jealousy of certain states in the preservation of their own local rights and interests was likely to operate fatally in marring the project of a constitution, and rendering any innovation for the purpose impracticable; since the dissentient states were resolved not to choose delegates, or accede to the desire of Virginia.

At length, however, the majority of the state legislatures was brought to coincide with the views of the federal statesmen. Convinced by late experience of the necessity of an established and general government, even for purposes of domestic security, the hitherto refractory states named, without hesitation, their delegates to the appointed convention for forming a constitution.*

Accordingly, in the month of May, 1787, the delegates of twelve states met at Philadelphia. Washington, who had reluctantly consented to attend, was chosen president. The discussion and arrangement of the several articles were carried on with closed doors, and lasted four months. And at length, on the 17th of September, the proposed constitution was made public. It was presented to Congress, and by that body was submitted to the several states for acceptance.†

The following interesting summary of Mr. Madison's opinions on the subject of confederation is from a paper in the hand-writing of General Washington, and presents the substance of a letter received by him a

* The state of Rhode Island alone refused.

† A history of this convention has never been written. The causes which led to it may be easily ascertained and traced out, but the opinions and private movements of the great political leaders of the day, the precise share of merit due to each for the part he acted in enlightening the public mind, and preparing it for the issue of events, the previous interchange of thoughts and sentiments, the exposition of motives, the ultimate hopes, and above all, the proceedings of the convention itself, the views, arguments, and designs of individuals, and the general voice of their constituents, as expressed by them; all these topics and numerous others are yet in the dark, and must remain so, till the papers left by the departed actors in the scene, and such as are still held by the few venerable worthies that remain of that dignified assembly, shall come under the eye of the faithful historian, and receive a patient inspection and a discriminating award.—*N. A. Review.*

short time previous to the holding of the Convention at Philadelphia. For this valuable document we are indebted to the twenty-fifth volume of the North American Review.

"Mr. Madison thinks an individual independence of the states utterly irreconcilable with their aggregate sovereignty, and that a consolidation of the whole into one simple republic would be as inexpedient as it is unattainable. He therefore proposes a middle ground, which may at once support a due supremacy of the national authority, and not exclude the local authorities whenever they can be subordinately useful.

"As the groundwork, he proposes that a change be made in the principle of representation, and thinks there would be no great difficulty in effecting it.

"Next, that, in addition to the present federal powers, the national government should be armed with positive and complete authority in all cases which require uniformity; such as the regulation of trade, including the right of taxing both exports and imports, the fixing the terms and forms of naturalization, &c.

"Over and above this positive power, a negative *in all cases* whatever on the legislative acts of the states, as heretofore exercised by the kingly prerogative, appears to him absolutely necessary, and to be the least possible encroachment on the state jurisdictions. Without this defensive power he conceives that every positive [law ?] which can be given on paper, will be evaded.

"This control over the laws would prevent the internal vicissitudes of state policy, and the aggressions of interested majorities.

"The national supremacy ought also to be extended, he thinks, to the judiciary departments; the oaths of the judges should at least include a fidelity to the general as well as local constitution; and that an appeal should be to some national tribunals in all cases, to which foreigners or inhabitants of other states may be parties. The admiralty jurisdictions to fall entirely within the purview of the national government.

"The national supremacy in the executive departments is liable to some difficulty, unless the officers administering them could be made appointable by the supreme government. The militia ought entirely to be placed in some form or other under the authority which is interested with the general protection and defence.

"A government composed of such extensive powers should be well or ganized and balanced.

"The legislative department might be divided into two branches, one of them chosen every —— years by the people at large, or by the legislatures; the other to consist of fewer members, to hold their places for a longer term, and to go out in such rotation as always to leave in office a large majority of old members.

"Perhaps the negative on the laws might be most conveniently exer cised by this branch.

"As a further check, a council of revision, including the great ministe rial officers, might be superadded.

"A national executive must also be provided. He has scarcely ventured as yet to form his own opinion, either of the manner of which it ought to be constituted, or of the authorities with which it ought to be clothed.

"An article should be inserted, expressly guarantying the tranquillity of the states against internal as well as external dangers.

"In like manner, the right of coercion should be expressly declared. With the resources of commerce in hand, the national administration might always find means of exerting it either by sea or land; but the difficulty and awkwardness of operating by force on the collective will of a state, render it particularly desirable that the necessity of it might be precluded. Perhaps the negative on the laws might create such a mutual dependence between the general and particular authorities as to answer; or perhaps some defined objects of taxation might be submitted along with commerce to the general authority.

"To give a new system its proper validity and energy, a ratification must be obtained from the people, and not merely from the ordinary authority of the legislature. This will be the more essential, as inroads on the existing constitutions of the states will be unavoidable."

Although the party, designated as democratic, had given up a considerable portion of its hostility to a united government, still it was far from wanting representatives in the convention. We are informed, indeed, that, in the most important questions, votes were so nicely balanced, that it was impossible to foretell any decision. During the discussions the leading men opposed to the democrats published their opinions in a series of letters, signed *the Federalist*, a name which henceforward seemed to designate the party. Mr. Madison and Mr. Jay were writers; but the principal one, as well as the most esteemed in his opinions, was Colonel or General Hamilton. This gentleman went the length of proposing that the president and each senator should hold his office, as our judges do, during their good behavior. The anti-federalists, on the other hand, of whom the future leader, Jefferson, was, however, as yet in France, supported the principle of rotation, or frequent change in the person wielding the executive of the country. The federalists' side was most powerful in talent, and being supported by the authority of Washington, their opinions mainly prevailed.

The constitution no sooner appeared, than it was attacked with a host of objections. One party exclaimed that it had melted the states into one government, without fencing the people by any declarations of rights; that a standing army was not renounced, and the liberty of the press not secured; that Congress reserved to itself the power of suspending trial by jury in civil cases; that rotation in office was abandoned; that the president might be re-elected from four years to four years, so as to render him a king for life, like a king of Poland; and that the check or aid of a council had not been given him. Notwithstanding these objections, the constitution obtained the assent of all the states, save two—Rhode Island and North Carolina. New-York was said to have acceded, chiefly, from fear of being excluded from the union; and, in consenting, she had demanded a new convention to make amendments in the act. Even Virginia thought it necessary to propose alterations. She required a declaration of rights, and the limitation that the President should be but once re-elected. These discussions occupied the year 1788, after which the constitution was generally accepted, and the grand point of a federal union achieved.

The month of March, 1789, was the epoch appointed for the commencement of the new government. So wanting, however, were many of the states, or their representatives, in zeal, that three weeks elapsed ere a full meeting of both Houses could be procured. Their first necessary step was to elect a President; and George Washington was unanimously chosen to the office. With unfeigned reluctance, occasioned both by love of retirement and tenderness for his reputation, did that great man accept the first office of the commonwealth. The sacrifice was demanded of him, as, in the words of Hamilton, the success of the great experiment, viz. the working and existence of the new government, altogether depended upon the moral force which the name and character of Washington would bring to its chief office.

Washington's progress from his seat of Mount Vernon to Philadelphia was a triumphant procession, such as few conquerors have known. The ceremony of his inauguration took place on the 30th of April, and the new President addressed Congress in a noble and touching discourse. He could not have evinced a stronger conviction of the importance of his own duties, as well as of those whom he addressed, than is conveyed in the following words:—"The preservation of the sacred fire of liberty, and the destiny of the republican form of government, are justly considered as deeply, perhaps as finally, staked on the experiment intrusted to the hands of the American people."

No sooner was the federal government thus completed by the inauguration of its chief, than Congress proceeded at once to the consideration of what most pressed upon its attention—the revenue. But as every thing had hitherto remained unsettled, the discussion on this point involved the question of foreign policy and preference; and, leading to a warm debate, occasioned a collision between parties at the very outset of their legislative career.

Mr. Madison proposed a tax upon imported goods and tonnage. This, in principle, was objected to by none; but as the tonnage duty, pressing upon foreign vessels exclusively, was intended to act in favor of domestic, and at the expense of foreign shipping, it excited opposition. Some urged that America had few ships of her own, and needed the use of those which this duty might drive away. But Madison pointed out, in answer, the necessity of fostering the infant navy of the country, as the only defensive force that would be required or available in a future war.

This argument overcame the objections. But another part of Mr. Madison's plan,—that which favored the commerce of France rather than that of Great Britain,—called forth greater heat and opposition. France had contributed largely by her aid and alliance to the cause of American independence, from selfish reasons, no doubt, rather than from any love either for America or freedom; but this latter country was not called upon to scrutinize her motives. In addition to the claims of gratitude on this account, the envoys of the United States had been received as foes in Great Britain, as friends in France. The correspondence of Franklin and Jefferson, more especially the latter, exists, to attest how the sullen pride of merely English manner might have the effect of exciting rancor in a statesman, and by consequence in his country.

A provision being made for raising a revenue and answering the just debts of the states, Congress proceeded to the completion of the machine of government by the institution of ministerial offices, according to the usage of the monarchies of Europe. Departments were erected, of the treasury, of war, and of state,—the latter including foreign and domestic relations. This last important office attracted particular attention. The bill for establishing it intrusted the President with the power of removing the minister from office. It was moved, by way of amendment, that the President should not have the power of dismissing the minister without the assent of Congress. This assent or co-operation, it was argued, having been considered requisite to the appointment, why should it not be indispensable, to the act of dismissal? The government party opposed strenuously this attempt to nullify the presidential office, which, indeed, if shorn of this authority, would have been reduced to a level with that of its secretary. Nay, they were not content with voting this power at present, but contended that the rule should have been a fundamental part of the constitution. It was now declared to be so by a vote, the derogatory amendment having been previously negatived; and the wholesome prerogative of the President was effectually secured.

The several ministerial departments were now filled up. Colonel Hamilton, the friend of Washington, and he who had chiefly induced him to accept the guidance of the new government, was appointed to the treasury. General Knox, who had been the war minister under Congress, was now re-appointed; whilst Jefferson, envoy in France, but then on his return to the United States, was named secretary of the state department, including foreign and home affairs.

At the head of the law was placed Mr. Jay, as chief justice, one of the most estimable characters of the time. Mr. Randolph was named attorney-general. Mr. Adams had been elected Vice-President: the only name of eminence omitted in the arrangements was that of Madison.

A particular view of the successive administrations is given in the life of each of the Presidents. With a short account, therefore, of Mr. Madison's celebrated commercial resolutions offered to Congress in January, 1794, we shall pass to the period and to the most striking affairs of his presidency.

When Congress assembled in the month of December, 1793, a variety of important and interesting topics were pressing upon the public attention. The British government had declared France to be in a state of blockade, by issuing orders to stop all neutral ships laden with provisions bound to her ports. Corn at that time formed the chief export of the United States, and to prohibit them from shipping it at all, for the new regulation amounted in fact to this, was a grievance to which the most pacific neutral could scarcely submit. Another continually recurring source of complaint on the part of the United States against England was the pressing of their seamen, which circumstances rendered of frequent occurrence and tardy rectification.

In reference to this state of affairs, Mr. Madison early in January, 1794, submitted to the House his commercial resolutions. The substance of the first of these resolutions was, that the interest of the United States would

be promoted by further restrictions and higher duties in certain cases, on the manufactures and navigation of foreign nations. The additional duties were to be laid on certain articles manufactured by those European nations which had no commercial treaties with the United States. These resolutions required reciprocity in navigation, except with respect to the West India trade. The last of the resolutions declared that provision ought to be made, for ascertaining the losses sustained by American citizens, from the operation of particular regulations of any country contravening the law of nations; and that these losses be reimbursed, in the first instance, out of the additional duties on the manufactures and vessels of nations establishing such regulations. The debates on these resolutions were long and animated. On the 3d of February the first was adopted by a majority of five only.*

On the 4th of March, 1809, Mr. Madison, who had been Secretary of State under the preceding administration, was inducted into the office of President of the United States. At this time the situation of our affairs was in many respects gloomy. France and England were still at war, and were continuing to array against each other the most violent commercial edicts, that exhibited but little deference to the rights and interests of neutral nations. Previously to the adjournment of the last Congress under Mr. Jefferson, an act had been passed which repealed the then existing embargo, and interdicted commercial intercourse with France and Great Britain. Should either of these powers, however, revoke their edicts, the President was authorized to renew their intercourse. Mr. Madison's inaugural address was as follows:

"Unwilling to depart from examples of the most revered authority, I avail myself of the occasion now presented, to express the profound impression made on me, by the call of my country to the station, to the duties of which I am about to pledge myself, by the most solemn of sanctions. So distinguished a mark of confidence, proceeding from the deliberate and tranquil suffrage of a free and virtuous nation, would, under any circumstances, have commanded my gratitude and devotion, as well as filled me with an awful sense of the trust to be assumed. Under the various circumstances which give peculiar solemnity to the existing period, I feel that both the honor and the responsibility allotted to me, are inexpressibly enhanced. The present situation of the world is indeed without a parallel; and that of our country full of difficulties. The pressure of these, too, is more severely felt, because they have fallen upon us at a moment when the national prosperity being at a height not before attained, the contrast resulting from the change has been rendered the more striking. Under the benign influence of our republican institutions, and the maintenance of peace with all nations, while so many of them were engaged in bloody and wasteful wars, the fruits of a just policy were enjoyed, in an unrivalled growth of our faculties and resources. Proofs of this were seen in the improvements of agriculture, in the successful enterprises of commerce, in the progress of manufactures and

* Pitkin.

useful arts; in the increase of the public revenue, and the use made of it in reducing the public debt, and in the valuable works and establishments, every where multiplying over the face of our land. It is a precious reflection that the transition from this prosperous condition of our country to the scene which has for some time been distressing us, is not chargeable on any unwarrantable views, nor, as I trust, on any involuntary errors in the public councils. Indulging no passions which trespass on the rights or the repose of other nations, it has been the true glory of the United States to cultivate peace by observing justice; and to entitle themselves to the respect of the nations at war, by fulfilling their neutral obligations with the most scrupulous impartiality. If there be candor in the world, the truth of these assertions will not be questioned. Posterity at least will do justice to them. This unexceptionable course could not avail against the injustice and violence of the belligerent powers. In their rage against each other, or impelled by more direct motives, principles of retaliation have been introduced, equally contrary to universal reason and acknowledged law. How long their arbitrary edicts will be continued, in spite of the demonstrations that not even a pretext for them has been given by the United States, and of the fair and liberal attempts to induce a revocation of them, cannot be anticipated. Assuring myself that, under every vicissitude, the determined spirit and united councils of the nation will be safeguards to its honor and its essential interests, I repair to the post assigned me, with no other discouragements than what spring from my own inadequacy to its high duties. If I do not sink under the weight of this deep conviction, it is because I find support in a consciousness of the purposes and a confidence in the principles which I bring with me into this arduous service. To cherish peace and friendly intercourse with all nations having correspondent dispositions; to maintain sincere neutrality towards belligerent nations; to prefer, in all cases, amicable discussion and reasonable accommodation of differences to a decision of them by an appeal to arms; to exclude foreign intrigues and foreign partialities, so degrading to all countries, and so baneful to free ones; to foster a spirit of independence, too just to invade the rights of others, too proud to surrender our own, too liberal to indulge unworthy prejudices ourselves, and too elevated not to look down upon them in others; to hold the union of the states as the basis of their peace and happiness; to support the constitution, which is the cement of the union, as well in its limitations as in its authorities; to respect the rights and authorities reserved to the states and to the people, as equally incorporated with, and essential to the success of, the general system; to avoid the slightest interference with the rights of conscience, or the functions of religion, so wisely exempted from civil jurisdiction; to preserve in their full energy the other salutary provisions in behalf of private and personal rights, and of the freedom of the press; to observe economy in public expenditures; to liberate the public resources by an honorable discharge of public debts; to keep within the requisite limits a standing military force, always remembering that an armed and trained militia force is the firmest bulwark of republics; that without standing armies their liberty can never be in danger, nor, with large ones, safe; to promote by

authorized means improvements friendly to agriculture, to manufactures, and to external as well as internal commerce; to favor in like manner the advancement of science and the diffusion of information, as the best aliment to true liberty; to carry on benevolent plans, which have been so meritoriously applied to the conversion of our aboriginal neighbors from the degradation and wretchedness of savage life, to a participation of the improvements of which the human mind and manners are susceptible in a civilized state. As far as sentiments and intentions such as these can aid the fulfilment of my duty, they will be a resource which cannot fail me. It is my good fortune, moreover, to have the path in which I am to tread, lighted by examples of illustrious services successfully rendered, in the most trying difficulties by those who have marched before me. Of those of my immediate predecessor, it might least become me here to speak. I may, however, be pardoned for not suppressing the sympathy with which my heart is full, in the rich reward he enjoys in the benedictions of a beloved country, gratefully bestowed for exalted talents zealously devoted, through a long career, to the advancement of its highest interest and happiness. But the source to which I look for the aid which alone can supply my deficiencies, is in the well tried intelligence and virtue of my fellow citizens, and in the councils of those representing them in the other departments associated in the care of the national interest. In these, my confidence will, under every difficulty, be best placed; next to that which we have all been encouraged to feel in the guardianship and guidance of that Almighty Being, whose power regulates the destiny of nations, whose blessings have been so conspicuously dispensed to this rising republic, and to whom we are bound to address our devout gratitude for the past, as well as our fervent supplications and best hopes for the future."

A new administration generally commences with fair promises on one side, and hopes on the other, of a change. It is a period of congratulation and politeness. Mr. Madison was declared to want the inveterate republicanism and anti-British feeling of his predecessor. He had been the first to propose the federal union, and his political career since had not been marked as that of a partizan. These considerations raised the hopes of the English minister in America, that some arrangement might be made. The repeal of the embargo, and the substitution of a less obnoxious act, offered a fit and favorable pretext for renewing negotiations; more especially as a clause was inserted in the later act, to the purpose, that if either of the belilgerents should recall its hostile edicts, a proclamation of the executive should suffice to suspend the non-intercourse with respect to that belligerent.

Mr. Erskine, accordingly, received from Mr. Canning, the English secretary of state, powers to treat, together with instructions as to the points to be insisted on. He was to consent to withdraw the orders in council on the essential points, on certain preliminary conditions, such as the prohibition against English ships appearing in American waters being repealed, and the abandonment of the right claimed by the United States to trade with such of the enemy's colonies as she was not permitted to trade with in peace. Overlooking these altogether, Mr. Erskine consi-

dered the supension of the non-intercourse as a fair equivalent for that of the orders in council, and did not hesitate to stipulate, accordingly, that these should cease to be in force at a certain epoch. The President, accordingly, suspended the non-intercourse. But tidings no sooner reached England of the obsequious haste of Mr. Erskine, than he was disavowed. The orders in council were suspended only so far as not to endanger those vessels which had sailed from America on the faith of Mr. Erskine's declaration. The President, in consequence, declared the non-intercourse act as still in force, and the silent war of prohibitory edicts continued on its old footing.

These blunders in diplomacy were singularly unfortunate, since they had the effect of irritating and giving rise to hateful suspicions. The Americans believed that Mr. Erskine had acted in consequence of his instructions, and that the disavowal was an act of capricious hostility on the part of the British minister. The parliamentary opposition in England took the same view; and a partial production of the correspondence accredited the belief, which afterwards, however, was proved to be erroneous. But the effect was tantamount. Erskine was recalled, and Mr. Jackson sent in his place. The latter was as ill-chosen as the former; since there was some cause which rendered him particularly obnoxious to the Americans. He was received with studied coldness, and made to wait even for his recognition for a long time. His endeavors to renew the broken negotiation were met by the remark of the inutility of such an attempt, and by an allusion to the duplicity of the British government in the affair of Erskine. Jackson retorted with warmth. His observations were considered as insults; and, on this plea, further communication with him was declined, and his recall demanded of the minister in London.

France having been again applied to by America at this time, the emperor replied, that his decrees were but retaliation; and that if England recalled her blockade and her orders in council, he would suffer his decrees to be considered null. Mr. Madison took advantage of this apparent fairness on the part of the French ruler, and obtained from the majority of Congress divers resolutions, approving of the high and defiant tone of policy observed by him towards England. The state of Massachusetts alone protested. Preparations for war continued with activity; and the people already began to turn their attention and capital to the domestic production of those manufactures with which Great Britain had been in the habit of more cheaply supplying them. England, at the same time, began to seek elsewhere those commodities which the United States had furnished: she sought them in Canada chiefly. The alienations and mutual injury thus worked by commercial prohibitions were, perhaps, greater than could have come of actual war.

The conduct of Mr. Madison and the American government to the British envoy showed such signs of a leaning towards France, and, indeed, such an imitation of Napoleon's own behavior on similar occasions, that the emperor became more obsequious. The non-intercourse act expiring in 1810, the Americans again summoned the two powers to remove their restrictions. This was asked with the manifest purpose of declaring

war; the latter being the only alternative, if the restrictions were not removed; since the Americans could not consent to abandon the sea altogether. To this Bonaparte replied by an amicable advance, intimating, through his minister, that his decrees should be suspended. It was understood by him, of course, that America should no longer submit to the orders in council if unrepealed. To the English ministry an appeal was now made to follow the example of France. Unfortunately they hesitated, chicaned as to the supposed insincerity of the French declaration, or the informality of its announcement; and feeling that the demand was accompanied by menace, they held out more from pique than policy.

No conduct could have been more ill-judged; it served all the purposes of the anti-British in America, and flung the United States completely into the arms of France, whose vessels were now admitted to the ports of the former, whilst the interdict against the English was renewed. The British minister seems to have inferred that the French emperor could not be sincere in his declarations to consider his decrees no longer in force; since such would have broken through that continental system, which was known to be his most fixed principle. In vain did the American envoy offer proof of his assertion in this respect. Reply was evaded; and at length, Mr. Pinkney demanded his audience of leave, determined to put an end to a mission that was hopeless.

In this doubtful state of connexion between America and England, an accidental collision took place between vessels of the respective countries, tending much to inflame and widen the existing differences. An English sloop of war, the Little Belt, commanded by captain Bingham, descried a ship off the American coast, and made sail to come up with it; but finding it a frigate and dubious of its nation, he retired. The other, which proved to be American, the President, under captain Rogers, pursued in turn. Both captains hailed nearly together; and both, instead of replying, hailed again; and from words, as it were, came to blows, without explanation. Captain Bingham lost upwards of thirty men, and his ship suffered severely. A court of inquiry was ordered on the conduct of captain Rogers, which decided that it had been satisfactorily proved to the court that captain Rogers hailed the Little Belt first, that his hail was not satisfactorily answered, that the Little Belt fired the first gun, and that it was without previous provocation or justifiable cause

The Americans continued making every preparation for war. Fortifications were carried on at New-York and New Orleans. This latter position was, indeed, the vulnerable part of the confederacy. It was so felt, and divers plans were proposed; one for a kind of military colony; that is, to grant lands to a body of men, on the condition of their being trained, and ready to take arms, should an enemy appear off the coast. But this plan, so little in accordance with the spirit of a free government, was not adopted. West Florida was, however, taken possession of, to cut the Gordian knot of difference on the subject with Spain. The moment was such as allowed the ungenerous advantage to be taken; Spain herself being occupied by the French, whilst her colonies were torn by civil wars. This formed another item of complaint and remonstrance on the part of the British.

In the spring of 1811, Mr. Foster was sent out plenipotentiary from England, to make another attempt at negotiation. But, as he had nc power for stipulating the repeal of the orders in council, his mission was illusive: it was merely productive of argument and diplomatic pleading between him and Mr. Monroe. The British envoy contended, that it was France, not England, which commenced the blockade, prohibiting neutrals; and that the repeal of her decrees was merely nominal. The American replied that the wrongs of France against his nation, afforded no plea for the wrongs of England to be wreaked on it also: he moreover said, that France was sincere. Such arguments were of little avail. Mr. Foster returned without having effected any thing.

In the November following, Congress was called together; and President Madison addressed it fully respecting the points and consequences of the still widening difference. It was hoped, he said, at the close of last session, that the successive confirmation of the extinction of the French decrees would have induced the government of Great Britain to repeal its orders in council: on the contrary, however, they had been put into more rigorous execution, and fresh outrages had been committed on the American coasts. "Notwithstanding the scrupulous justice, the protracted moderation, and the multiplied efforts on the part of the United States to substitute for the accumulating dangers to the peace of the two countries, all the mutual advantages of re-established friendship and confidence, we have seen that the British cabinet perseveres, not only in withholding a remedy for other wrongs, so long and so loudly calling for it, but in the execution, brought home to the threshold of our territory, of measures which, under existing circumstances, have the character, as well as the effect, of war on our lawful commerce. With this evidence of hostile inflexibility, in trampling on rights which no independent nation can relinquish, Congress will feel the duty of putting the United States into an armor and an attitude demanded by the crisis, and corresponding with the national spirit and expectations." This was followed up by demands of increase in the army, the navy, and all military stores and establishments.

In this address, the President took occasion to allude to a new spirit of hostility displayed amongst the north-western Indians. Party attributed this to British gold and interference. The cause was evident, however, in the appearance of an Indian prophet, a reformer, who preached to his red brethren, that all their disasters had been owing to their having forsaken the wise and simple habits of their ancestors; and that he had been prompted by the Great Spirit to warn them from mingling with the whites, from eating hogs and bullocks, in lieu of the game that used to give them the warrior's and the hunter's spirit; and, above all, from the use of ardent spirits. This last salutary injunction gave force and truth to all that the savage prophet uttered. This fanatic advice, however salutary in one respect, necessarily produced hatred towards the whites, and outrages upon them. General Harrison was despatched against the Indians in the autumn of 1811. The savages, at first, appeared friendly; but it was only to cover the purpose of a night assault, which proved almost fatal to the American force: it lost considerable numbers, but succeeded in repulsing the enemy.

The winter of 1811—12 passed in preparations for immediate war, as the British government, then for the first time elated with military success, showed no signs of yielding. However, the friends of peace and of America exerted themselves in parliament to deter the ministry from the rash act of adding the United States to the number of its enemies; and this, for the support of commercial prohibition warranted neither by just pride nor wise policy. The marquis of Lansdowne, in the House of Lords, and Mr. Brougham, in the Commons, moved for a committee to take into consideration the orders in council. "If," said the former statesman, "at the time of the revolution in America, any one could have foreseen that the whole commerce of continental Europe would have fallen under the iron grasp and dominion of France, they would have looked to the establishment of an independent state on the other side of the Atlantic, out of the reach of French power, to become the carrier of our commerce and the purchaser of our manufactures, as the greatest boon that could have been given us. Such an event has occurred, as if providentially: yet this great and inestimable advantage has been destroyed by the orders in council."

A majority in both houses voted for going into committee. Petitions from the manufacturing towns of England poured in against the orders; and when the report of the committee was brought up, the general voice of the country and of parliament compelled the abandonment by the tories of their obnoxious orders. It was too late, however. The eloquence of Brougham,—and never was greater shown both with tongue and pen,—prevailed, but prevailed in vain. On the arrival of a ship from England, bringing no satisfactory tidings, the President sent a message to Congress, recapitulating all the causes of complaint against Britain, (amongst which the stirring up of the Indians on the Wabash was not forgotten,) and recommended a formal declaration of war. Congress acceded to the proposal; and, notwithstanding the energetic protest of the federals in opposition, war was declared against Great Britain on the 18th of June, 1812.

The talk of Mr. Madison to the Indians, in 1812, at the commencement of the war, contains sentiments so honorable to himself and his country, and so appropriately and beautifully expressed, that we shall copy a part of this very interesting document. It may be considered as the manifesto of the American government, establishing the principles of its intercourse with its aboriginal neighbors, in the critical circumstances, which imposed new duties upon both. And the contrast between this course, and that pursued by the British government, must awaken reflections here and elsewhere, which although tardy may yet be useful.

"The red people who live on the same great island with the white people of the eighteen fires, are made by the same Spirit, out of the same earth, from parts of it differing in color only. My regard for all my red children has made me desirous that the bloody tomahawk should be buried between the Osages, the Cherokees, and the Choctaws. I wish also that the hands of the Shawnese and the Osage should be joined in my presence, as a pledge to cherish and observe the peace made at St. Louis.

This was a good peace for both. It is a chain that ought to hold them fast in friendship. Neither blood nor rust should ever be upon it.

"I am concerned that the war has so long been kept up by the Sacs and Foxes against the Osages; and that latterly a bloody war is carried on between the Osages and the Toways. I now tell my red children here present, that this is bad for both parties. They must put under my feet their evil intentions against each other, and henceforward live in peace and good will; each hunting on their lands and working their own soil.

A father ought to give good advice to his children, and it is the duty of his children to hearken to it. The people composing the eighteen fires are a great people. You have travelled through their country. You see they cover the land, as the stars fill the sky; and are as thick as the trees in your forests. Notwithstanding their great power, the British King has attacked them on the great water beyond which he lives. He has robbed them of their ships, and carried away the people belonging to them. Some of them he murdered. He has an old grudge against the eighteen fires, because when he tried to make them dig and plant for his people beyond the great water, not for themselves, they sent out warriors who beat his warriors; they carried off the bad chiefs he had sent among them, and set up good chiefs of their own. The eighteen fires did this when they had not the strength they now have. Their blows will now be much heavier, and will soon make him do them justice. It happened when the thirteen fires, now increased to eighteen, forced the British King to treat them as an independent nation, one little fire did not join them. This he has held ever since. It is there that his agents and traders plot quarrels and wars between the eighteen fires and their brethren, and between one red tribe and another. Malden is the place where all the bad birds have their nests. There they are fed with false tales against the eighteen fires, and are sent out with bloody belts in their bills to drop among the red people who would otherwise remain at peace. It is good for all the red people as well as all the people of the eighteen fires, that a stop should be put to this mischief. Their warriors can do it. They are gone and are going to Canada for this purpose. They want no help from their red brethren. They are strong enough without it. The British, who are weak, are doing all they can. by their bad birds, to decoy the red people into war on their side. I warn all the red people to avoid the ruin this must bring upon them. And I say to you, my children, your father does not ask you to join his warriors. Sit still on your seats; and be witnesses that they are able to beat their enemies, and protect their red friends. This is the fatherly advice I give you.

"I have a further advice for my red children. You see how the country of the eighteen fires is filled with people. They increase like the corn they put into the ground. They all have good houses to shelter them from all weathers; good clothes suitable to all seasons; and as for food of all sorts, you see they have enough and to spare. No man, woman, or child of the eighteen fires ever perished of hunger. Compare all this with the condition of the red people. They are scattered here and

there in handfuls. Their lodges are cold, leaky, and smoky. They have hard fare, and often not enough of it.

"Why this mighty difference? The reason, my red children, is plain: the white people breed cattle and sheep. They plough the earth, and make it give them every thing they want. They spin and weave. Their heads and their hands make all the elements and productions of nature useful to them. Above all, the people of the eighteen fires live in constant peace and friendship. No tomahawk has ever been raised by one against the other. Not a drop of blood has ever touched the chain that holds them together as one family. All their belts are white belts. It is in your power to be like them. The ground that feeds one lodge by hunting would feed a great band by the plough and hoe. The Great Spirit has given you, like your white brethren, good heads to contrive, strong arms, and active bodies. Use them like your white brethren, not all at once, which is difficult, but by little and little, which is easy. Especially, live in peace with one another, like your white brethren of the eighteen fires; you will be well fed, well clothed; dwell in good houses, and enjoy the happiness for which you, like them, were created. The Great Spirit is the friend of men of all colors. He made them to be friends of one another. The more they are so, the more he will be their friend. These are the words of your father to his red children. The Great Spirit, who is father of us all, approves them. Let them pass through the ear into the heart. Carry them home to your people. And as long as you remember this visit to your father of the eighteen fires, remember these are his last and best words to you."

Certain states, that of Massachusetts especially, have been represented as most averse to hostilities with England, and to those measures by which the existing government of the Union tended to that end. The federals in this region not only protested, but meditated the preservation of a state of neutrality, if that were possible without dissolving the Union. In fact, Massachusetts did not like to be dragged into war against its consent. To take advantage of this strong dissent and disunion, the governor of Canada had, it seems, sent an agent to New-England. It was, indeed, an unwarrantable step; and so criminal was the design, that even the federals denounced it. Jefferson owns that he first learned it through the younger Adams, as early as the time of the embargo. Instead of making any preliminary complaint or communication to the British government, Mr. Madison brought it forward in Congress; and it tended considerably to inflame the American mind against England, and to screw it up to that pitch requisite to set aside the consideration of the risk and great expenses of the war.

This step was undertaken also for the purpose, no doubt, of intimidating the anti-war party of the eastern states. This party was still considerable: it counted a minority on the decisive vote of forty-nine to seventy-nine; and even since it continued to protest and petition. At Boston, the capital of Massachusetts,—that town which, one may say, had commenced the war of independence,—the flags of the shipping were hoisted half-mast high, in token of mourning for the war of 1812. The southern states were as violent in support of the contrary opinion; and

Baltimore was more especially signalized for its anti-English zeal. A federal paper here dared to brave the prevalent opinion. A mob was excited to attack the establishment, which was defended against them; and force arriving, the defenders, not the offenders, were taken to prison. But this did not secure them. The prison doors were broken open next day, and many of the federals massacred; among whom were two veteran generals, friends of Washington.

Except rencontres between single ships, the only theatre of war in the United States was the Canadian position; and thither, accordingly, their efforts were turned. Attempts to call out the militia in Upper Canada had been productive of disturbances, in which the troops and the inhabitants had mutually fired upon each other. This encouraged the Americans to an invasion, and an army was collected for that purpose in the north. General Dearborn was created commander-in-chief; Pinkney, Major-General Wilkinson, Hampton, Hull, were the other names on the list of commanding officers.

General Hull was Governor of the Michigan Territory. Not much more than a fortnight after the declaration of war, he collected a body of upwards of two thousand troops of the line and militia, and pushed over the frontier, as if he intended to attack Montreal, publishing, at the same time, an arrogant proclamation. His subsequent movements were as dilatory as his previous haste; and upon hearing that the Indians had invaded his province upon another point, and that the English general, Brock, was at the head of a respectable force, Hull retreated. He was pursued by Brock, who besieged him in Fort Detroit, and was about to try the fortune of an assault, when the American commander, panic-struck, hoisted the white flag, and surrendered, with his fort and army, to the surprise and indignation of the Americans.

This signal defeat took place in August. As the blame was thrown upon the pusillanimity of the commanders, in little more than a month an American force was again collected upon the same position. On this occasion it was thought advisable not to risk an invasion, the aim being rather to master some neighboring post, which might make amends for the loss of Detroit. Queenstown, on the Niagara, was fixed on as the object of attack. An American division, under Colonel Van Rennselaer, crossed with the view of mastering it. They stormed it gallantly; but General Brock arrived at the moment of success, and drove the Americans back. Whilst reinforcements arrived to the British, the American militia refused to cross the river to reinforce their party, and, in short, shrunk from the fight. The English, therefore, remained complete victors, capturing all who had crossed to the assault. It was, however, with the loss of the gallant Brock, who was shot whilst cheering on his men, during the doubtful period of the conflict.

Thus, upon land, the advantages of this first campaign rested altogether with the British. It was at sea, on the element where they felt most secure, that their superiority was seriously disputed. About the very time that General Hull surrendered in Detroit, Captain Hull, commanding the Constitution frigate, fell in with the British frigate the Guerrière. An engagement ensued; when, in half an hour, the latter was so totally

disabled, as not only to be obliged to surrender, but to be burned by her captors.

On the 17th of October, another naval victory was achieved over an enemy decidedly superior in force, and under circumstances the most favorable to him. This was the capture of the brig Frolick, of twenty-two guns, by the sloop of war Wasp.

Captain Jones had returned from France two weeks after the declaration of war, and on the 13th of October, again put to sea. On the 17th, he fell in with six merchant ships, under convoy of a brig and two ships, armed with sixteen guns each. The brig, which proved to be the Frolick, Captain Whinyates, dropped behind, while the others made sail. At half past eleven, the action began by the enemy's cannon and musketry. In five minutes the main-top-mast was shot away, and falling down with the main-top-sail yard across the larboard fore and fore-top-sail, rendered her head yards unmanageable during the rest of the action. In two minutes more, her gaff and mizen-top-gallant-mast were shot away. The sea being exceedingly rough, the muzzles of the Wasp's guns were sometimes under water.

The English fired as their vessel rose, so that their shot was either thrown away, or touched only the rigging of the Americans; the Wasp, on the contrary, fired as she sunk, and every time struck the hull of her antagonist. The fire of the Frolick was soon slackened, and Captain Jones determined to board her. As the crew leaped on board the enemy's vessel, their surprise can scarcely be imagined, as they found no person on deck except three officers and the seaman at the wheel. The deck was slippery with blood, and presented a scene of havoc and ruin. The officers now threw down their swords in submission, and lieutenant Biddle, of the Wasp, leaped into the rigging to haul down the colors, which were still flying. Thus, in forty-three minutes, ended one of the most bloody conflicts recorded in naval history. The loss on board the Frolick, was thirty killed and fifty wounded; on board the Wasp, five were killed, and five slightly wounded. The Wasp and Frolick were both captured the same day, by a British seventy-four, the Poictiers, Captain Beresford.

The above splendid achievement of Captain Jones was followed on the 25th of October by a combat between the frigates, the United States, commanded by Commodore Decatur, and the Macedonian. The latter, after having suffered dreadfully and unaccountably in men and vessel, was obliged to surrender. These encounters, and the arguments they gave rise to, strongly sharpened the animosities on both sides, and cheered the American war-party for the disappointments which they experienced by land.

In November, Congress met; and the President addressed it by message, in which he frankly stated the defeats experienced on the Canadian position, and complained much of the employment of the Indians by the British, thus bringing the horrors of savage warfare upon the land. He also complained of the conduct of Massachusetts and Connecticut in refusing their contingent of militia. The victories of American ships were cited with just pride; and Congress was begged to extend some-

what their allowance to the army. So sparing had this been, that neither soldiers could be recruited nor general officers appointed, nor was there such a thing as a military staff.

December 29th, a second naval victory was achieved by the Constitution, then commanded by Commodore Bainbridge, over the Java, a British frigate of thirty-eight guns, but carrying forty-nine, with four hundred men, commanded by Captain Lambert, who was mortally wounded.

This action was fought off St. Salvador, and continued nearly two hours, when the Java struck, having lost sixty killed and one hundred and twenty wounded. The Constitution had nine men killed and twenty-five wounded. On the 1st of January, the commander, finding his prize incapable of being brought in, was obliged to burn her.

During the winter, an engagement took place between the Hornet, Captain James Lawrence, and the British sloop of war Peacock, Captain William Peake, off South America. This action lasted but fifteen minutes, when the Peacock struck.

On her surrendering, a signal of distress was discovered on board the Peacock. She had been so much damaged, that, already, she had six feet of water in her hold, and was sinking fast. Boats were immediately despatched for the wounded, and every measure taken, which was practicable, to keep her afloat until the crew could be removed. Her guns were thrown overboard, the shot holes were plugged, and a part of the Hornet's crew, at the imminent hazard of their lives, labored incessantly to rescue the vanquished. The utmost efforts of these generous men were, however, vain; the conquered vessel sunk in the midst of them, carrying down nine of her own crew, and three of the Americans. With a generosity becoming them, the crew of the Hornet divided their clothing with the prisoners, who were left destitute by the sinking ship. In the action the Hornet received but a slight injury. The killed and wounded, on board the Peacock, were supposed to exceed fifty.

However considerable was the opposition to Mr. Madison's policy and administration in the eastern states, still the southern, increased by the number of the newly created states in the western territory, were enabled to out-vote their rivals on the grand presidential question. Mr. Madison was, without difficulty, re-elected to his second term of office; whilst Mr. Gerry became Vice-President in the room of Clinton. The same preponderance he was enabled to exercise in Congress, where a majority passed resolutions approving of the President's refusal to make peace, except upon the removal of the possibility of the English impressing or searching for American seamen. The British government, on its side, placed the principal ports and rivers of America at once in a state of blockade. In order, however, to favor such states as displayed aversion to the war, a system of licenses was adopted, in order to enable ships from their ports to enjoy a trade with the West Indies. The President was indignant at this tenderness shown by foreign for domestic foes, and he denounced it with great heat to the legislature.

Winter had, in the mean time, brought no respite to war, even in those inclement countries. In January, 1813, the Americans, under General Winchester, marched to the recapture of Detroit. They were anticipated

by Colonel Procter, the British officer commanding in the conquered province; who, with a body of regular troops and Indians, completely defeated the Americans, took their leader and the greater number prisoners. Of these, a great number fell sacrifices to the cruelty of the savage Indians. Harrison himself was soon after besieged by the British in a fort which he had erected. Disaster in this frontier, however, always brought the American side a reinforcement of spirited volunteers; and the Kentucky men marched to take their revenge upon Colonel Procter, and, in their first onset, dispossessed him of position and batteries. But the British returned to the charge, and, in their turn, routed the Americans finally.

The events of the war had by this time taught the Americans to reverse an opinion previously formed. They knew themselves far superior in force to the British in Canada, where the Indians alone restored proportion to the respective numbers. On land, therefore, they had reckoned to be victors; whilst at sea their numerical inferiority seemed to promise defeat: events had turned out directly contrary to this; their soldiers had been beaten shamefully, their sailors were mostly victorious. The advantage was, therefore, seen, of converting, as far as it was possible, the military operations on the side of Canada into naval ones. The nature of the position, passing through the great lakes,—seas in depth and extent,—rendered this possible.

Their first endeavors were directed to the fitting out of a squadron upon Lake Ontario, which should master its waters, and be able to convey to the several points upon it, possessed by the British, such force as would be irresistible. Sackett's Harbor was the name of the chief American port upon the lake. Here a fleet was fitted out with great activity and zeal, and, by the end of April, was ready to transport a small army. Upwards of two thousand men embarked, commanded by the American General, Pike. These were wafted to the vicinity of York, the capital of Upper Canada, where the British had only a garrison of six hundred strong. This small force offered every possible resistance. During the combat, General Pike was slain; but his troops were too numerous for the enemy, and the British were obliged to surrender York Other expeditions were undertaken by the Americans upon different points, always with success, unless when, not content with getting possession of the place or fort attacked, they thought fit to pursue the retreating British. On one of these occasions, the Americans had two of their generals captured. Upon another, a detachment of eight hundred men, commanded by Colonel Boerstler, was surrounded and made prisoners.

The British, in the mean time, exerted themselves to rival their enemy upon the lakes. An attack, gallantly made, on Sackett's Harbor was repulsed; but in a little time, Sir James Yeo was enabled to take the command of a flotilla, equal or superior to the Americans, which turned the advantage upon Lake Ontario against them. On Lake Champlain, also, the British had taken the start of their foes, and destroyed the American establishment of Plattsburg, in revenge for the affair of York, which had been twice captured and plundered.

It was upon Lake Erie, however, that the fiercest struggle took place; and it ended completely in favor of the Americans. The vessels equipped on both sides were mostly from fifty to sixty guns. The advantage of force was on the side of Perry, the American Commodore, who had nine of these vessels. Barclay, his antagonist, numbered six; these six, however, bearing more cannon than an equal number of their antagonists. The naval battle fought by these squadrons for the mastery of Lake Erie, was the most important which had yet occurred in the war. Perry, rushing headlong with his vessel into action, was at first disabled, and obliged to shift his flag; but when all his force came up, the Canadian squadron was beaten in the fight, most of the officers killed, the ships disabled, and obliged to surrender.*

This was a source of great exultation to the Americans, whom it compensated for all previous losses. Nor were its consequences less important; as the British forces were compelled to abandon the advantages and position which they previously won. Detroit, the first conquest of the war, was now given up; and the retreat was not conducted with that skill and spirit which had marked previous operations. The Americans, under General Harrison, came up with Sir George Prevost, near the Moravian villages, on the Thames, and defeated him, with signal loss on the part of the British. Amongst the slain was the famous Indian chief, Tecumseh,† brother of the Wabash prophet; by which loss, as well as by the reverses of the war, these savage allies were much disheartened.

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* During the battle of Erie, the Lawrence, which Commodore Perry was on board of, was so shattered as to be entirely unmanageable, and only nine of her large crew remained. In this dilemma, Perry resolved to hoist the American flag on board a more fortunate vessel. For this purpose he entered an open boat, to pass over to the ship Niagara; and though broadsides were levelled at him, and showers of musketry from three of the enemy's ships, he remained standing in the stern of the boat, until absolutely pulled down by the crew. The Americans watched him with breathless anxiety, as he passed through this scene of peril, and with a transport of joy they saw his flag hoisted at the mast head of the Niagara. Soon after he entered that ship, a captain of one of the guns, having had all his men shot down, approached him, and laying his hand on his shoulder, exclaimed, "For God's sake, sir, give me some more men." When all sense of personal danger was thus swallowed up in eagerness for victory, it is not surprising that Commodore Perry was able to write his strikingly laconic letter: "Dear Sir, We have met the enemy, and they are ours."

† This Indian warrior was not only an accomplished military commander, but also a great natural statesman and orator. Among the many strange, and some strongly characteristic events of his life, the council which the American General, Harrison, held with the Indians at Vincennes, in 1811, affords an admirable instance of the sublimity which sometimes distinguished his eloquence. The chiefs of some tribes had come to complain of a purchase of lands which had been made from the Kickafoos. The council effected nothing, but broke up in confusion, in consequence of Tecumseh having called General Harrison "a liar." During the long talks which took place in the conference, Tecumseh, having finished one of his speeches, looked round, and seeing every one seated, while no seat was prepared for him, a momentary frown passed over his countenance. Instantly General Harrison ordered that a chair should be given him. Some person presented one, and bowing, said to him, "Warrior, your father, General Harrison, offers you a seat." Tecumseh's dark eye flashed. "My father!" he exclaimed indignantly, extending his arms

The result of the operations of the north-west, and the victory on Lake Erie, prepared the way to attempt a more effectual invasion of Canada. General Wilkinson was now commanding the American forces in the north, General Dearborn having some time before retired on account of indisposition. The force destined for the contemplated invasion of Canada, amounted to twelve thousand men,—eight thousand of whom were stationed at Niagara, and four thousand at Plattsburg, under the command of General Hampton. In addition to these forces, those under General Harrison were expected to arrive in season to furnish important assistance.

The outline of the plan which had been adopted, was to descend the St. Lawrence, passing the British forts above, and, after a junction with General Hampton, at some designated point on the river, to proceed to the Island of Montreal. Unexpected difficulties, however, occurred, which prevented the execution of this plan, and the American forces retired into winter quarters at St. Regis.

General Wilkinson concentrated his forces at Grenadier's Island, between Sackett's Harbor and Kingston, one hundred and eighty miles from Montreal, by the way of the river. This place the army left, on the 25th of October, on board the fleet, and descended the St. Lawrence, sanguine in the expectation of subduing Montreal.

On the arrival of the flotilla at Williamsburg, November 9th, one thousand five hundred men, of General Boyd's brigade, were landed with a view to cover the boats in their passage through the rapids. On the 11th an engagement took place, which continued two hours, between this detachment of the American army, and a detachment of the British under Lieutenant Colonel Morrison. Both parties claimed the victory, but it was, properly, a drawn battle, the British retiring to their encampments, and the Americans to their boats. The loss of the British is not ascertained; that of the Americans, in killed and wounded, was three hundred and thirty-nine. Among the latter was General Carrington, who died of his wounds.

A few days previous to this battle, as General Harrison had not arrived, General Wilkinson despatched orders to General Hampton to meet him at St. Regis. To these orders, General Hampton replied, that it was impracticable to comply with them. On the receipt of this communication, a council of officers was called, which advised to abandon the project and to retire. Accordingly, General Wilkinson ordered a retreat, and selected French Mills, as the winter quarters of his army. The troops of General Hampton soon followed this example.

Thus ended a campaign which gave rise to dissatisfaction, proportioned to the high expectations that had been indulged of its success. Public opinion was much divided as to the causes of its failure, and as to the parties to whom the blame was properly to be attached.

In the south-west a furious war was, at the same time, carried on be-

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towards heaven; "the sun is my father, and the earth is my mother; she gives me nourishment, and I repose upon her bosom." As he ended, he suddenly seated himself on the ground.

relief of the fort, the besiegers drew off, whilst the besieged evacuated it; and the Americans finally retreated to their own side of the Niagara; the war in this quarter having given birth to many gallant achievements, but no conquest.

Eastward of the great lakes, the Governor General of Canada resolved on an expedition, which, if it succeeded, would counterbalance the equal issue of operations on the Niagara. With a flotilla on Lake Champlain, and an army along its brink, he advanced to the attack of Plattsburgh. The fortune of the enterprise was decided in a naval engagement on the lake, between Commodore M'Donough and Captain Downie. The latter was slain early in the fight, and his vessel disabled, so that the British flotilla was completely defeated and taken by the enemy. Sir George Prevost was obliged, accordingly, to retreat; having proved himself here, as in most instances where he personally commanded, to have been singularly unfortunate.

As the war in Europe was now over, the British ministry seemed determined to make the Americans, especially the more inveterate enemies of the southern provinces, feel more fully, than they had yet done, the inconvenience of having provoked the hostility of England. A squadron, under Sir Alexander Cochrane, having on board an army under General Ross, sailed up the Chesapeake in the month of August. From the open gulph it turned its course up the Patuxent, apparently in search of the American flotilla, which, under Commodore Barney, had taken shelter there. As the ships of war could not follow the flotilla up the river, the army was disembarked at St. Benedict's to pursue it by land. Its force was estimated at four thousand five hundred. At first no resistance was offered; for it appears that the American secretary of war could not bring himself to credit any serious intention of the English to land.* General Ross, therefore, reached Marlborough, where the flotilla was destroyed, to prevent its falling into his power. But here the ultimate object of the disembarkation became evident, when the British columns, instead of returning, continued their march in the direction of Washington.

The American commander, Winder, resolved, in consequence, to make a stand against the invaders; and, for this purpose, he chose a strong position at Bladensburg, covered by a branch of the Potomac. His force was much greater than that of the British, with whom, however, being the veterans of the peninsula, the raw militia of Virginia and Maryland could scarcely be expected to cope. The chief approach to Bladensburg lay over a bridge, which was, of course, commanded by the American artillery, and served by the seamen of the flotilla. These did their duty skilfully and bravely. The first company of the British that advanced upon the bridge (for General Ross did not tarry for a ford) was

* "The force designated by the President was the double of what was necessary; but failed, as is the general opinion, through the insubordination of Armstrong (who could never believe the attack intended until it was actually made) and the sluggishness of Winder before the occasion, and his indecision during it."—*Jefferson's Correspondence*, vol. iv. p. 256.

swept away; and it was not until the attacking army had crossed in force that the artillery could be mastered. The first regiments that crossed were rash in pushing the Americans, who retired; they were accordingly severely handled, and repulsed at first. But after three hours' fighting, Bladensburg was abandoned by its defenders, who dispersed among the woods. The British soon after entered Washington. Their general wished to lay the city under contribution; but his proposal not being hearkened to, orders were given to destroy all the public buildings. This barbarous order, which no plea can excuse, and which certainly was as impolitic for the future as unprofitable for the present, was executed with rigor. The docks, the shipping, the magazines, were, of course, fired: these were lawful objects of devastation. But the dooming of the senate-house, the President's palace, the library, to the same fate, was a piece of vandalism that covered the expedition with disgrace.*

On the invasion of the capital, the President retired into Virginia, and on the first of September issued the following proclamation:

"Whereas the enemy, by a sudden incursion, have succeeded in invading the capital of the nation, defended at the moment by troops less numerous than their own, and almost entirely of the militia; during their possession of which, though for a single day only, they wantonly destroyed the public edifices having no relation in their structure to operations of war, nor used at the time for military annoyance; some of these edifices being also costly monuments of taste and of the arts; and others, depositories of the public archives, not only precious to the nation as the memorials of its origin and its early transactions, but interesting to all nations, as contributions to the general stock of historical instruction and political science:

"And whereas advantage has been taken of the loss of a fort, more

*After the retreat of the troops called to the defence of the capital, the enemy took possession of the battle ground, and many of them actually sunk to the ground with fatigue. They rested on their knapsacks, and were so exhausted by their rapid march, that they were unable to follow up their advantages by the pursuit of our army. The force that marched to the city two hours after the skirmish at Bladensburg, consisted of about fifteen hundred men, who were not engaged in the action. They proceeded slowly and with great caution, as they apprehended an ambuscade, and believed that the battle was yet to be fought to decide the fate of the city. Arrived at the entrance of the town, opposite the residence of Mr. Gallatin, General Ross halted with his troops, expecting that the city would propose terms of capitulation. While in this situation, a shot from Mr. Gallatin's house killed the horse on which General Ross rode. The house was instantly set on fire, and orders were at once given to burn the capitol.

Admiral Cockburn was with the army, and, after the capitol was destroyed, he rode through the city on horseback. He met a gentleman in the street, and inquired for the printing office of the National Intelligencer, observing "that he must visit that office, as his friend Gales had honored him with many hard rubs." When he reached the office, two ladies from the adjoining houses came out, and begged him not to burn the buildings, as their houses would inevitably share the same fate. The admiral very complacently replied, that for their sakes the office should not be burnt; and added with great politeness, "Be tranquil, ladies, you shall be as safely protected under my administration as under that of Mr. Madison." He then sent a file of soldiers, to convey the types and other printing utensils from the office.

immediately guarding the neighboring town of Alexandria, to place that town within the range of a naval force, too long and too much in the habit of abusing its superiority wherever it can be applied, to require, as the alternative of a general conflagration, an undisturbed plunder of private property, which has been executed in a manner peculiarly distressing to the inhabitants, who had, inconsiderately, cast themselves on the generosity of the victor:

"And whereas it now appears, by a direct communication from the British naval commander on the American station, to be his avowed purpose to employ the force under his direction 'in destroying and laying waste such towns and districts upon the coast as may be found assailable;' adding to this declaration the insulting pretext, that it is in retaliation for the wanton destruction committed by the army of the United States in Upper Canada, when it is notorious that no destruction has been committed, which, notwithstanding the multiplied outrages previously committed by the enemy, was not unauthorized, and promptly shewn to be so; and that the United States have been as constant in their endeavors to reclaim the enemy from such outrages, by the contrast of their own example, as they have been ready to terminate, on reasonable conditions, the war itself:

"And whereas these proceedings and declared purposes, which exhibit a disregard of the principles of humanity and the rules of civilized warfare, and which must give to the existing war a character of extended devastation and barbarism, at the very moment of negotiations for peace invited by the enemy himself, leave no prospect of safety to any thing within the reach of his predatory and incendiary operations, but in a manly and universal determination to chastise and expel the invader:

"Now, therefore, I, James Madison, President of the United States, do issue this my proclamation, exhorting all the good people thereof to unite their hearts and hands in giving effect to the ample means possessed for that purpose. I enjoin it on all officers, civil and military, to exert themselves in executing the duties with which they are respectively charged. And more especially, I require the officers, commanding the respective military districts, to be vigilant and alert in providing for the defence thereof; for the more effectual accomplishment of which, they are authorized to call to the defence of exposed and threatened places, portions of the militia most convenient thereto, whether they be or be not parts of the quotas detached for the service of the United States under requisitions of the General Government.

"On an occasion which appeals so forcibly to the proud feeling and patriotic devotion of the American people, none will forget what they owe to themselves; what they owe to their country and the high destinies which await it; what to the glory acquired by their fathers, in establishing the independence which is now to be maintained by their sons, with the augmented strength and resources with which time and Heaven have blessed them."

As the operations of the enemy, at this period of the war, created a general exeitement throughout the country, their progress is amply illustrated by contemporary descriptions. However willing we might be to

drop a veil over this scene in our history, the concealment of truth, and the tender treatment of misconduct, though the not inappropriate resources of eulogy, are unbecoming the just chronicler of the actions of the great. If no discrimination be made between their good deeds and their errors, and the whole be enveloped in the language of general applause, posterity are deceived and the purposes of history are violated. It need not be concealed, that while the most bitter indignation existed towards the enemy, for their contempt of all the rules of honorable warfare, in the destruction of the public buildings at Washington, equal indignation was excited in respect to those whose duty it was to have provided in the most sufficient manner for the defence of the capital, and to have perished beneath its ruins rather than have surrendered it ignominiously to a bloodless conquest. We present below the account of the capture, which is least discreditable to the parties interested. It is taken from a letter addressed to the editors of the Baltimore Patriot, and bearing date August 26th, 1814.

"I arrived at Washington on Sunday, 21st instant. At that time the officers of government and the citizens were very apprehensive of an attack from the British, who had landed a force on the Patuxent. Their numbers had not been ascertained, but reports were various, stating them from one thousand to sixteen thousand. General Winder was stationed near the Wood Yard, with about two thousand men, hourly expecting large reinforcements from every quarter, particularly from Baltimore, three thousand men having been ordered to march immediately from that place. On Sunday, the public officers were all engaged in packing off their books, and citizens their furniture. On Monday, this business was continued with great industry, and many families left the city. The specie was removed from all the banks in the District. Reports were very current, that Winder had received large reinforcements; so that it was believed by many well informed persons, that he would have ten thousand men embodied in the course of the week. In the expectation that there was a very considerable force collected, the President, accompanied by the Secretary of War, and of the Navy, left the city for the camp. They arrived there late that night; and the next morning, finding but three thousand men, and learning that the Baltimore troops were encamped at Bladensburg, they returned to the city on Tuesday to make further arrangements. All the books and papers were sent off, and the citizens generally left the place.

"In the course of that day, a scouting party from General Winder's army had a skirmish with the British advanced guard, and returned to camp with such tidings as induced General Winder to retire to the city, with his army, which he accomplished by nine o'clock in the evening, burnt the old bridge which crossed the Potomac, and encamped on the hill, directly above the other bridge, about one mile and a half from the navy yard, and prepared to defend that passage. In the event of the British being too strong, the bridge was to be blown up, for which he had every thing prepared. At this post he remained the whole night, expecting the enemy's forces. On Wednesday morning, I walked through the army, and remained at the bridge until ten o'clock, when advice was

received, that the enemy had taken the Bladensburg road. The troops were immediately put into motion, and by twelve o'clock the whole were on their march, in the hope of forming a junction with the Baltimore troops, before the enemy reached Bladensburg. This was only partially accomplished, when the battle commenced, and was contested by the Baltimore troops and the men from the flotilla, with great spirit and gallantry, until it appeared useless for so small a force, very badly supported, to stand against *six thousand regulars, all picked men and well supplied.* A retreat was ordered, when the President, who had been on horseback with the army the whole day, retired from the mortifying scene, and left the city on horseback, accompanied by General Mason and Mr. Carroll. At Georgetown, the President met his lady, she having left the city only a half hour before him, having remained with great firmness and composure at the President's house, until a messenger brought her the tidings, that the British were within a few miles of the city, and that our army were retreating, without any chance of being rallied so as to check their march.

"The President and Secretary of State went to Virginia with their families—the other officers of government went to Fredericktown, where the government is to be formed, and where the President intends to meet his secretaries next week. I remained at the President's house, until all our army had passed, and ninety-nine hundredths of the citizens gone, leaving nothing but empty walls. I fell into the trail of the army, and marched about four miles on the Frederick road. Being much fatigued, I turned off into a wood, and found good quarters in a farmhouse, on the hill back of Pearce's. Soon after reaching there, at nine o'clock on Wednesday evening, a signal gun was discharged, and the President's house, the capitol, and many other public buildings, were at the same moment in a blaze, which continued nearly all night.

"On Thursday morning I proceeded on with the army to Montgomery court-house, where General Winder's head-quarters were established. I had some conversation with him. He appeared to regret very much that he had not been enabled to have made a greater resistance, although he was perfectly satisfied that a successful resistance could not have been made, with the force in the neighborhood of Washington, since, if it had all been brought together before the action, it would not have been so large as that opposed to him, and our force was principally militia, and that of the enemy, all regulars and picked men.

"The uncertainty on which road the enemy intended to attack the city, compelled him to keep his forces divided, and their being divided occasioned frequent marches and counter-marches, which at this hot season was quite too much for our militia."

The work of destruction achieved, the British retreated without loss of time to their ships, and, re-embarking, sailed to menace and to ravage other points. Alexandria was captured, but ransomed all, save its stores and shipping. Baltimore was the next town devoted by the British to their vengeance. It was the most obnoxious and anti-federal, as well as important; and was, consequently, considered a proper object of attack. General Ross landed about fifteen miles from the city, at the head of

about five thousand men, on the 12th of September. The disaster of Washington, however, had inspired more strenuous measures of defence; and the Americans on this point were far better prepared. They occupied a strong position in advance of Baltimore. In the first skirmish that occurred, the British commander was shot by a rifleman; which damped the hopes, as well as deranged the projects, of the expedition. The English, however, marched to the attack, and routed the Americans. However, there was still a stronger position behind, capable of a better defence. The co-operation of the fleet had been reckoned on to facilitate the carrying of this, which was, in fact, the heights above Baltimore Admiral Cochrane, however, had found this impracticable from the shallowness of the harbor, as well as from the vessels sunk at its mouth. Those in command of the expedition accordingly abandoned its further prosecution; the army retreated and again embarked. After some further cruises and menaces in the Chesapeake, the English fleet abandoned it for a more remote enterprise.

The following account of the attack on Baltimore is from the letter of an eye-witness, bearing date September 17, 1814:

"I will give you an account of the approach of the enemy before this place, so far as it came under my own observation. On Saturday last, and the day previous, we had correct intelligence that the enemy had collected all his force, to the amount of forty-seven sail, and were proceeding down the bay, consequently we were led to hope we should have a little rest from our incessant labors, in preparing to resist them. On Saturday noon, Major Armistead, the commander of Fort M'Henry, permitted Chief Justice Nicholson, who commands our volunteer corps of eighty men, to march to town, holding ourselves in readiness to return the moment he thought prudent to call. As it turned out, while we were marching to town, the enemy tacked about, and just at dusk were seen under a press of sail, with a fair wind, approaching the town. Their movements were closely watched at the fort, and at half past nine o'clock, Judge Nicholson received orders to repair to the fort with his men. We were all immediately rallied, and arrived at the fort before twelve, although the rain poured down in torrents. On our arrival, we found the matches burning, the furnaces heated and vomiting *red-hot shot*, and every thing ready for a gallant defence. At this time the enemy had arrived as far up as North Point, twelve miles below the fort. We remained at our posts till daylight, at which time the enemy remained at the same place, some at anchor and others under easy sail, lying off and on.

"They continued this kind of movement all day on Sunday. During the succeeding night and the forepart of Monday, they were busily employed in landing their troops, but all was quiet on the part of the naval operation against the fort, till Tuesday morning, at which time they had advanced to within two and a half miles of the fort, arranged in most elegant order, all at anchor, forming a half circle, with four bomb-vessels and a rocket ship, stretched from right to left, in the advance. The action commenced on their part by the discharge of a few rockets, which were harmless indeed. These, I am sure, were not intended as an

attack upon us, but fired as a signal to inform their land troops of their readiness for co-operation.

"Immediately after these discharges, two of the headmost frigates opened upon us, but finding their shot not reaching us, they ceased and advanced up a little nearer. The moment they had taken their position, Major Armistead mounted the parapet, and ordered a battery of twenty-four pounders to be opened upon them; immediately after a battery of forty-twos followed, and then the whole fort let drive at them. We could see the shot strike the frigates in several instances, when every heart was gladdened, and we gave three cheers, the music playing Yankee Doodle. Upon this the frigates stood off, and, in five minutes, all lay just out of reach of our shot. The bomb-vessels advanced a little, and commenced a tremendous bombardment, which lasted all day and all night, with hardly a moment's intermission.

"Finding our shot would not reach them, the cannonading, which was sublime and enlivening, was ordered to be closed. We then resorted to our mortars, and fired six or eight, but, sorrowful to relate, they, like our shot, fell short, owing to their chambers not being so deep as those of the enemy. Here then we were again foiled, and were reduced to the dreadful alternative of facing by far the most tremendous bombardment ever known in this country, without any means of resisting it—upwards of one thousand five hundred bombs having fallen in and about the fort. Fortunately but little damage was done. In our company we had six severely wounded, and two killed. Sergeant Clemm, a young man of most amiable character, gentlemanly manners, and real courage, was killed by my side; a bomb bursting overhead, a piece of the size of a dollar, two inches thick, passed through his body in a diagonal direction from his navel, and went into the ground upwards of two feet It was dug up immediately after, and is preserved by his friends. Instantly before this, a bomb struck the bastion, then in charge of Lieutenant Claggett, our third, which killed him upon the spot, wounded four men, dismounted a twenty-four pounder, broke the carriage wheel, and did considerable other damage. This happened on my right, about twenty-five paces distant. In the whole we had seven killed in the fort, and fifteen wounded.

"From twelve to one o'clock in the night, the enemy slackened a little; during which time, a picked party of mariners towed up in a silent manner, a bomb-vessel, which got almost in rear of our fort, unobserved by the look-outs, on account of the extreme darkness of the night. After choosing her position, she began on our right, in high style. Captains Evans and Nicholson were instantly ordered to open their batteries of twenty-fours with grape and canister, which was immediately followed by Fort Covington, a tight little place one and a half miles above us. The enemy likewise poured in their canister and grape, but in less than five minutes was silenced, and we heard no more of them from that quarter, but the bombardment was kept up from their old position, with increased fury, till dawn of day, when they appeared to be disposed to decline the unprofitable contest. At this time our morning gun was fired, the flag hoisted, Yankee Doodle played, and we all appeared in full view

of a formidable and mortified enemy, who calculated upon our surrender in twenty minutes after the commencement of the action."

On the nineteenth of September, the day assigned for the meeting of Congress, the members assembled at Washington in rooms hastily fitted up for their reception. The roll of the Senate was called, and it appeared that nineteen members only were present. The Vice-President not having arrived, the Hon. John Gaillard, of South Carolina, took the chair as President *pro tempore* of the Senate. In the House, the Speaker, Hon. Langdon Cheeves, took the chair, at twelve o'clock, and ninety-four members appeared in their seats. As there was not a quorum present, the House separated by special consent till five o'clock in the evening. A sufficient number having then been formed, a committee was appointed to join the committee of the Senate, to wait on the President, and inform him they were ready to receive any communication he might intend to offer. On the following day, the President transmitted the usual Message to Congress by Mr. Edward Cole, his secretary. This document we copy almost entire. The view which it takes of our military affairs, and of our existing relation towards the enemy, renders it valuable and interesting.

"In the events of the present campaign, the enemy, with all his augmented means and wanton use of them, has little ground for exultation, unless he can feel it in the success of his recent enterprises against this metropolis and the neighboring town of Alexandria; from both of which his retreats were as precipitate as his attempts were bold and fortunate. In his other incursions on our Atlantic frontiers, his progress, often checked and chastised by the martial spirit of the neighboring citizens, has had more effect in distressing individuals, and in dishonoring his arms, than in promoting any object of legitimate warfare. And in the two instances mentioned, however deeply to be regretted on our part, he will find in his transient success, which interrupted for a moment only the ordinary public business at the seat of government, no compensation for the loss of character with the world by this violation of private property, and by his destruction of public edifices, protected as monuments of the arts by the laws of civilized warfare.

"On our side, we can appeal to a series of achievements, which have given new lustre to the American arms. Besides the brilliant incidents in the minor operations of the campaign, the splendid victories gained on the Canadian side of the Niagara, by the American forces under Major General Brown, and Brigadiers Scott and Gaines, have gained for these heroes and their emulating companions, the most unfading laurels; and having triumphantly tested the progressive discipline of the American soldiery, have taught the enemy that the longer he protracts his hostile efforts, the more certain and decisive will be his final discomfiture.

"On the southern border, victory has continued also to follow the American standard. The bold and skilful operations of Major-General Jackson, conducting troops drawn from the militia of the states least distant, particularly of Tennessee, have subdued the principal tribes of hostile savages, and by establishing a peace with them preceded by recent and exemplary chastisement, has best guarded against the mischief of their co-operation with the British enterprises which may be planned against

that quarter of our country. Important tribes of Indians on our northwestern frontier have also acceded to stipulations, which bind them to the interests of the United States, and to consiser our enemy as theirs also.

"In the recent attempt of the enemy on the city of Baltimore, defended by militia and volunteers, aided by a small body of regulars and seamen, he was received with a spirit which produced a rapid retreat to the ships, whilst a concurrent attack by a large fleet was successfully resisted by the steady and well directed fire of the fort and batteries opposed to it.

"In another recent attack by a powerful force on our troops at Plattsburg, of which regulars made a part only, the enemy, after a perseverance for many hours, was finally compelled to seek safety in a hasty retreat, with our gallant bands pressing upon him.

"On the lakes, so much contested throughout the war, the great exertions for the command made on our part have been well repaid. On Lake Ontario, our squadron is now, and has been for some time, in a condition to confine that of the enemy to his own port; and to favor the operations of our land forces on that frontier.

"A part of the squadron on Lake Erie has been extended to Lake Huron, and has produced the advantage of displaying our command of that lake also. One object of the expedition was the reduction of Mackinaw, which failed, with the loss of a few brave men, among whom was an officer justly distinguished for his gallant exploits. The expedition, ably conducted by both the land and naval commanders, was otherwise valuable in its effects.

"On Lake Champlain, where our superiority had for some time been undisputed, the British squadron lately came into action with the American, commanded by Captain M'Donough. It issued in the capture of the whole of the enemy's ships. The best praise of this officer and his intrepid comrades is in the likeness of his triumph to the illustrious victory, which immortalized another officer, and established, at a critical moment, our command of another lake.

"On the ocean, the pride of our naval arms has been amply supported. A second frigate has indeed fallen into the hands of the enemy, but the loss is hidden in the blaze of heroism with which she was defended. Captain Porter, who commanded her, and whose previous career had been distinguished by daring enterprise and by fertility of genius, maintained a sanguinary contest against two ships, one of them superior to his own, and other severe disadvantages, till humanity tore down the colors which valor had nailed to the mast. This officer and his brave comrades have added much to the rising glory of the American flag, and have merited all the effusions of gratitude which their country is ever ready to bestow on the champions of its rights and of its safety.

"Two smaller vessels of war have also become prizes to the enemy, but by a superiority of force which sufficiently vindicates the reputation of their commanders; whilst two others, one commanded by Captain Warrington, the other by Captain Blakely, have captured British ships of the same class, with a gallantry and good conduct, which entitled them and their companions to a just share in the praise of their country.

"In spite of the naval force of the enemy accumulated on our coasts, our private cruisers also have not ceased to annoy his commerce, and to bring their rich prizes into our ports; contributing thus, with other proofs, to demonstrate the incompetency and the illegality of a blockade, the proclamation of which is made the pretext for vexing and discouraging the commerce of neutral powers with the United States.

"To meet the extended and diversified warfare adopted by the enemy, great bodies of militia have been taken into service for the public defence, and great expenses incurred. That the defence every where may be both more convenient and more economical, Congress will see the necessity of immediate measures for filling the ranks of the regular army; and of enlarging the provisions for special corps, mounted and unmounted, to be engaged for longer periods of service than are due from the militia. I earnestly renew, at the same time, a recommendation of such changes in the system of the militia, as, by classing and disciplining for the most prompt and active service the portions most capable of it, will give to that great resource for the public safety, all the requisite energy and efficiency.

"The monies received into the Treasury, during the nine months ending on the 13th day of June last, amounted to thirty-two millions of dollars, of which eleven millions were the proceeds of the public revenue, and the remainder derived from loans. The disbursements for public expenditures, during the same period, exceeded thirty-four millions of dollars, and left in the Treasury on the 1st of July, near five millions of dollars The demands during the remainder of the present year, already authorized by Congress, and the expenses incident to an extension of the operations of the war, will render it necessary that large sums should be provided to meet them.

"From this view of the national affairs, Congress will be urged to take up without delay, as well the subject of pecuniary supplies as that of military force, and on a scale commensurate with the extent and character which the war has assumed.

"It is not to be disguised, that the situation of our country calls for its greatest efforts. Our enemy is powerful in men and money; on the land and on the water. Availing himself of fortuitous advantages, he is aiming, with an undivided force, a deadly blow at our growing prosperity, perhaps at our national existence. He has avowed his purpose of trampling on the usages of civilized warfare, and given earnests of it in the plunder and wanton destruction of private property. In his pride of maritime dominion, and in his thirst of commercial monopoly, he strikes with peculiar animosity at the progress of our navigation and of our manufactures. His barbarous policy has not even spared those monuments of the arts, and models of taste, with which our country had enriched and embellished its infant metropolis. From such an adversary, hostility in its greatest force and worst forms may be looked for. The American people will face it with the undaunted spirit which, in their revolutionary struggle, defeated his unrighteous projects. His threats and his barbarities, instead of dismay, will kindle in every bosom an indignation not to be extinguished but in the disaster and expulsion of such cruel invaders.

In providing the means necessary, the National Legislature will not distrust the heroic and enlightened patriotism of its constituents. They will cheerfully and proudly bear every burden of every kind, which the safety and honor of the nation demand. We have seen them every where paying their taxes, direct and indirect, with the greatest promptness and alacrity. We see them rushing with enthusiasm to scenes where danger and duty call. In offering their blood, they give the surest pledge that no other tribute will be withheld.

"Having forborne to declare war until to other aggressions had been added the capture of nearly a thousand American vessels, and the impressment of thousands of American seafaring citizens, and until a final declaration had been made by the government of Great Britain, that her hostile orders against our commerce would not be revoked but on conditions as impossible as unjust; whilst it was known that these orders would not otherwise cease, but with a war which had lasted nearly twenty years, and which, according to appearances at that time, might last as many more; having manifested, on every occasion and in every proper mode, a sincere desire to arrest the effusion of blood, and meet our enemy on the ground of justice and reconciliation, our beloved country. in still opposing to his persevering hostility all its energies, with an undiminished disposition towards peace and friendship on honorable terms, must carry with it the good wishes of the impartial world, and the best hopes of support from an omnipotent and kind Providence."

In the north-eastern parts of the Union, scenes were now enacting, similar to those which had disgraced the British on the southern coasts. At Hampden, in Maine, the destruction of private property by the British squadron was very great. It appears to have proceeded, however, from the lawless spirit of the soldiers, and not to have been directly authorized by the commanding officers, as the destruction of the shipping was stopped by order of Sir John Sherbrooke, and several sailors were arrested for pillaging dwelling-houses. Castine was taken, and the British soldiers were kept continually employed in erecting fortifications there. Most of the trees in the place were cut down, and a considerable distance in the vicinity was cleared to prevent the unexpected approach of an enemy. Between fifty and an hundred pieces of cannon were mounted, and a canal was commenced from Castine river to the Penobscot, to separate the town from the main. Four large, and several smaller forts were built, and the whole town was put in a posture of complete defence.*

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* Among the other exploits which did honor to the British arms, was one of Sir G. Collier, who commanded the ship Leander, and made his appearance off a small cove, below Sandy Bay, Cape Ann, and manned three barges which stood for the cove. About fifty men collected from the vicinity, and with a six pounder and musketry, exchanged several fires with the barges, when they returned to the ship. A flag was immediately despatched from the Leander, bearing the following note from the commander:

"LEANDER, 1, P. M., TUESDAY.

"Sir George Collier believes the boat, on shore, a fisherman. He desires to examine her without recourse to arms, and if objected to, he will *land and destroy every house within two miles of the cove. This the inhabitants may rely upon.* G. COLLIER."

The commissioners of both nations had, in the mean time, met, not, as had been first arranged, at Gottenberg, but at Ghent. The triumph of the British over Bonaparte had naturally increased the arrogance of their tone, whilst the ravaging expeditions on the American coast, contrasted with the state of the war in Canada, confirmed the Americans in their proud determination not to yield. The English demanded that no further acquisition of territory should be made at the expense of the Indians. To this and other demands the American commissioners objected; and the first attempts at an accommodation altogether failed.

In the mean time the exasperation of the federalists—more properly of the party averse to war in the New-England states—grew to a height that almost menaced a revolution. Mr. Strong, the Governor of Massachusetts, was at the head of this party; and his addresses to the legislature of his state vied with those of the President to Congress in strength and bitterness, but with sentiments directly opposite. "The lovers of peace," said he, "are accused of being under British influence. Those of war are as much instigated by French influence." Distress was at the bottom of this discontent; for Massachusetts had not only traded in British manufactures, but, from the long credit given by the merchants of that country, literally traded upon the capital of the latter. Of these great advantages war deprived them. To alleviate this distress somewhat, the rigor of the laws prohibiting both imports and exports was relaxed; and as the enemy's fleet had hitherto confined their blockade to the southern ports, it was hoped that Boston and New-York might enjoy a circuitous or indirect trade, which would reconcile them to the war. Great Britain, however, about this time, freed from the necessity of keeping her cruisers around the shores of Europe, despatched them to America, and enforced her blockade all along the coast, in order to protect her trade more effectually from the privateers of her foe.

The New-Englanders not only felt this, but they saw Britain so victorious in her European struggle, that it seemed madness to resist her. The destruction of Washington, the ravage of the banks of the Chesapeake, showed what was to be expected from a continuance of hostilities. Towards the close of the year they, consequently, attacked the government more virulently than ever, accusing it of first exciting the war gratuitously, persevering in it obstinately, yet taking none of the requisite measures for preserving the country from insult or conquest. To remedy this crying evil, by which one section of states were sacrificed to the interests of another, they proposed a convention of delegates from the different sections of the Union to be summoned to meet at Hartford, in order to take into consideration the changes to be made in the Constitution. This was the most serious schism that had as yet menaced the integrity of the Federal Union. The Hartford Convention met, though attended merely by the delegates of the anti-war, or north-eastern states. Their discussions were kept secret, and they separated for the time, after merely venting their grievances in a public address.

This dangerous spirit, as well as the distresses of the government, becoming most formidable in a financial point of view, were arrested by the tidings that peace at length had been signed at Ghent, in December.

These tidings, however, did not arrive until the army, victorious at Washington, had received a check, which terminated the war in a manner glorious to the nation, and much to the support of the political party in power. We refer, of course, to the battle of New-Orleans, a detailed account of which has been given in another part of the volume.

The capture of the President, an American frigate, by the Endymion, which took place about the same time, off New-York, after a sharp contest, was no counterpoise to this disaster; nor yet the taking of Fort Mobile by the army that had retreated from New-Orleans.

The news of peace came to America amidst the rejoicings for the victory of New-Orleans. It was doubly welcome, because so gloriously terminated. Great Britain made no demands; and when the Americans desisted from theirs,—which, indeed, the cessation of war left no room for, since impressment and the right of search were applicable merely to war,—there seemed scarcely a stipulation necessary. All that England insisted on was the abolition of the slave trade. The settlement of the boundary line on the side of Canada was left to commissioners of both nations. On the 17th of February, 1815, the President and Senate ratified the treaty of Ghent; and North-America breathed, with Europe, free from the horrors of war.

In the good humor of the moment, the ruling party seems to have lost much of its anti-British rancor. A commercial treaty was concluded upon fair terms between the countries. The Americans were permitted by England to trade with the East and the West-Indies; on the condition, however, of transferring the produce directly to their own ports. For some time, the old illiberal policy towards England was allowed to lie dormant. A state of hostility, however, gives to a numerous class of persons certain occupations and interests necessarily arising out of, and depending on war. Such persons, although they dared not abet such a proposal as eternal war, still wished for a state, as far as commerce and manufactures were concerned, tantamount to it. Whilst shut out from England, the Americans had begun to fabricate divers articles of necessity for themselves; of course, at a dearer rate, and with less skill, than those excluded. Peace brought back the cheap and the good commodity from England. The American could not stand the competition; and exclaimed against the want of patriotism in sacrificing him to foreigners. The infant manufactures of the country, argued the manufacturers, ought to be supported. Petitions and addresses to this effect soon crowded the table of Congress; and as the consumer was not so early alive to his interests as the manufacturer, the complaint of the former made impression and won favor by its plausibility. Mr. Madison, himself, jealous of the decline of manufactures, and still more of shipping, owing to the rivalry of the British, felt his old prejudices revive; and his messages to Congress soon came to recommend prohibitory measures and conservative duties.

The summer of 1816 passed away without being marked by any events of peculiar moment. The country appeared to be gradually recovering from the embarrassments induced by the war, and that asperity of feeling, which had agitated the different political parties in the United States, was

visibly wearing away. Congress met in December. In the conclusion of his message at the opening of the session, Mr. Madison, anticipating the speedy arrival of the day, when he should retire from the presidency, took occasion to express his attachment for his country, and his wishes for her future peace and prosperity:

"I can indulge the proud reflection," said he, "that the American people have reached in safety and success, their fortieth year, as an independent nation; that for nearly an entire generation, they have had experience of their present Constitution, the offspring of their undisturbed deliberations and of their free choice; that they have found it to bear the trials of adverse as well as prosperous circumstances, to contain in its combination of the federate and elective principles, a reconcilement of public strength with individual liberty, of national power for the defence of national rights, with a security against wars of injustice, of ambition, or of vain glory, in the fundamental provision which subjects all questions of war to the will of the nation itself, which is to pay its costs, and feel its calamities. Nor is it less a peculiar felicity of this Constitution, so dear to us all, that it is found to be capable, without losing its vital energies, of expanding itself over a spacious territory, with the increase and expansion of the community, for whose benefit it was established."

On leaving the Presidential chair, Mr. Madison passed the remainder of his life in a dignified and honorable retirement. Without mingling in the petty and distracting discussions of the day, he has always been ready to express his opinions on the great constitutional questions in regard to which he has been consulted. No man perhaps was so familiar with the history of the Constitution, so thoroughly understood it, or speculated with so much clearness and felicity on its principles, as Mr. Madison. The letter which he wrote in August, 1830, on the agitating topic of nullification, is so admirable and conclusive that we shall insert entire. This letter paper was addressed to Mr. Edward Everett, now governor of Massachusetts, and first appeared in the North American Review. With the farewell address of the father of his country—that immortal compend of reflective wisdom and patriotic counsel—it should be imprinted on the mind and the heart of every citizen. To all who love their country, it cannot but be a source of regret that such an oracle has been silenced.

"MONTPELIER, AUGUST, 1830.

"DEAR SIR:

"I have duly received your letter, in which you refer to the 'nullifying doctrine,' advocated as a constitutional right by some of our distinguished fellow-citizens; and to the proceedings of the Virginia Legislature in '98 and '99, as appealed to in behalf of that doctrine; and you express a wish for my ideas on those subjects.

"I am aware of the delicacy of the task in some respects, and the difficulty, in every respect, of doing full justice to it. But having, in more than one instance, complied with a like request from other friendly quarters, I do not decline a sketch of the views which I have been led to take of the doctrine in question, as well as some others connected with them; and of the grounds from which it appears that the proceedings of

Virginia have been misconceived by those who have appealed to them. In order to understand the true character of the Constitution of the United States, the error, not uncommon, must be avoided, of viewing it through the medium, either of a Consolidated Government, or of a Federated Government, whilst it is neither the one nor the other; but a mixture of both. And having, in no model, the similitudes and analogies applicable to other systems of government, it must, more than any other, be its own interpreter, according to its text *and the facts of the case.*

"From these it will be seen that the characteristic peculiarities of the Constitution are, 1, the mode of its formation; 2, the division of the supreme powers of government between the states in their united capacity, and the states in their individual capacities.

"1. It was formed, not by the governments of the component states, as the Federal Government, for which it was substituted, was formed. Nor was it formed by a majority of the people of the United States, as a single community, in the manner of a Consolidated Government.

"It was formed by the states, that is, by the people in each of the states, acting in their highest sovereign capacity; and formed consequently, by the same authority which formed the State Constitutions.

"Being thus derived from the same source as the constitutions of the states, it has, within each state, the same authority as the constitution of the state: and is as much a constitution, in the strict sense of the term, within its prescribed sphere, as the constitutions of the states are, within their respective spheres; but with this obvious and essential difference, that being a compact among the states in their highest sovereign capacity, and constituting the people thereof one people for certain purposes, it cannot be altered or annulled at the will of the states individually, as the constitution of a state may be at its individual will.

"2. And that it divides the supreme powers of government, between the government of the United States, and the governments of the individual states, is stamped on the face of the instrument; the powers of war and of taxation, of commerce and of treaties, and other enumerated powers vested in the Government of the United States, being of as high and sovereign a character as any of the powers reserved to the state governments.

"Nor is the Government of the United States, created by the Constitution, less a government in the strict sense of the term, within the sphere of its powers, than the governments created by the constitutions of the states are, within their several spheres. It is, like them, organized into Legislative, Executive, and Judiciary departments. It operates, like them, directly on persons and things. And, like them, it has at command a physical force for executing the powers committed to it. The concurrent operation in certain cases, is one of the features marking the peculiarity of the system.

"Between these different constitutional governments, the one operating in all the states, the others operating separately in each, with the aggregate powers of government divided between them, it could not escape attention, that controversies would arise concerning the boundaries of jurisdiction; and that some provision ought to be made for such occur-

rences. A political system that does not provide for a peaceable and authoritative termination of occurring controversies, would not be more than the shadow of a government; the object and end of a real government being the substitution of law and order, for uncertainty, confusion, and violence.

"That to have left a final decision, in such cases, to each of the states, then thirteen, and already twenty-four, could not fail to make the Constitution and Laws of the United States different in different states, was obvious; and not less obvious, that this diversity of independent decisions must altogether distract the Government of the Union, and speedily put an end to the Union itself. A uniform authority of the Laws is in itself a vital principle. Some of the most important laws could not be partially executed. They must be executed in all the states, or they could be duly executed in none. An impost, or an excise, for example, if not in force in some states, would be defeated in others. It is well known that this was among the lessons of experience which had a primary influence in bringing about the existing constitution. A loss of its general authority would moreover revive the exasperating questions between the states holding ports for foreign commerce, and the adjoining states without them; to which are now added all the inland states, necessarily carrying on their foreign commerce through other states.

"To have made the decisions under the authority of the individual states, co-ordinate, in all cases, with decisions under the authority of the United States, would unavoidably produce collisions incompatible with the peace of society, and with that regular and efficient administration, which is of the essence of free governments. Scenes could not be avoided, in which a ministerial officer of the United States, and the correspondent officer of an individual state, would have rencounters in executing conflicting decrees; the result of which would depend on the comparative force of the local posses attending them; and that, a casualty depending on the political opinions and party feelings in different states.

"To have referred every clashing decision, under the two authorities for a final decision to the states as parties to the constitution, would be attended with delays, with inconveniences, and with expenses, amounting to a prohibition of the expedient; not to mention its tendency to impair the salutary veneration for a system requiring such frequent interpositions, nor the delicate questions which might present themselves as to the form of stating the appeal, and as to the quorum for deciding it.

"To have trusted to negotiation for adjusting disputes between the Government of the United States and the State Governments, as between independent and separate sovereignties, would have lost sight altogether of a Constitution and Government for the Union, and opened a direct road from a failure of that resort, to the *ultima ratio* between nations wholly independent of and alien to each other. If the idea had its origin in the process of adjustment, between separate branches of the same government, the analogy entirely fails. In the case of disputes between independent parts of the same government, neither part being able to consummate its will, nor the government to proceed without a concurrence of the parts, necessity brings about an accommodation. In disputes between a

State Government, and the Government of the United States, the case is practically as well as theoretically different; each party possessing all the departments of an organized government, Legislative, Executive, and Judiciary, and having each a physical force to support its pretensions Although the issue of negotiation might sometimes avoid this extremity, how often would it happen, among so many states, that an unaccommodating spirit in some, would render that resource unavailing? A contrary supposition would not accord with a knowledge of human nature, or the evidence of our own political history.

"The Constitution, not relying on any of the preceding modifications, for its safe and successful operation, has expressly declared, on the one hand, 1, 'that the Constitution, and the laws made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; 2, that the Judges of every state shall be bound thereby, any thing in the constitution and laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding; 3, that the judicial power of the United States shall extend to all cases in law and equity arising under the constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made under their authority, &c.'

"On the other hand, as a security of the rights and powers of the states in their individual capacities, against an undue preponderance of the powers granted to the government over them in their united capacity, the Constitution has relied on, 1, the responsibility of the Senators and Representatives in the Legislature of the United States to the Legislatures and people of the states; 2, the responsibility of the President to the people of the United States; and, 3, the liability of the Executive and Judicial functionaries of the United States to impeachment by the Representatives of the people of the states, in one branch of the Legislature of the United States, and trial by the Representatives of the states, in the other branch: the state functionaries, Legislative, Executive, and Judicial, being, at the same time, in their appointment and responsibility, altogether independent of the agency or authority of the United States.

"How far this structure of the Government of the United States is adequate and safe for its objects, time alone can absolutely determine. Experience seems to have shown that whatever may grow out of future stages of our national career, there is, as yet, a sufficient control, in the popular will, over the Executive and Legislative Departments of the government. When the Alien and Sedition Laws were passed in contravention to the opinions and feelings of the community, the first elections that ensued put an end to them. And whatever may have been the character of other acts, in the judgment of many of us, it is but true, that they have generally accorded with the views of a majority of the states and of the people. At the present day it seems well understood that the laws which have created the most dissatisfaction, have had a like sanction without doors; and that whether continued, varied, or repealed, a like proof will be given of the sympathy and responsibility of the representative body to the constituent body. Indeed, the great

complaint now is against the results of this sympathy and responsibility in the legislative policy of the nation.

"With respect to the judicial power of the United States, and the authority of the Supreme Court in relation to the boundary of jurisdiction between the Federal and State Governments, I may be permitted to refer to the thirty-ninth number of the 'Federalist,'* for the light in which the subject was regarded by its writer, at the period when the Constitution was depending; and it is believed that the same was the prevailing view then taken of it, that the same view has continued to prevail, and that it does so at this time, notwithstanding the eminent exceptions to it.

"But it is perfectly consistent with the concession of this power to the Supreme Court, in cases falling within the course of its functions, to maintain that the power has not always been rightly exercised. To say nothing of the period, happily a short one, when judges in their seats did not abstain from intemperate and party harangues, equally at variance with their duty and their dignity; there have been occasional decisions from the bench, which have incurred serious and extensive disapprobation. Still it would seem that, with but few exceptions, the course of the Judiciary has been hitherto sustained by the predominant sense of the nation.

"Those who have denied or doubted the supremacy of the judicial power of the United States, and denounce at the same time a nullifying power in a state, seem not to have sufficiently adverted to the utter inefficiency of a supremacy in a law of the land, without a supremacy in the exposition and execution of the law; nor to the destruction of all equipoise between the Federal Government and the State Governments, if, whilst the functionaries of the Federal Government are directly or indirectly elected by and responsible to the states, and the functionaries of the states are in their appointment and responsibility wholly independent of the United States, no constitutional control of any sort belong to the United States over the states. Under such an organization it is evident that it would be in the power of the states, individually, to pass unauthorized laws, and to carry them into complete effect, any thing in the Constitution and Laws of the United States to the contrary notwithstanding. This would be a nullifying power in its plenary character; and whether it had its final effect, through the Legislative, Executive, or Judiciary organ of the state, would be equally fatal to the constituted relation between the two governments.

"Should the provisions of the Constitution, as here reviewed, be found

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* No. 39. 'It is true, that in controversies relating to the boundary between the two jurisdictions, the tribunal which is ultimately to decide, is to be established under the General Government. But this does not change the principle of the case. The decision is to be impartially made, according to the rules of the Constitution; and all the usual and most effectual precautions are taken to secure this impartiality. Some such tribunal is clearly essential to prevent an appeal to the sword, and a dissolution of the compact; and that it ought to be established under the general, rather than under the local, governments; or, to speak more properly, that it could be safely established under the first alone, is a position not likely to be combated.'

not to secure the government and rights of the states against usurpations and abuses on the part of the United States, the final resort within the purview of the Constitution, lies in an amendment of the Constitution, according to a process applicable by the states.

"And in the event of a failure of every constitutional resort, and an accumulation of usurpations and abuses, rendering passive obedience and non-resistance a greater evil than resistance and revolution, there can remain but one resort, the last of all—an appeal from the cancelled obligations of the constitutional compact, to original rights and the law of self-preservation. This is the *ultima ratio* under all governments, whether consolidated, confederated, or a compound of both; and it cannot be doubted, that a single member of the Union, in the extremity supposed, but in that only, would have a right, as an extra and ultra-constitutional right, to make the appeal.

"This brings us to the expedient lately advanced, which claims for a single state a right to appeal against an exercise of power by the government of the United States decided by the states to be unconstitutional, to the parties to the constitutional compact; the decision of the state to have the effect of nullifying the act of the Government of the United States, unless the decision of the state be reversed by three fourths of the parties.

"The distinguished names and high authorities which appear to have asserted and given a practical scope to this doctrine, entitle it to a respect which it might be difficult otherwise to feel for it.

"If the doctrine were to be understood as requiring the three fourths of the states to sustain, instead of that proportion to reverse, the decision of the appealing state, the decision to be without effect during the appeal, it would be sufficient to remark, that this extra-constitutional course might well give way to that marked out by the Constitution, which authorizes two thirds of the states to institute, and three fourths to effectuate, an amendment of the Constitution, establishing a permanent rule of the highest authority, in place of an irregular precedent of construction only.

"But it is understood that the nullifying doctrine imports that the decision of the state is to be presumed valid, and that it overrules the law of the United States, unless overruled by three fourths of the states.

"Can more be necessary to demonstrate the inadmissibility of such a doctrine, than that it puts it in the power of the smallest fraction over one fourth of the United States, that is, of seven states out of twenty-four, to give the law and even the Constitution to seventeen states, each of the seventeen having, as parties to the Constitution, an equal right with each of the seven, to expound it, and to insist on the exposition? That the seven might, in particular instances, be right, and the seventeen wrong, is more than possible. But to establish a positive and permanent rule giving such a power, to such a minority, over such a majority, would overturn the first principle of free government, and in practice necessarily overturn the government itself.

"It is to be recollected that the Constitution was proposed to the people of the states as *a whole*, and unanimously adopted by the states as

a whole, it being a part of the Constitution that not less than three fourths of the states should be competent to make any alterations in what had been unanimously agreed to. So great is the caution on this point, that in two cases where peculiar interests were at stake, a proportion even of three fourths is distrusted, and unanimity required to make an alteration.

"When the Constitution was adopted as a whole, it is certain that there were many parts, which, if separately proposed, would have been promptly rejected. It is far from impossible that every part of a Constitution might be rejected by a majority, and yet, taken together as a whole, be unanimously accepted. Free Constitutions will rarely, if ever, be formed, without reciprocal concessions; without articles conditioned on and balancing each other. Is there a Constitution of a single state out of the twenty-four, that would bear the experiment of having its component parts submitted to the people and separately decided on?

"What the fate of the Constitution of the United States would be, if a small proportion of the states could expunge parts of it particularly valued by a large majority, it can have but one answer.

"The difficulty is not removed by limiting the doctrine to cases of construction. How many cases of that sort, involving cardinal provisions of the Constitution have occurred? How many now exist? How many may hereafter spring up? How many might be ingeniously created, if entitled to the privilege of a decision in the mode proposed?

"It is certain that the principle of that mode would not reach further than is contemplated. If a single state can of right require three fourths of its co-states to overrule its exposition of the Constitution, because that proportion is authorized to amend it, would the plea be less plausible that, as the Constitution was unanimously established, it ought to be unanimously expounded?

"The reply to all such suggestions seems to be unavoidable and irresistible; that the Constitution is a compact, that its text is to be expounded according to the provisions for expounding it—making a part of the compact; and that none of the parties can rightfully renounce the expounding provision more than any other part. When such a right accrues, as may accrue, it must grow out of abuses of the compact releasing the sufferers from their fealty to it.

"In favor of the nullifying claim for the states, individually, it appears, as you observe, that the proceedings of the Legislature of Virginia, in '98 and '99, against the Alien and Sedition Acts, are much dwelt upon.

"It may often happen, as experience proves, that erroneous constructions, not anticipated, may not be sufficiently guarded against, in the language used; and it is due to the distinguished individuals, who have misconceived the intention of those proceedings, to suppose that the meaning of the Legislature, though well comprehended at the time, may not now be obvious to those unacquainted with the contemporary indications and impressions.

"But it is believed that by keeping in view the distinction between

the governments of the states, and the states in which they were parties to the Constitution; between the rights of the parties, in their concurrent and in their individual capacities; between the several modes and objects of interposition against the abuses of power, and especially between interpositions within the purview of the Constitution, and interpositions appealing from the Constitution to the rights of nature paramount to all constitutions; with an attention, always of explanatory use, to the views and arguments which were combated, the Resolutions of Virginia, as vindicated in the Report on them, will be found entitled to an exposition, showing a consistency in their parts, and an inconsistency of the whole, with the doctrine under consideration.

"That the Legislature could not have intended to sanction such a doctrine, is to be inferred from the debates in the House of Delegates, and from the address of the two Houses to their constituents, on the subject of the Resolutions. The tenor of the debates, which were ably conducted, and are understood to have been revised for the press by most, if not all, of the speakers, discloses no reference whatever to a constitutional right in an individual state, to arrest by force the operation of a law of the United States. Concert among the states for redress against the Alien and Sedition Laws, as acts of usurped power, was a leading sentiment; and the attainment of a concert, the immediate object of the course adopted by the legislature, which was that of inviting the other states 'to *concur* in declaring the acts to be unconstitutional, and to *co-operate* by the necessary and proper measures in maintaining unimpaired the authorities, rights, and liberties reserved to the states respectively, and to the people.' That by the necessary and proper measures to be *concurrently* and *co-operatively* taken, were meant measures known to the Constitution, particularly the ordinary control of the people and legislatures of the states, over the Government of the United States, cannot be doubted; and the interposition of this control, as the event showed, was equal to the occasion.

"It is worthy of remark, and explanatory of the intentions of the Legislature, that the words 'not law, but utterly null, void, and of no force or effect,' which had followed, in one of the resolutions, the word 'unconstitutional,' were struck out by common consent. Though the words were in fact but synonymous with 'unconstitutional;' yet to guard against a misunderstanding of this phrase as more than declaratory of opinion, the word 'unconstitutional' alone was retained, as not liable to that danger.

"The published Address of the Legislature to the people, their constituents, affords another conclusive evidence of its views. The address warns them against the encroaching spirit of the General Government, argues the unconstitutionality of the Alien and Sedition Acts, points to other instances in which the constitutional limits had been overleaped; dwells upon the dangerous mode of deriving power by implication; and in general presses the necessity of watching over the consolidating tendency of the Federal policy. But nothing is said that can be understood to look to means of maintaining the rights of the states, beyond the regular ones, within the forms of the Constitution.

"If any further lights on the subject could be needed, a very strong one is reflected in the answers to the resolutions, by the States which protested against them. The main objection of these, beyond a few general complaints of the inflammatory tendency of the resolutions, was directed against the assumed authority of a State Legislature to declare a law of the United States unconstitutional, which they pronounced an unwarrantable interference with the exclusive jurisdiction of the Supreme Court of the United States. Had the resolutions been regarded as avowing and maintaining a right, in an individual State, to arrest, by force, the execution of a law of the United States, it must be presumed that it would have been a conspicuous object of their denunciation.

"With cordial salutations,

"JAMES MADISON."

During the latter part of his life, Mr. Madison was associated with Mr. Jefferson in the institution of the University of Virginia, and after his decease was placed at its head with the title of Rector. He was also the president of an agricultural society in the county of his residence, and in that capacity delivered an "address, which the practical farmer and the classical scholar may read with equal profit and delight."

"In the midst of these occupations the declining days of the philosopher, the statesman and the patriot were passed, until the 21st day of June, 1836, the anniversary of the day on which the ratification of the convention of Virginia, in 1788, had affixed the seal of JAMES MADISON as the father of the Constitution of the United States, when his earthly part sunk without a struggle into the grave, and a spirit bright as the seraphim that surround the throne of Omnipotence ascended to the bosom of his God"

JAMES MONROE.

The early years of the life of James Monroe, fifth President of the United States, were passed at the place of his nativity, on the banks of the Potomac, in the county of Westmoreland, in what was, at that period, called the colony of Virginia. It is somewhat remarkable that this state, where the traveller thinks that he beholds the feudal splendor of a former age, and is entertained with a magnificent hospitality, to be found in no other part of the union, and where, in the language of the British Spy, "here and there a stately aristocratic palace strikes the view, while all around, for many miles, no other buildings are to be seen but the little smoky huts and log cabins of poor, laborious, ignorant tenants," should have produced four of the chief magistrates of this republic. Old Virginia, besides the crown of her glory, Washington—her Jefferson, her Madison, and her Monroe—enrols upon her archives the name of another illustrious and venerable patriarch of freedom, which is a consecrated word upon the lips of every lover of his country. Who would not write with me, on the scroll which American liberty displays to the world, under the name of General Washington, that of his biographer? Venerated by all men, of all parties, is the present Chief Justice, John Marshall.

James Monroe was born in September, 1759. His ancestors had for many years resided in the province in which he was born, and one of them was among the first patentees of that province. That this ancestor possessed some of those noble and generous qualities of the heart which distinguished his descendant, will be apparent from the following anecdote. At some warmly contested election, when Madison and Monroe were opposing candidates, the friends of both parties used the most strenuous exertions to bring every voter to the polls. When, by reasons of poverty, old age, or bodily infirmities, any voters were unable to be present. they were sent for and brought in carts and wagons, to the place of the election. The friends of Mr. Madison had succeeded in transporting from a considerable distance a very aged man. He was set down at the building in which the votes were to be cast, and soon began to hear some conversation about the candidates. The name of James Monroe at last struck his ear, and he inquired of the speaker if the man whom he had mentioned was the son of that Monroe who lived and died in the province many years before. Upon being informed that James was a grandson of that individual, the old man instantly exclaimed, "Then I will vote for James Monroe. His grandfather befriended me when I first came into the country, fed me, and clothed me, and I lived in his house. I do not know James Madison. I will vote for James Monroe!" So Mr. Monroe

received the old man's suffrage, though Mr. Madison's supporters had borne the trouble and expense of a long journey. The same noble spirit of benevolence, which prompted the grandfather to receive within his door a helpless stranger, may be traced in the actions of his illustrious descendant, who pledged the whole of his property for the credit of the nation, and was untiring in his efforts to reward revolutionary patriots.

Mr. Monroe was, at seventeen years of age, in the process of completing his classical education at the College of William and Mary, when the colonial delegates assembled at Philadelphia, to deliberate upon the unjust and manifold oppressions of Great Britain, declared the separation of the colonies, and promulgated the declaration of Independence. Had he been born ten years before, it is highly probable, that, instead of reading about the rise and fall of the Grecian republics, he would have been one of the signers of that celebrated instrument. His youth precluded him from taking any part in the controversies, which had agitated the country from the first promulgation of the stamp act. Indeed, his birth may be said to have been simultaneous with the faint dawn of American freedom; for he was only in his fifth year, when, upon the publication of that odious paper, the fires of resistance flashed, like beacons, from mountain to mountain. The British government continued to add new fuel to the flame, till on the fourth of July, 1776, the conflagration became universal.

Upon the first formation of the American army, young Monroe—at that period eighteen years of age—left his college, and, repairing to General Washington's headquarters at New-York, enrolled himself in the army as a cadet in the regiment commanded by Colonel Mercer. He joined the army when every thing looked hopeless and gloomy. The number of deserters increased from day to day. The invading armies came pouring in; and the tories, a numerous class, now entirely extinct among us, not only favored the cause of the mother country, but disheartened the new recruits, who were sufficiently terrified at the prospect of contending with an enemy whom they had been taught to deem invincible. The besiegers continued to receive new accessions, while the besieged were almost reduced to the necessity of a dissolution. To such brave spirits as James Monroe, who went right onward undismayed through difficulty and danger, the United States owe their political emancipation. The young cadet joined the ranks, and espoused the cause of his injured country, with a firm determination to live or die with her strife for liberty. The fortitude of such a determination will be appreciated by those who reflect that our country, like the infant Hercules, was to strangle the serpents, or perish in the attempt.

Mr. Monroe shared all the defeats and privations which attended the footsteps of the army of Washington, through the disastrous battles of Flat Bush, Haerlem Heights, and White Plains. He was present at the succeeding evacuation of New-York and Long Island, at the surrender of Fort Washington, and the retreat through the Jerseys; "till," in the eloquent language of his great eulogist, "on the day devoted to celebrate the birth of the Savior of mankind, of the same year on which independence was proclaimed, Washington, with the houseless heads and unshod feet of three thousand new and undisciplined levies, stood on the western

bank of the Delaware, to contend in arms with the British lion, and to baffle the skill and energy of the chosen champions of Britain, with ten times the number of his shivering and emaciate host; the stream of the Delaware forming the only barrier between the proud array of thirty thousand veteran Britons and the scanty remnant of his dissolving bands." Mr. Monroe, after having participated in the adversities of the gallant defenders of their country, now rejoiced with them in their great and unanticipated success. At the battle of Trenton he led the vanguard, and, in the act of charging upon the enemy, he received a wound in his left shoulder. This wound, the scar of which remained till his death, was inflicted in the same battle where the life-blood of many a noble soldier streamed. The commander of his regiment, Colonel Mercer, fell. Haselet, and Porter, and Neal, and Fleming, and Shippen, were also, upon that memorable day, martyrs to the holy cause of freedom.

As a reward for his bravery, Mr. Monroe was promoted a captain of infantry; and, having recovered from his wound, he rejoined the army. He, however, receded from the line of promotion, by becoming an officer in the staff of Lord Sterling. During the campaigns of 1777 and 1778, in the actions of Brandywine, Germantown, and Monmouth, he continued aid-de-camp; but, becoming desirous to regain his position in the army, he exerted himself to collect a regiment for the Virginia line. This scheme, which was recommended by General Washington to the legislature of Virginia, by whom Captain Monroe was commissioned to act, failed, owing to the exhausted condition of the state. Upon this failure, he entered the office of Mr. Jefferson, at that period Governor, and pursued, with considerable ardor, the study of the common law. He did not, however, entirely lay aside the knapsack for the green bag; but, in the invasions of the enemy, served as a volunteer, during the two years of his legal pursuits. After the fall of Charleston, in 1780, he was appointed by Governor Jefferson a military commissioner, to examine into the condition of the southern army under De Kalb, as well as the situation of the states, and to determine, from the result of his observation, the probability of rescuing them from the enemy. Upon his return, the Governor and Executive Council were well pleased with his execution of such an important trust.

The time at length arrived, when, having endured the burden and heat of the day as a soldier, he was to enter upon a different field of action, as the supporter of a system of laws, in a government which he had fought and bled to establish. In 1782, he was elected from King George county a member of the legislature of Virginia, and by that body he was elevated to a seat in the Executive Council. He was thus honored with the confidence of his fellow-citizens at twenty-three years of age; and, having at this early period, displayed some of that ability and aptitude for legislation, which were afterwards employed with unremitting energy for the public good, he was, in the succeeding year, chosen a member of the Congress of the United States, on the ninth of June, 1783. On the thirteenth of December, he took his seat in the continental Congress, assembled at Annapolis, and on that day saw the illustrious leader of the victorious revolutionary army resign his commission into the hands of

those bold patriots by whom it had been conferred. From this year, 1783, to 1786, Mr. Monroe was a useful member of the confederate Congress. During this period, he had frequent opportunities of observing the utter inefficiency of the articles of confederation; and introduced a series of resolutions, to give Congress the power of regulating trade, and of laying an impost duty of five per cent. He was chairman of the committee who reported on these resolutions; and in this report, certain alterations in the existing form of government were so strongly urged, that it was soon debated whether there should not be some formal revision. The result was the partial convention of delegates at Annapolis, and finally the celebrated Federal Convention, and the formation and adoption of that Constitution, under which the country has so long enjoyed prosperity and happiness. Mr. Monroe also proposed a plan for the just disposition of the public lands.

In 1784, there arose a controversy between the states of Massachusetts and New-York, upon some question of boundary and jurisdiction. It was one of the few powers of the confederated Congress, to constitute a Court of Commissioners to determine all such disputes, to be chosen, however, by the parties to the controversy. The agents of the two states, in December, agreed upon nine persons, among whom was James Monroe. This choice of so young a man indicates the high esteem in which he was generally held. In March, 1825, he signified to Congress his acceptance of the appointment. But in a year from that time, owing to the resignation of some of the members of the court, the necessity of appointing others, and the difficulties and delays in hearing from all the Judges, the controversy was not yet decided. On the fifteenth of May, Mr. Monroe declined his appointment, stating, in his letter to Congress, "some circumstances will put out of my power to act as a Judge for the decision of the controversy between Massachusetts and New-York, and therefore I present my resignation to Congress." What these circumstances were, may be easily conjectured from what had transpired since the election of the Judges. Spain had always pursued towards the United States a system of mean and narrow policy, in regard to the navigation of the waters of the Mississippi. She finally sent a sort of diplomatic agent to negotiate with our government, who had received instruction absolutely to resist our right to sail through the mouth of that important river. The Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Jay, was told by Congress, to confer with the Spanish *Encargardo*, but to enter into no negotiation until its terms should first be approved by Congress. The Secretary, not being able to effect any arrangement, recommended, in a personal address, some compromise with Spain, by proposing a treaty, in which, if she would give commercial advantages equivalent to our yielding the right to navigate the Mississippi, we should forbear to exercise that right for twenty or thirty years, to which the duration of the treaty should be limited. Many and angry were the debates upon this proposition. The seven northern states were warmly in favor of it, and the five southern states (Delaware not being represented) as warmly opposed.

It is to be feared that, with this useless discussion, commenced those sectional prejudices and animosities, which have, from time to time, produced harsh discord in the national harmony, and may, by and by, shatter

the order and stability of the union. Could these good and great men, who were heated beyond discretion, in that controversy, have but foreseen, for a moment, that they were casting on the winds the seeds of future contention, every tongue, in its tide of hasty utterance, would have been hushed, and every right arm, lifted in vehement gesticulation, would have fallen nerveless. Perhaps there never lived purer patriots than Rufus King and James Monroe; yet they were both, as leaders of opposing parties, greatly distinguished in this debate. The latter, with much clearness and strength, at a subsequent period in the Virginia Convention, which met to deliberate on the adoption of the Federal Constitution, explained and defended the course he had taken; stating, in conclusion, "I thought it my duty to use every effort in Congress for the interest of the southern states. But so far as depended on me, with my official character it ceased. With many of those gentlemen, to whom I always considered it as my particular misfortune to be opposed, I am now in habits of correspondence and friendship; and I am concerned for the necessity which has given birth to this relation."

After the quarrel about the treaty, which, not being sanctioned by nine states, was not arranged, he was conscious that, by his opposition to their measures, he had lost the confidence of the states by whom he had been chosen a Judge, and, influenced by the most honorable motives, he resigned his commission.

As, by the articles of confederation, no delegate could serve more than three years in six, Mr. Monroe left Congress in the fall of 1786, on the expiration of his term. While Congress was in session at New-York, he had formed a matrimonial connexion with Miss Kortwright, of that city. This lady had, in London and Paris, been celebrated for her beauty and her powers of conversation. Her external accomplishments did not surpass those of her mind; and to the elegance of her manners were added all those endearing qualities of the heart, which cheer the gloom of existence.

In 1787, Mr. Monroe, with the intention of pursuing the practice of the law, established himself in Fredericksburg; but he was soon elected to the legislature of the state. In the following year he was chosen a member of that Virginia Convention, which met to decide upon the Federal Constitution, and in which there was an array of such power and talent, as we may never see again in one body of men. Among other names which reflect honor on the land of their birth, are those of Grayson, Henry, Mason, Lee, Madison, Marshall, and Randolph. James Monroe was of that number who opposed the adoption of the Federal Constitution, in the form in which it had been submitted to the Convention. His opposition was not greater than that of a large majority of the whole people of the country, nor of many other illustrious statesmen who enjoyed the highest public confidence. He presented certain amendments, and, in his first speech to the Convention, very clearly displayed the reasons of his opposition. To those who, at the present day, enjoy the blessings conferred by the constitution, it will appear strange that it was opposed by such men as James Monroe, George Mason, and Patrick Henry; that it was finally adopted, with reluctance, by those who con-

sidered it the only alternative to a dissolution of the union; and that its most warm and determined supporters never, even in imagination, anticipated, or in hope conceived, the "extent of the contrast in the condition of the North American people, under that new social compact, with what it had been under the Confederation which it was to supersede." The same writer, from whom we have just quoted, happily calls the final adoption and establishment of the present constitution "the greatest triumph of pure and peaceful intellect recorded in the annals of the human race."

The course pursued by Mr. Monroe, in the Convention, did not shake the high esteem in which he was held by the citizens of his native state; for, upon the death of the Honorable William Grayson, in December, 1789, he was chosen to supply the vacancy thereby occasioned in the Senate of the United States. He continued in the Senate till May, 1794, a period of nearly five years, during which the two great political parties became more distinctly marked. He belonged to that which favored the objects of the French revolution; and when the President issued his proclamation of neutrality, he was among its most violent opposers. This measure, which the event proved to have been dictated by the soundest policy, created a violent fermentation, and the government was accused of ingratitude to France.

Mr. Gouverneur Morris, who had been Minister Plenipotentiary to the new republic, was in favor of observing the strictest neutrality. He was recalled, at the request of the French government, and in May, 1794, Mr. Monroe was appointed his successor. This judicious appointment of a strong anti-federalist was made to allay the jealousies which then existed. He went to France, instructed by the government to express, in the warmest terms, the friendship of the United States. He was received, as one who strongly favored the revolution, with splendid ceremony, by the National Convention; and he there declared the strong attachment of his country to the cause of France. Differing, as he did, from the Executive, in his views concerning the policy of the American administration, and believing that the French government justly complained of that policy, it must have been an arduous duty for him to have obeyed, with strictness, the instructions from home on his ministerial conduct. At the close of Washington's administration he was recalled, and his place supplied by Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, Esq.

Mr. Monroe, upon his return to the United States, published a work in explanation of his own opinions and proceedings, entitled, "A View of the Conduct of the Executive in the Foreign Affairs of the United States, connected with the Mission to the French Republic, during the years 1794, 5, and 6." This book, which he "illustrated by his instructions and correspondence, and other authentic documents," is an octavo volume of four hundred and seven pages; but though it lies before us, it will be impossible, in our circumscribed limits, to notice, even cursorily, the strength of its positions, or the power of its arguments. The circumstances, which elicited the work, are now regarded by all parties in the same light; and no one pretends to doubt the enlightened policy of Washington towards the French Republic. Many honest and honora-

ble men were, however, at that time, of a different opinion, and among them was the subject of this memoir. At a subsequent period, with the true nobility of a mind, which disdains to cherish preconceived opinions in opposition to the convictions of better judgment, and for the sake of a false consistency, he cast off all remembrance of past animosity and unkind feeling, and harmonized with his countrymen in their entire and perfect veneration for the character of Washington.

The mission of Mr. Monroe in France was contemporaneous with that of Mr. Jay in Great Britain. The latter, in obedience to his instructions, concluded with Lord Grenville a treaty, by which, this government was firmly bound to observe towards Great Britain the strict neutrality which had already been proclaimed. Upon the publication of this treaty, it became the chief subject of contention, and created the most bitter animosity between the two parties, of each of which Mr. Monroe and Mr. Jay may be said to have maintained the different political opinions.

There were no two individuals more resolutely and unremittingly opposed to each other; and yet, in the same generous spirit which we have just commended, James Monroe, with the causes of their contention, forgot the angry feelings which they had occasioned, and left "recorded, with his own hand, a warm and unqualified testimonial to the pure patriotism, the preeminent ability, and the spotless integrity of John Jay."

The treaty, which had been concluded by Mr. Jay, proved afterwards extremely beneficial to this country; though it excited much hostile feeling towards us in France. That Mr. Monroe's opposition to this and other measures of the existing government did not impair the confidence of his fellow-citizens, is made manifest by his election, on his return, to the legislature of his native state, and, shortly afterwards, to the office of Governor of Virginia, in which he served for three years, the period limited by the constitution.

While Mr. Monroe was thus employed in the honorable discharge of the executive duties in his native state, his attention, as well as that of every votary of freedom, was forcibly turned to the wonderful events which transpired in the countries of the old world. A soldier's sword had severed the knot of the old dynasties of the European states; the hand that wielded it, had pointed to the cloud-capped summits of the Alps, and they had melted away and parted, like the Red Sea, beneath the patriarch's wand, leaving a passage through their stupendous barriers for the armies of the republic; the same hand had torn the imperial crown from the brows of the Roman Pontiff, and the same sword had been laid, after having again waved those armies homeward, over the same snow-crowned ramparts, at the feet of the French Directory. But it had been laid there in mockery, soon to be resumed, to flash in angry splendor before the gaze of the astonished world. Wherever that hand had waved that sword, the sceptres of kings had fallen from their iron grasp, and the plumes and the banners of unconquered legions had been trailed in the dust. The rulers, who had imparted such strength to that hand, and who had rejoiced to see the scathing and desolation which followed that sword, little dreamed that it would soon be seen in the very capitol of their republic; and, in a short time, be cast aside to give place to the

rod and to the sceptre. The world had beheld a soldier, distinguished for skill and prowess in arms; a successful general, crowned with the laurels of fifty battles; a First Consul, a Dictator, and at last an Emperor and a King, in one man, whose name was Napoleon Buonaparte. And how had the nations of Europe borne the blaze of this splendid luminary? In the glowing eloquence of Fisher Ames, "they seemed to have been destined like comets to a contact with the sun; not to thrust him from his orb, but to supply his waste of elemental fire."

Americans, till now, had witnessed the progress of this wonderful meteor from afar; but what must have been the terror and anxiety, in learning that, through the miserable imbecility of Spain, it was to be brought fearfully near to their own country.

In the year 1800, Spain, in the treaty of St. Ildefonso, had secretly ceded Louisiana to France; but, though in reality concluded in that year, it was not promulgated till 1802. The greatest consternation followed the bold disclosure of this treaty; and nothing less than a war with France was anticipated. The plan to take possession of this ceded territory was as magnificent as the other projects of its devisor; for, doubtless, with the intention of recovering all their old dominions, from New Orleans to Canada, twenty thousand veterans were banded and ready to set sail for Louisiana, when the current of events suddenly took a new direction, and caused Buonaparte to relinquish his premeditated crusade against the United States.

On the eleventh of January, 1803, Mr. Monroe was appointed Envoy Extraordinary, and joined with that eminent patriot, Robert R. Livingston, then Resident Minister Plenipotentiary, from the United States, in France, in the Commission Extraordinary, to negotiate a purchase of the island of New Orleans, and the Spanish territory east of the Mississippi. He was also appointed, jointly, with Charles Pinckney, then Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States at Madrid, to an Extraordinary Mission, to negotiate, if necessary, the same purchase with Spain, who still held possession of Louisiana.

Several months before Mr. Monroe's arrival in Paris, Mr. Livingston had presented to the French government, "a very able memorial, shewing, by conclusive arguments, that the cession of the province to the United States would be a measure of wise and sound policy; conducive not less to the true interests of France, than to those of the Federal Union." It did not, however, suit the stupendous views of the Emperor, to listen at that time to any such proposition: but Mr. Monroe had hardly arrived, before his Imperial Majesty discovered that the large sum of money, which he might obtain for the province, would be extremely convenient in the war which he had just excited between France and Great Britain. The sum which he proposed was rather astounding, but the American Ministers, although it surpassed their powers, and their available funds, hesitated not to promise to pay the French government fifteen millions of dollars, for the territory of Louisiana. The immense benefits resulting to the Union, from the annexation of this extensive and beautiful territory, cannot be duly appreciated, unless we contrast the real with the probable condition of the Federal Union, had such an annexation

never been made If the French had been allowed to take peaceful possession of the banks of the Mississippi, and to become masters of the outlets of the Gulf of Mexico, we should soon have lost all the blessings of our neutrality. With the English, who are in possession of the northern lakes, and of the St. Lawrence, they would have waged harassing and perpetual warfare. We should have been enclosed on all sides, except that of the Atlantic Ocean, (and perhaps even there by the opposing navies,) by two of the most powerful nations of Europe, deadly hostile to each other. With one or the other we must have been allied: our national existence would have been constantly endangered; and, confined within our original limits, we should have seen the rich valleys of the west desolated by that enmity, which had destroyed towns and villages in Europe; instead of beholding, as we now behold, our empire extended over the Rocky Mountains, and stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, perpetuated and blest under the glorious advantages of peace and civilization.

After this most important treaty had been ratified, and an adjustment of certain claims of American citizens upon France had been made, in a convention, which was held at Paris, in April, 1803, Mr. Monroe, in the same month, proceeded to England, where he was appointed Minister Plenipotentiary, to succeed Rufus King; who, after having faithfully discharged his mission for seven years, was, at his own request, returning to his own country. With the revival of the war with France, England began anew to exercise those odious impressments and unprovoked outrages upon the persons and vessels of neutral powers, which, prior to the treaty concluded by Mr. Jay, had brought us to the verge of war; but which had not been exercised since that time. It seems to us that the measures proposed by President Jefferson to obtain from the British government a convention for the protection of our seamen, and for the observance of neutral rights, were both feeble and impolitic. Our Minister should not have been instructed to solicit what he had the right most imperiously to demand, viz. a total cessation of the rapine and plunder, committed on our ships, and a full remuneration for the wrongs which had already been inflicted. If such a peaceful remedy had been extended to the British Minister in one hand, with a declaration of war in the other, it is highly probable that, harassed as he was with the new French war, the former would have been accepted. The convention having failed, in which the British government abandoned the right to impress seamen, by a captious exception for the narrow seas, made by the head of the admiralty, Mr. Monroe, in the same conciliatory spirit with Mr. King, was endeavoring to adjust these difficulties, when he was summoned to discharge his extraordinary mission to Spain.

When Buonaparte ceded Louisiana to this country, he took care to use, in his grant to us, the very words in which it had been conveyed to him by Spain. He was not particular to have the exact boundaries specified by Spain; but intended to set his own landmarks wherever he pleased. But, when Louisiana passed from his possession, he very conveniently forgot that he intended to comprehend all the country, from the Perdido east, to the Rio Bravo west, of the Mississippi; but discovered

that West Florida formed no part of the ceded territory; that the district of Mobile was not to be included; and agreed with Spain in reducing the province of Louisiana to little more than the island of New Orleans.

For the purpose of settling this disputed question of boundary, and to purchase the remnant of Spain's title to the territory of Florida, Mr. Monroe was called upon to join Mr. Charles Pinckney at Madrid. On his way thither he remained at Paris a short time to remind the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Talleyrand, of a promise, which had been made at the time of the cession of Louisiana, that France would exert her influence with Spain in a negotiation for the acquisition of Florida by the United States. The answer from that ever-changing Minister was not satisfactory: and after having seen the self-anointed Emperor place with his own hands upon his own brows the imperial diadem of France, in the presence of the venerable Roman Pontiff, and surrounded by the congregated magnificence of the European courts, Mr. Monroe proceeded to Madrid. Here he remained, with his colleague, Mr. Pinckney, for the space of five months, and made constant and vigorous, but unavailing efforts, to establish the claims of his country. The state papers, which passed at this stage of our controversy with Spain, and which, after having for many years been buried in the archives of government, were at last published at Washington, are ranked by a writer, who is eminently qualified to judge, in the highest order; and concerning them he remarks that "they deserve the close and scrutinizing attention of every American statesman, and will remain solid, however unornamented, monuments of intellectual power, applied to national claims of right, in the land of our fathers and the age which has now passed away."

In the mean while, affairs in Great Britain had assumed such a menacing aspect towards this country, that Mr. Monroe, on his return thither, in June, 1805, had to contend with great difficulties. Mr. Pitt was at the head of the British government; and pursued the interested and base policy of destroying the commerce of neutrals with France and Spain, to compel its enemies to traffic with the subjects of Great Britain. To effect this, the British cruisers seized many of our vessels, and procured their condemnation in the courts of admiralty. There seems to be no excuse for this gross violation of the law of nations. During the space of two years, the commerce and navigation of this country had been unmolested, and, upon the rekindling of war in Europe, were still pursuing their course of success, never suspecting that their right to trade with neutral ports would be disputed, when suddenly our enterprising mariners were astonished at the seizure and confiscation of their ships and cargoes by the British. Mr. Monroe, upon being informed of these acts of injustice, remonstrated with the Earl of Mulgrave, then Minister for Foreign Affairs, but received only an equivocal answer. The death of Mr. Pitt, which happened at this time, brought in a new ministry, at the head of which was Charles James Fox. This liberal and high-minded, but prejudiced man, instantly countermanded the order for the capture of neutral vessels, and released those which had already been captured, but could not make any compensation to the owners of those vessels which had been detained and condemned by Sir William

Scott.* When these facts became known in this country, the excitement was almost terrific. War! War! War! was the cry. Petition upon petition, complaint upon complaint, remonstrance after remonstrance, were presented to Congress by plundered merchants and ruined ship-owners. To still the dark and angry waters of commotion, and to obtain some redress for such flagrant injuries, Mr. William Pinckney, the most eloquent orator in the United States, was sent as Minister Plenipotentiary and Extraordinary to join Mr. Monroe in London. On Mr. Pinckney's arrival, negotiations were immediately commenced, and a treaty was made, by which, with proper modifications on our part, peace and harmony might have been restored; but upon its transmission to President Jefferson, he reviewed and returned it with the design that some securer provisions might be added with regard to the impressment of seamen. But the British Ministry had undergone another change. George Canning had succeeded to Fox as Prime Minister, and, with his daring and unyielding temper, refused to negotiate further on the ratification of the treaty; the mission therefore of Monroe and Pickney was at an end. The former, had some time previous obtained permission to return home. After having suffered some short detention in consequence of the unparalleled outrage of Admiral Berkley on the Chesapeake, he returned at the close of the year 1807.

From this period Mr. Monroe never went abroad; but was employed till the expiration of his Presidential term, in offices of the highest importance and trust in his own country.

In the cursory view which we have taken of the incidents of his eventful life, we have thus far beheld him, first appear upon the stage of public action, as a private soldier, fighting the battles of freedom and wounded in her cause; following the glorious leader of the revolutionary armies through disheartening misfortunes and elevating success, and, after continuing for a time to serve in the staff of a valiant general, still volunteering to repel the invaders of his native land. We have next beheld him, while resolutely pursuing the study of the laws, under the direction of the illustrious Jefferson, appointed a military commissioner to the southern army; then upon his return home elected to the legislature of Virginia, and to the Congress of the United States; then a member of that celebrated convention of his native state, which met to deliberate upon the Federal Constitution; and then chosen a Senator of the United States. We have next beheld the commencement of his diplomatic career as Minister Plenipotentiary to France under the administration of President Washington. By his conscientious and sincere, though impolitic and unadvised, conduct in the discharge of the duties of this mission, having given such displeasure to the general government as to produce his recall, we have seen him, once more in his native state, elected to the legislature, and then to the exalted office of Governor of

* In what treatise of international law, Sir W. Scott found precedents for his *equitable* adjudications, it remains for the curious to investigate; but the British government has been wonderfully successful, with the stubborn exception of Lord Coke and some others, in pouring light into the minds of its learned and incorruptible judges.

Virginia, in the full enjoyment of the unimpaired confidence and high respect of his fellow-citizens. After the expiration of his constitutional term as governor, we have witnessed, in 1803, his appointment by Mr. Jefferson, as Minister Plenipotentiary and Extraordinary, both to France and Spain, and shortly afterwards to Great Britain; and, during his four years' residence in these countries, his employment in the most interesting and important diplomatic negotiations, in which the United States had been engaged since the revolution.

We are now to regard him again receiving the highest honors of Virginia, and about to enter upon a loftier and broader field of action. We have mentioned his return home in 1807. For a few months, he was permitted to rest from his labor, and to enjoy that quiet happiness, which always blooms under the shade of private, domestic tranquillity. He was now forty-eight years of age,—that period when the intellect has arrived at its noblest strength and perfect stature, and when, aided by wisdom and long experience, it becomes able to exert its powers, with the greatest effect, to enter upon magnificent enterprises, and to overthrow, as with the arm of a giant, the obstacles which may arise in its path. With a consciousness of having faithfully performed the tasks which had been allotted to him, and surrounded by all those home-blessings, which give a value to existence—an affectionate wife and beloved children—Mr. Monroe was enjoying that *otium cum dignitate*, which is so delightful to a great mind after great exertions, when he was once more summoned to appear in the legislative chambers of his own Virginia; and was again re-elected to the executive chair. Mr. Monroe acted as governor one more term, and in the spring of 1811, he was appointed by President Madison, Secretary of State. But, before entering upon the consideration of his faithful performance of the duties of the high offices, to which he was successively elevated, let us pause to consider the condition of these United States at this eventful period.

The war, which soon broke out between Great Britain and this country, was resting, like a dark cloud, over the brightest prospects of the land. British depredations upon American commerce had been continued to such an extent, and our demands for reparation and restitution had been so unheeded, that to have tamely submitted in silence would have been the height of pusillanimity. There were many different opinions, however, about the expediency of declaring war; and many distracting dissensions took place, which have not been healed even at this distance of time. The voice of one part of the country was heard shouting, in angry accents, for war, instant and desolating war—while the thoughts of another part were turned on the consideration of some method of procedure, by which we could still enjoy the blessings of peace. It was indeed an awful and an important crisis. The Federal Constitution, though nearly established in the affections of the people, by its excellent adaptation to the state of their country, and to the perpetuity of the union, had never before been subjected to the ordeal of a formidable foreign war. It was now to undergo this test: and great indeed must have been the weight of the responsibility, which was thrown upon those, who were intrusted with the protection of this sacred charter of American rights, and who

were to conduct the vessel of state, in safety, through the many rocks and quicksands by which she was surrounded. Yet, with the star banner of liberty nailed to her mast, and by the guidance of the sacred charter of the constitution, that noble ship was at last skilfully and manfully rescued from her threatening dangers, and even rode proudly on the top of the wave, with every rag of her canvas given to the gale. Mr. Monroe came on board just before the vessel plunged into the midst of her perils. As he had been among the first of those gallant men, who joined the army of the revolution, when disasters and difficulties frowned on every side; so was he called to the councils of government when they were harassed and distracted by the impending necessity of a second war, which it was in vain to attempt to avoid, and which, though not so hopeless as that of the revolution, wanted the spirit and unanimity which inspired our first great contest, for its prosecution and support.

Appointed Secretary of State by President Madison, in the spring of 1811, Mr. Monroe discharged the high duties of that important station in the cabinet with zeal and fidelity. In the ensuing year, on the nineteenth of June, war was publicly proclaimed against Great Britain. A few days previous, the President laid before Congress the correspondence which had been carried on between Mr. Monroe, as Secretary of State, and the Ministry of Great Britain. These letters plainly demonstrated the impossibility of effecting an adjustment concerning the two principal points of contention—the orders in council, and the subject of impressment. We have already alluded to the differing opinions which prevailed in the country concerning the war. On the issuing of the proclamation of the nineteenth of June, it was received with any thing but demonstrations of joy in the New England States. Indeed, the opposition of this section of the union was strenuously persevered in, till the perpetration of shameful outrages by the British troops, and more particularly the disgraceful capture of Washington, kindled the blaze of vindictive resentment in every bosom, and created a unanimity of sentiment in favor of active hostilities, which caused the war to be prosecuted with vigor, and finally terminated with success. As this subject has been fully treated in our life of President Madison, and as the events of this war, previous to the sacking of Washington, were not directly connected with Mr. Monroe's part in the administration, we shall make no further mention of them.

After this melancholy event, which at first exasperated the feelings of the people against the government, and afterwards so drew down the whole weight of popular indignation on the Secretary of War, as to cause his voluntary resignation, the history of Mr. Monroe, until the end of the war, becomes intimately involved with its important circumstances. At the request of Mr. Madison, without resigning his office as Secretary of State, he discharged all the duties of the War Department; and with such effectual vigilance and judicious foresight, as to give general satisfaction, and produce the most fortunate results. Indeed, a great politician has hazarded the conjecture, that had his appointment to the Department of War preceded, by six months, its actual date, the heaviest disaster of the war—heaviest, because its remembrance must be coupled with a blush of shame—would have been spared, as a blotted page, in the annals of our union.

This disaster, to wit, the conflagration of Washington, was heralded by a letter from the British Admiral Cochrane to the Secretary of State, dated the day previous to debarkation, though not delivered until subsequent to the literal fulfilment of his barbarous commands; stating, that, "having been called upon by the Governor-General of the Canadas, to aid him in carrying into effect measures of retaliation against the inhabitants of the United States, for the wanton destruction committed by the army in Upper Canada, it became imperiously his duty, conformably with the notice of the Governor-General's application, to issue to the naval force under his command, an order to destroy and lay waste such towns and districts upon the coast, as might be found assailable."

To these accusations, so grossly false, the Secretary of State could only reply, in the simple language of truth, that "in no instance had the United States authorized a deviation from the known usages of war: that, in the few cases in which there had been even a charge against them, the government had formally disavowed the acts of its officers, at the same time subjecting the conduct of such officers to punishment or reprobation: that amongst those few, the charge of burning the parliament-house in Upper Canada was now, for the first time, brought forward: until now, such an accusation had not been made against the Americans; on the contrary, one of the most respectable civil functionaries, at that place, had addressed a letter of thanks to General Dearborn, for the good conduct of his troops; and, moreover, that when Sir George Prevost, six months afterwards, proceeded to measures of retaliation, the affair of the brick house was not mentioned.'

But though Admiral Cochrane succeeded in overcoming the feeble force with which the capital of the country was ineffectually guarded, and in spreading desolation among splendid mansions, both public and private, to revenge the enormous crime of which the American army had been guilty in burning a brick house, hired for the temporary occupation of the provincial legislature, the measures of retaliation adopted by the British were not so successful upon other places which they invaded. The plan of operations necessary for defence, pursued by the Department of War, was far more vigorous and effective; and the invading armies, both on the water and on the land, met with such a determined resistance and total defeat at Baltimore, as to cool their retaliatory vengeance, and to spread a glow of joy over the whole country. The victory at Plattsburgh soon followed, to reanimate and excite to nobler exertion the spirit of every American citizen.

The duties which Mr. Monroe had to perform, at this time, were extremely difficult and arduous. Being appointed Secretary of War, towards the close of the campaign of 1814, his first care was to mark out a general plan of military operations for the ensuing year. Louisiana was threatened with a formidable invasion. The war in which Great Britain had been engaged with the conqueror of Europe had been crowned with the most brilliant success. During the commencement of our war, the strength of her armies was concentrated against Napoleon; but at this period "her numerous victorious veteran legions, flushed with the glory, and stung with the ambition, of long-contested, hard-earned success, were

turned back upon her hands, without occupation for their enterprise, eager for new fields of battle, and new rewards of achievement." From these veterans ten thousand were selected, and having been placed under the command of an approved and brave officer, whose subsequent untimely fate all parties lamented, they were sent to attack New Orleans, and to acquire possession of the shores and waters of the Mississippi. To meet this emergency, and to raise the necessary funds for the defence of New Orleans, and for the repulsion of these dreaded invaders, became the task of James Monroe. From the peculiar circumstances of the times, this task was difficult in the extreme.

The state of our financial concerns was deplorable. There had always been a deficiency of funds for the vigorous prosecution of the war, and the national credit had been progressively degraded. When the war began, the rivalry of opposing interests and political prejudice had prevented the renewal of the charter of the first bank of the United States, and the most dismal consequences ensued. The public credit was almost ruined, and the currency of the country fallen into frightful disorder "Banks with fictitious capital," says an able financier, "swarmed throughout the land, and spunged the purse of the people, often for the use of their own money, with more than usurious extortion. The solid banks were unable to maintain their integrity, only by contracting their operations to an extent ruinous to their debtors and to themselves. A balance of trade, operating like universal fraud, vitiated the channels of intercourse between north and south; and the treasury of the union was replenished only with millions of silken tatters, and unavailable funds; chartered corporations, bankrupt, under the gentle name of suspended specie payments, and without a dollar of capital to pay their debts, sold, at enormous discounts, the very evidence of those debts; and passed off upon the government of the country, at par, their rags, purchasable, in open market, at depreciations of thirty and forty per cent."

At this period when, from the low state of the national credit, and from the exhausted condition of the treasury, it was impossible to raise funds to meet the pressing necessity of the preparations for the defence of New Orleans, then it was that the subject of this memoir, with a noble generosity of soul and a patriotic devotedness to the cause of his country, which was worthy of the brightest epoch of Grecian renown, performed an act, which, if it stood solitary and alone, should embalm his name in the grateful remembrance of every votary of freedom. As subsidiary to the credit of the nation, he pledged his own individual credit.

It is to be deeply regretted, as we shall soon have occasion to show, that the conduct of our Congress, after Mr. Monroe's retirement into private life, was such as to strengthen the impression, which has long and falsely prevailed, and which the friends of arbitrary power have endeavored to keep alive, concerning the ingratitude of republics. In making so great a personal sacrifice, the Secretary probably believed that there could arise, in future, no hesitation in recognising his claim of remuneration; but we feel convinced, upon considering other noble and disinterested actions of his life, that he would have performed the same generous deed, even if he had anticipated the pecuniary difficulties which it was, conse-

quently, his lot to encounter. Besides offering up his private interests on the shrine of his country's freedom, he did not hesitate to relinquish that which must have been far dearer to him, the prospects of a reasonable and praiseworthy ambition.

The acts of Congress had already authorized an army which numbered sixty thousand men. The first proposition of Mr. Monroe was to raise forty thousand more, and his plan was to levy upon the whole mass of the people. If this had been carried into effect, there would, probably, have been no bounds to the resentment of the people against its projector. He would have lost, by one severe though necessary measure, all that deserved popularity, which he had been so long acquiring; for it was a resort, seemingly opposed to the genius of our institutions, and assimilated, in the minds of the people, to the conscriptions of the French government. Our sturdy yeomanry would have deemed such a course an encroachment on their rights as freemen; and, though many were willing to volunteer, few would have submitted tamely to be dragooned into service by the forcible arguments of a recruiting officer. Such an officer would, doubtless, have been authorized, as in foreign countries, to take the farmer from his plough, the weaver from his loom, the mechanic from his shop, and the clerk from his desk, as well as to intrude, unquestioned and unforbidden, upon the retirement of the scholar, and into the halls of the wealthy. Mr. Monroe was conscious of those consequences which would attend the prosecution of such a plan; and he determined, in his own mind, to withdraw his name from the presidential canvass, as the friends of the opposing candidates would doubtless seize upon this event to make his name unpopular. To two or three individuals, in his confidence, he disclosed his feelings upon the subject, and had authorized them to publish his intention of declining his nomination, as chief magistrate of the union, when the conclusion of peace rendered the increase of the army unnecessary, and therefore removed the objections which would have influenced such a resignation.

On the return of peace, Mr. Monroe, having relinquished his office in the Department of War, reassumed those of the Department of State, which he continued to discharge till the close of Mr. Madison's administration. Indeed, Mr. Monroe has been justly said to have performed the duties of these high stations with untiring assiduity, with universally acknowledged ability, and with a zeal of patriotism, which counted health, fortune, and life itself, nothing in the ardor of self-devotion to the cause of his country. Until the expiration of President Madison's term of office, Mr. Monroe warmly co-operated with him in those measures which were necessary to restore the harmony of the government and to extricate the affairs of the country from the confusion into which they had been thrown by the misfortunes of the war.

On the 5th of March, 1817, Mr. Monroe was inaugurated as President of the United States. The President and Vice-President were escorted by a large cavalcade of citizens, to Congress Hall, where the Ex-President, the Judges of the Supreme Court, and the Senate were assembled; by whom the incumbent was attended to the portico, where he delivered a speech from which we have selected the most prominent and striking

passages. After expressing his high sense of the confidence which his fellow citizens had shown towards him, and of the feeling of deep responsibility with which he entered upon the discharge of his arduous duties, he took a rapid and general view of the prosperous condition of the Republic under the wise provisions of its venerated Constitution.

"Other considerations of the highest importance admonish us to cherish our Union, and to cling to the Government which supports it. Fortunate as we are in our political institutions, we have not been less so in other circumstances, on which our prosperity and happiness essentially depend. Situated within the temperate zone, and extending through many degrees of latitude along the Atlantic, the United States enjoy all the varieties of climate, and every production incident to that portion of the globe. Penetrating, internally, to the great lakes, and beyond the sources of the great rivers which communicate through our whole interior, no country was ever happier with respect to its domain. Blessed, too, with a fertile soil, our produce has always been very abundant, leaving, even in years the least favorable, a surplus for the wants of our fellow men in other countries. Such is our peculiar felicity, that there is not a part of our Union that is not particularly interested in preserving it. The great agricultural interest of the nation prospers under its protection. Local interests are not less fostered by it. Our fellow citizens of the north, engaged in navigation, find great encouragement in being made the favored carriers of the vast productions of the other portions of the United States, while the inhabitants of these are amply recompensed, in their turn, by the nursery for seamen and naval force, thus formed and reared up for the support of our common rights. Our manufactures find a generous encouragement by the policy which patronizes domestic industry; and the surplus of our produce, a steady and profitable market by local wants, in less favored parts at home.

"Such, then, being the highly favored condition of our country, it is the interest of every citizen to maintain it. What are the dangers which menace us? If any exist, they ought to be ascertained and guarded against.

"In explaining my sentiments on this subject, it may be asked, what raised us to the present happy state? How did we accomplish the revolution? How remedy the defects of the first instrument of our Union, by infusing into the national government sufficient power for national purposes, without impairing the just rights of the States, or affecting those of individuals? How sustain, and pass with glory through the late war? The government has been in the hands of the people. To the people, therefore, and to the faithful and able depositories of their trust, is the credit due. Had the people of the United States been educated in different principles; had they been less intelligent, less independent, or less virtuous; can it be believed that we should have maintained the same steady and consistent career, or been blessed with the same success? While then the constituent body retains its present sound and healthful state, every thing will be safe. They will choose competent and faithful representatives for every department. It is only when people become ignorant and corrupt; when they degenerate into a populace, that they

are incapable of exercising the sovereignty. Usurpation is then an easy attainment, and an usurper soon found. The people themselves become the willing instruments of their own debasement and ruin. Let us then look to the great cause, and endeavor to preserve it in full force. Let us, by all wise and constitutional measures, promote intelligence among the people, as the best means of preserving our liberties.

"Dangers from abroad are no less deserving of attention. Experiencing the fortune of other nations, the United States may be again involved in war, and it may, in that event, be the object of the adverse party to overset our government, to break our union, and demolish us as a nation. Our distance from Europe, and the just, moderate and pacific policy of our government, may form some security against these dangers, but they ought to be anticipated and guarded against. Many of our citizens are engaged in commerce and navigation, and all of them are in a certain degree dependent on their prosperous state. Many are engaged in the fisheries. These interests are exposed to invasion in the war between other powers, and we should disregard the faithful admonition of experience, if we did not expect it. We must support our rights or lose our character, and with it perhaps our liberties. A people who fail to do it, can scarcely be said to hold a place among independent nations. National honor is national property of the highest value. The sentiment in the mind of every citizen is national strength. It ought, therefore, to be cherished.

"To secure us against these dangers, our coast and inland frontiers should be fortified, our army and navy regulated upon just principles as to the force of each, be kept in perfect order, and our militia be placed on the best practicable footing. To put our extensive coast in such a state of defence as to secure our cities and interior from invasion, will be attended with expense, but the work, when finished, will be permanent; and it is fair to presume, that a single campaign of invasion by a naval force superior to our own, aided by a few thousand land troops, would expose us to greater expense, without taking into the estimate the loss of property and distress of our citizens, than would be sufficient for this great work.

"Our land and naval forces should be moderate, but adequate to the necessary purposes. The former to garrison and preserve our fortifications, and to meet the first invasions of a foreign foe; and, while constituting the elements of a greater force, to preserve the science, as well as all the necessary implements of war, in a state to be brought into activity in the event of war. The latter, retained within the limits proper in a state of peace, might aid in maintaining the neutrality of the United States with dignity in the wars of other powers, and in saving the property of their citizens from spoliation. In time of war, with the enlargement of which the great naval resources of the country render it susceptible, and which should be duly fostered in time of peace, it would contribute essentially, both as an auxiliary of defence, and as a powerful engine of annoyance, to diminish the calamities of war, and to bring the war to a speedy and honorable termination.

"But it ought always to be held prominently in view, that the safety of

these states, and of every thing dear to a free people, must depend, in an eminent degree, on the militia. Invasions may be made, too formidable to be resisted by any land and naval force, which it would comport, either with the principles of our Government, or the circumstances of the United States, to maintain. In such cases, recourse must be had to the great body of the people, and in a manner to produce the best effect. It is of the highest importance, therefore, that they be so organized and trained, as to be prepared for any emergency. The arrangement should be such, as to put at the command of the Government the ardent patriotism and youthful vigor of the country. If formed on equal and just principles, it cannot be oppressive. It is the crisis which makes the pressure, and not the laws which provide a remedy for it. This arrangement should be formed too, in time of peace, to be better prepared for war. With such an organization of such a people, the United States have nothing to dread from foreign invasion. At its approach, an overwhelming force of gallant men might always be put in motion.

"Other interests, of high importance, will claim attention, among which the improvement of our country by roads and canals, proceeding always with a constitutional sanction, holds a distinguished place. By thus facilitating the intercourse between the States, we shall add much to the convenience and comfort of our fellow citizens; much to the ornament of the country; and, what is of greater importance, we shall shorten distances, and by making each part more accessible to, and dependent on the other, we shall bind the Union more closely together. Nature has done so much for us, by intersecting the country with so many great rivers, bays, and lakes, approaching from distant points so near to each other, that the inducement to complete the work seems to be peculiarly strong. A more interesting spectacle was, perhaps, never seen, than is exhibited within the limits of the United States; a territory so vast, and advantageously situated, containing objects so grand, so useful, so happily connected in all their parts.

"Our manufactures will likewise require the systematic and fostering care of the government. Possessing, as we do, all the raw materials, the fruit of our own soil and industry, we ought not to depend, in the degree we have done, on supplies from other countries. While we are thus dependent, the sudden event of war, unsought and unexpected, cannot fail to plunge us into the most serious difficulties. It is important, too, that the capital, which nourishes our manufactures, should be domestic, as its influence in that case, instead of exhausting, as it may do in foreign hands, would be felt advantageously on agriculture, and every other branch of industry. Equally important is it to provide at home a market for our raw materials, as, by extending the competition, it will enhance the price, and protect the cultivator against the casualties incident to foreign markets.

"With the Indian tribes it is our duty to cultivate friendly relations, and to act with kindness and liberality in all our transactions. Equally proper is it to persevere in our efforts to extend to them the advantages of civilization.

"The great amount of our revenue, and the flourishing state of the

treasury, are a full proof of the competency of the national resources, for any emergency, as they are of the willingness of our fellow citizens to bear the burdens, which the public necessities require. The vast amount of vacant lands, the value of which daily augments, forms an additional resource of great extent and duration. These resources, besides accomplishing every other necessary purpose, put it completely in the power of the United States to discharge the national debt at an early period. Peace is the best time for improvement and preparation of every kind; it is in peace that our commerce flourishes most; that taxes are most easily paid, and that the revenue is most productive."

He then remarked on the necessity of a faithful disbursement of the public money, and expressed his determination to do all in his power to secure the utmost economy and fidelity in this important branch of the administration. The absence of all foreign hostilities, and the return of domestic harmony, formed other gratifying topics of reflection. The speech concludes with a few observations on the instructive and useful examples presented by the administrations of his illustrious predecessors, and with the fervent hope that the Almighty would graciously continue that protection to the Republic, which He had already displayed so conspicuously in its favor.

On the conclusion of his address, the oath of office was administered to the President by the Chief Justice of the United States. A signal gun having been fired, salutes were given from the navy yard, the battery, Fort Warburton, and from a corps of artillery. The day was delightful, and the crowd of spectators, including numerous American and foreign functionaries, was estimated at from six to eight thousand.

Among the early appointments of President Monroe, was that of Mr. John Quincy Adams as Secretary for the department of State; of Mr. William H. Crawford for the department of the Treasury; and Mr. Isaac Shelby,* of Kentucky, for the department of War. Mr. Calhoun was afterwards appointed to the War department, and Mr. B. W. Crowninshield to the Navy. About the first of June, the President left Washington to commence his tour through the States; which gave occasion to so many speculations among newspaper politicians, and which elicited a most general expression of kindness, respect, and courtesy.

The President arrived at Baltimore on Sunday, the 1st of June, visited the field where the British general Ross received his fatal wound, reviewed a brigade of militia, visited various public works, received and answered a congratulatory address from the Mayor and City Council, and on Tuesday continued his journey as far as New-Castle. His reply to the Mayor and City Council of Baltimore was in the following words:

"Fellow Citizens,—The sentiments which you have communicated, have afforded me very great satisfaction. They are just, as to the objects adverted to, and to me they are generous and kind.

"It was impossible for me to approach Baltimore, without recollecting,

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*Mr. Shelby did not accept the apointment.

with deep interest, the gallant conduct of her citizens, in the late war and the happy results attending their exertions. The glorious victory which was achieved by her, and in which her citizens bore so distinguished a part, at a very important epoch, not only protected this patriotic city, but shed a great lustre on the American name.

"Experience has shown our dangers, and admonished us as to the means of averting them. Congress has appropriated large sums of money, for the fortification of our coast, and inland frontier, and for the establishment of naval dock-yards, and building a navy. It is proper that those works should be executed with judgment, fidelity, and economy. Much depends, in the execution, on the Executive, to whom extensive power is given, as to the general arrangement; and to whom the superintendence usually belongs. You do me justice in believing, that it is to enable me to discharge these duties, with the best advantage to my country, that I have undertaken this tour.

"From the increased harmony of public opinion, founded on the successful career of a government, which has never been equalled, and which promises, by a further developement of its faculties, to augment, in an eminent degree, the blessings of this favored people, I unite with you in all the anticipations which you have so justly suggested.

"In performing services, honestly and zealously intended for the benefit of my fellow citizens, I shall never entertain a doubt of their generous and firm support. Incapable of any feelings distinct from those of a citizen, I can assume no style, in regard to them, different from that character; and it is a source of peculiar delight to me, to know that, while the Chief Magistrate of the United States acts fully up to this principle, he will require no other guard than what may be derived from their confidence and affection."*

On Wednesday the President proceeded up the Delaware, and arrived at the navy-yard in Philadelphia between three and four o'clock on Thursday, in the barge of the Franklin seventy-four, in which Commodore Murray and Captain Stuart had gone down to Wilmington to receive him. Every respectful attention was paid to him in this city.

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* In the previous address of the Mayor was a passage which afforded the editor of the New-York Post an opportunity for the following pleasant sally.

"Among other topics," says the Post, "of which this famous speech was composed, the following pompous and important passage presents itself:

"'That a city which bore so conspicuous a part in the national defence should first be honored with the presence of the Chief Magistrate of the Union, is as flattering as it is *natural*.'

"We cannot but accede to the truth of the observation, that it was natural that the President in his journey to the eastward, should visit Baltimore before he did Philadelphia, situated a hundred miles further on his route, nor enough admire the ingenuity that could turn such a circumstance into a flattering compliment to the former city. We should not have been surprised if the President, when he heard this, had cut Mr. Stiles as short, by expressing his entire satisfaction, as Henry IV. cut the French mayor, who came out to meet him on a similar occasion, and began a speech which he had prepared, containing ten reasons why they had not saluted his Majesty's approach with the discharge of cannon, the first of which was, that they had no cannon, when the King interrupted him, and told him he might spare himself the trouble of giving the other nine."

While here the members of the Pennsylvania Society of the Cincinnati paid their respects to him and presented the following address:

"SIR—Embracing the occasion which your attention, as Chief Magistrate, to the military defence of the United States has afforded, it is with peculiar pleasure that the members of the Pennsylvania Society of the Cincinnati, a portion of the surviving few who were your associates in arms during the war of the revolution, approach to renew their personal intercourse, and to assure you of their cordial support to the firm and impartial administration of the government, which, by combining in its measures domestic tranquillity with the respect of foreign nations, they confidently anticipate, will promote the best interests of the United States, and insure to our citizens the advantages of social harmony and individual happiness.

"That you may participate those blessings, and enjoy the grateful esteem of a happy people, is the sincere wish of

"Your faithful friends, and respectful fellow citizens."

To which the President made the following reply:

"FELLOW CITIZENS—In attending to the military and naval defence of the United States, nothing can be more gratifying to me than to meet the surviving members of my associates in arms, who distinguished themselves in our revolutionary contest. I can never forget the dangers of that great epoch, nor be indifferent to the merit of those who partook in them.

"To promote tranquillity at home, and respect abroad, by a firm and impartial administration, are among the highest duties of the Chief Magistrate of the United States. To acquit myself in the discharge of these duties with advantage to my fellow citizens, will be the undeviating object of my zealous exertions. Their approbation will be the highest recompense which I can receive."

It is the province of biography and memoir writing to record matters too trifling for the dignity of history. With this impression we scatter through our pages descriptions of manners and ceremonies, too unimportant, apparently, to warrant any minute details, but yet interesting, as depicting those every-day fashions and changes, about which we are all naturally curious. With these observations we would preface the following account of the President's costume, and the extracts in the note*

* "Mrs. Monroe is an elegant, accomplished woman. She possesses a charming mind, and dignity of manners, which peculiarly fit her for her elevated station. Her retired domestic habits will be much annoyed by what is called here *society*, if she does not totally change the etiquette (if it may be called so) established by Mrs. Washington, Adams, and Madison—a routine which her feeble constitution will not permit her to encounter; to go through it, she must become a perfect slave to the sacrifice of her health. The president, secretaries, senators, members, foreign ministers, consuls, comptrollers, auditors, accountants, officers of the navy and army of every grade, farmers, merchants, parsons, priests, lawyers, judges, notaries, auctioneers, office-hunters, brokers, clerks, stay-tape and buckram gentry, speculators, and *nothingarians*—all with their wives, and some with their gawking offspring—crowd to the President's every Wednesday evening—some in shoes, most in boots, and many in spurs—some snuffing, others chewing, and many longing for their cigar and whiskey punch left at home—some with powdered heads, others frizzled and

from a letter from Washington, dated previously to the inauguration of Mr. Monroe in his new office.

The barge fitted up for the reception of the President at Philadelphia, was lined and trimmed with crimson velvet, and rowed by sixteen oarsmen, dressed in scarlet vests, white sleeves and trowsers. The President was dressed in a dark blue coat, buff vest, doe-skin buff-colored breeches and top boots; he wore a military cocked hat of the fashion of the revolution, and a black bowed ribbon of the same fashion as a cockade.

On Thursday, the 12th of June, the President visited the fortifications and navy-yard at New-York, amidst salutes of cannon. On the following day he was publicly initiated as a member of the Literary and Philosophical Society of New-York, when the President of the Association, Mr. De Witt Clinton, delivered an address. The reply of President Monroe to the address of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Commonalty of the city of New-York, is one of the happiest specimens of the parade day oratory required for such an occasion. It is concise, vigorous, and eloquent:

"Fellow Citizens—In performing a duty enjoined on me by the constitution and laws of the United States, I cannot express the satisfaction which I derive from the intercourse to which it leads with so many of my fellow citizens; and from the opportunity it affords, to behold in person the blessings which an all gracious Providence has extended to them. In executing the laws which Congress have wisely adopted for the national defence, the Atlantic and inland frontiers of this State, by their exposed situation, are entitled to particular attention. I am aware, too, that this

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oiled, with some whose heads a comb has never touched, half hid by dirty collars, reaching above their ears, as stiff as pasteboard. 'Mrs. President, this is my wife' —'*Ma'am*, this is my daughter'—'Mr. President, this is my Dick, a hopeful youth, "just freed from college rules," and light as the vapor he puffs from Havana's best.'

"How distressing to every man who feels for the honor and dignity of his government. Mrs. Madison feels all this, while she is harassed to death by these boobies. She must feel greatly relieved by her prospect of retirement. She is justly adored by all parties. This estimable woman, in 'stooping to conquer,' has carried her amiability and affability as far as to return the visits of all those who have called on her. It ought not to be expected that the wife of the President should return visits. Our nation is increasing so fast, and there is such an influx of foreigners here (particularly at this season of the year) that a stop ought to be put to it, and some rules adopted for the presentation of strangers to the Chief Magistrate and his family; otherwise his valuable time will be absorbed in ridiculous visits from the idle and curious. In the drawing-room no one ought, in my opinion, to be admitted, without a previous introduction to the President by some respectable member of the government; and if those members were not *discreet* in the *characters* and *numbers* of these introductions, they ought to be told of it. All judicious, sensible persons see now the necessity of such arrangements.

"These foreign ministers and agents, too, are far too intimate at the President's, and with the different branches of the government. Towards them the same etiquette ought to be adopted, as is known to exist at their own courts. This they would not complain of. There is a respect due to our sachems, which this vulgar state of things diminishes. We allow our generals and commanders of ships to establish formalities at their posts, and on their quarter-decks, and will you not allow the President to form certain rules for the government of his house and the distribution of his time?"

populous and flourishing city presents, in time of war, a strong temptation to the cupidity of an invading foe. It is in the spirit of the laws which I am called to execute, it is in the spirit of the people whom I represent, to provide amply for the security of every part, according to the danger to which it is exposed. In performing this duty, I shall endeavor to be their faithful organ.

"The present prosperous condition of our country is, as you justly observe, the best proof of the excellence of our institutions, and of the wisdom with which they have been administered.

"It affords, too, a solid ground on which to indulge the most favorable anticipations as to the future. An enlightened people, educated in the principles of liberty, and blessed with a free government—bold, vigorous, and enterprising in the pursuit of every just and honorable attainment—united by the strong ties of a common origin, of interest, and affection—possessed of a vast and fertile territory—improving in agriculture, in the arts and manufactures—extending their commerce to every sea—already powerful, and rapidly increasing in population—have every inducement and every means whereby to perpetuate these blessings to the latest posterity.

"The *honorable* termination of the late war, whereby *the rights of the nation were vindicated*, should not lull us into repose—the events attending it show our vulnerable points; and it is in time of peace that we ought to provide by strong works for their defence.

"The gallantry and good conduct of our army, navy, and militia, and the patriotism of our citizens, generally, so conspicuously displayed in that war, may always be relied on. Aided by such works, our frontiers will be impregnable.

"Devoted to the principles of our government from my earliest youth, and satisfied that the great blessings which we enjoy are, under Divine Providence, imputable to that great cause, it will be the object of my constant and zealous efforts to give to those principles their best effect Should I, by these efforts, contribute in any degree to the happiness of my fellow citizens, I shall derive from it the highest gratification of which my mind is susceptible."

While in New York the President was elected a member of the Society for the encouragement of American Manufactures; he attended a meeting of that Society, and avowed his desire to promote the object of their institution. John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, and James Madison were elected members at the same time.

The President was received in a similar style of respectful hospitality, at New Haven, Hartford, Middletown, Springfield, and Boston. On reaching the southern entrance of Boston, he was met by the Committee of Arrangements, and received with a few words of welcome from the Honorable Mr. Otis: "Sir—You are now arrived within the limits of Boston, and these gentlemen are a Committee appointed to welcome your approach, and escort you to your lodgings. Upon your arrival there, they will avail themselves of your permission, to express to you in a more formal and respectful manner than can be done here, the assurances of the unfeigned satisfaction which the citizens of Boston realize in the honor

you have been pleased to confer upon them by this visit." A procession was then formed, and the President was escorted through the principal streets of the city to the rooms provided for his reception in the Exchange Coffee-House. During the march of the cavalcade, salutes were fired from Dorchester heights, from the common, Fort Independence, and the navy-yard. State-street, through which the procession passed, was fancifully decorated with the flags of the United States, and the numerous merchant ships in the harbor made a brilliant display of their stars and stripes. The crowd of spectators which surrounded the procession was immense, greater than any which had been witnessed since the visit of Washington. Shortly after the arrival of the President at his rooms, he accompanied the Committee to the second gallery of the old Exchange, where the Chairman of the Committee of Arrangements made an address in behalf of the inhabitants of Boston. He remained in Boston for several days, and was received with the greatest kindness and respect by all its citizens without distinction of party.*

The President continued his journey, and was received with similar tokens of honor at the principal towns on his northern route. Much disappointment was expressed at the manner in which the President was

* The minuteness with which the movements of the President are chronicled in the newspapers of the time, almost reminds us of the similar details of the British journals in respect to the various movements of their nobility. The following is the account of his visit to Charlestown:

"On Saturday morning the President visited the navy-yard in Charlestown, conducted by Commodore Hull, the Commissioner. He inspected, with much minuteness, but with rapidity, the numerous branches of this important and extensive establishment; and which the Commissioner has ornamented with numerous improvements. After inspecting the arsenal, warehouses, depots of ordnance and naval stores, and the various quarters and barracks, the President went on board the ships in ordinary --the Constitution, Java, Macedonian, and Guerriere. He took particular interest in examining 'Old Iron-Sides,' which vessel, we understood, he said, 'ought not to be again sent to sea, but be preserved as a monument of national glory.' The marine garrison, under Captain Wainwright, did the guard of honor duties upon the occasion, and exhibited a state of exact discipline. On his entrance and departure from the navy-yard, the President was saluted with nineteen guns from the water battery of the yard. After the examination of the whole establishment, the President partook of a sumptuous and elegant *dejeuné* with Mrs. Hull, the lady of the Commissioner. Of the guests were nearly two hundred personages, embracing His Excellency the Governor, His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor, Counsellors, Senators and Representatives of the State, Members of Congress, Judges and Magistrates, Commodore Bainbridge, and numerous naval officers, General Miller, and numerous officers of the army, and many strangers of eminence. The breakfast table was ornamented with the superb vases and services of plate presented to the Commodore by the citizens of Philadelphia and Charleston. The President was on the right, and Governor Brooks on the left of Mrs. Hull; and the splendor of the martial insignia, united with the lustre of beauty and accomplishment, heightened the ensemble of a banquet which displayed the taste of the fair hostess, and the munificence of the gallant Commodore.

"Among the persons introduced to the President, on Bunker Hill, were Mr. Thomas Miller, Timothy Thompson, and John Kettel, the only surviving inhabitants of Charlestown, who were in the memorable battle that commenced the war of Independence, on the very spot they then trod upon. The President received them with much affability, and was evidently affected with the scene."

received in New Hampshire. During the whole of his tour, he had received the personal attention of all the executives of the States on entering their limits, until he reached New Hampshire. Being then left by the Massachusetts escort, he was obliged to trust himself to stagedrivers and guideposts, until he arrived at Greenland. Here he was received by a large number of the citizens of Portsmouth, and conducted to the metropolis. The neglect of the Governor in not waiting upon the President, nor providing him an escort, was the subject of much witticism at the time among the journals of both parties. "How Governor Plumer," observed one paper, "will excuse his conduct upon this occasion, we are unable to say. The eastern doctors disagree upon this subject. One editor says, he did not order out the militia because he had not the power. Another says, he possessed the power, but not the disposition. A third observes, that, being tenacious of the honor of the State, his Excellency wisely concluded that his non-appearance in public would be attended with the least disgrace to his constituents. A fourth says, it is owing to an act passed by the Legislature a few weeks since, offering a bounty for killing crows; which makes it extremely hazardous for his Excellency to appear in public. But, after all, we suspect these gentlemen do not understand the business. The expenses of a parade must necessarily be considerable; and the probability is, that the Governor, having generously relinquished a very considerable portion of his salary for the purchase of popularity, could not well afford it. This we suspect is the true secret; and if so, the censures passed upon the Governor are very unjust and wicked." His Excellency afterwards addressed an apologetical letter to Mr. Monroe, explaining his personal non-attendance by his ill health, and stating that by the jealousy of the State Constitution on the subject of the militia, he was not authorized to call them out, except for certain known objects particularly designated. We hope that the conscientious scruples of the worthy Governor will find numerous examples of imitation on more important subjects.

It is not necessary to follow the President particularly in his northern and western progress. On leaving Portsmouth, he directed his course westward to Plattsburg, in the state of New York. In his route thither, he visited Dover, Concord, and Hanover, in New Hampshire, and Windsor and Burlington, in Vermont. The important post at Plattsburg occupied his attention for several days. From this place he continued westward to Ogdensburg, Sackett's Harbor, and Detroit. He reached Washington, on his return, on the 19th of September. Here he was received with honors similar to those which had been paid to him elsewhere, and returned the following answer to the address of the Mayor and Aldermen of Washington:

"I cannot express in sufficiently strong terms the gratification which I feel in returning to the seat of government, after the long and very interesting tour in which I have been engaged; and I beg you to be assured that nothing can contribute more to dissipate the fatigue to which I have been exposed, than the very cordial reception which has been given me by my fellow citizens and neighbors, of the city and district.

"I shall always look back to the important incidents of my late tour,

with peculiar satisfaction. I flatter myself that I have derived from it information, which will be very useful in the discharge of the duties of the high trust confided to me; and, in other respects, it has afforded me the highest gratification. In all that portion of our country through which I have passed, I have seen, with delight, proofs the most conclusive of the devotion of our fellow citizens to the principles of our free republican government, and to our happy union. The spontaneous and independent manner in which these sentiments were declared, by the great body of the people, with other marked circumstances attending them, satisfied me that they came from the heart. United firmly in the support of these great, these vital interests, we may fairly presume that all difficulty on minor questions will disappear.

"In returning to the city of Washington, I rejoice to find the public building, intended for the accommodation of the Chief Magistrate, in a state to receive me, and to admit within it this friendly interview with you."

Thus terminated the felicitous tour of President Monroe, which could not fail to prove of lasting benefit to the states, by bringing the Executive in such close connexion with all over whom its power was exerted, by conciliating sectional prejudices, and giving birth to a generous mutuality of confidence between the people and their Chief Magistrate.

On the first of December, in pursuance of constitutional provisions, the members of the new Congress assembled at the Capitol, when each house organized itself, and adopted the usual preliminaries of business. Mr. Gaillard of South Carolina took the chair of the Senate as President *pro tem;* twenty-three members were present. A committee was then appointed to join one from the House, to wait on the President of the United States, and inform him that they were ready to receive his communications. The members of the House were called to order by their old clerk, Mr. Dougherty, and they proceeded immediately to the choice of a Speaker, when Mr. Henry Clay received one hundred and forty from one hundred forty-seven votes, and was declared to be elected. Being conducted to the chair, and the oath having been administered, Mr. Clay delivered the following address:

"If we consider, gentlemen, the free and illustrious origin of this assembly; the extent and magnitude of the interests committed to its charge; and the brilliant prospects of the rising confederacy, whose destiny may be materially affected by the legislation of Congress; the House of Representatives justly ranks among the most eminent deliberative bodies that have existed. To be appointed to preside at its deliberations is an exalted honor of which I entertain the highest sense. And I pray you to accept, for the flattering manner in which you have conferred it, my profound acknowledgments.

"If I bring into the chair, gentlemen, the advantage of some experience of its duties, far from inspiring me with undue confidence, that experience serves only to fill me with distrust of my own capacity. I have been taught by it how arduous those duties are, and how unavailing would be any efforts of mine to discharge them, without the liberal support and cheering countenance of the House. I shall anxiously seek,

gentlemen, to merit that support and countenance by an undeviating aim at impartiality, and at the preservation of that decorum, without the observance of which the public business must be illy transacted, and the dignity and the character of the House seriously impaired."

On the following day Mr. Monroe transmitted to both Houses of Congress the customary message. He opened with a few remarks on the happy and prosperous condition of our country, the establishment of public credit and the fortunate dissipation of local prejudices. Among the principal topics of the message were the arrangement between Great Britain and the United States for the reduction of the naval force upon the lakes; the report of the commissioners on the island in Passamaquoddy Bay; the negociation with Spain for spoliations on our commerce, and the settlement of boundaries; and our relations with the various powers of Europe. The view of our internal affairs was represented as very gratifying; and the revenue was described as in a very productive state. It promised ability to redeem the whole of the Louisiana debt, and to discharge the Mississippi stock by the year 1819. The militia force of the several States was estimated at eight hundred thousand men, and an improvement in their organization and discipline was recommended to the unremitted attention of Congress. Purchases from the Indian tribes on the borders of Lake Erie, and the other public lands of the Union, form other subjects of consideration. The most important part of the message is that which has reference to the subject of internal improvements, in which the President expresses his opinion of the constitutionality of the interference of Congress. This is embraced in the portion of the message extracted below.

"When we consider the vast extent of territory within the United States, the great amount and value of its productions; the connexion of its parts, and other circumstances, on which their prosperity and happiness depend, we cannot fail to entertain a high sense of the advantage to be derived from the facility which may be afforded in the intercourse between them, by means of good roads and canals. Never did a country of such vast extent offer equal inducements to improvements of this kind, nor ever were consequences of such magnitude involved in them. As this subject was acted on by Congress at the last session, and there may be a disposition to revive it at the present, I have brought it into view, for the purpose of communicating my sentiments on a very important circumstance connected with it, with that freedom and candor which a regard for the public interest, and a proper respect for Congress, require. A difference of opinion has existed, from the first formation of our constitution to the present time, among our most enlightened and virtuous citizens, respecting the right of Congress to establish such a system of improvement. Taking into view the trust with which I am now honored, it would be improper, after what has passed, that the discussion should be revived, with an uncertainty of my opinion respecting the right. Disregarding early impressions, I have bestowed on the subject all the deliberation which its great importance, and a just sense of my duty, required—and the result is, a settled conviction in my mind, that Congress do not possess the right. It is not contained in any of the specified powers

granted to Congress; nor can I consider it incidental to, or a necessary mean, viewed on the most liberal scale, for carrying into effect any of the powers which are specifically granted. In communicating this result, I cannot resist the obligation which I feel to suggest to Congress the propriety of recommending to the States the adoption of an amendment to the Constitution, which shall give to Congress the right in question. In cases of doubtful construction, especially of such vital interest, it comports with the nature and origin of our institutions, and will contribute much to preserve them, to apply to our constituents for an explicit grant of the power. We may confidently rely, that if it appears to their satisfaction, that the power is necessary, it will always be granted. In this case I am happy to observe, that experience has afforded the most ample proof of its utility, and that the benign spirit of conciliation and harmony which now manifests itself throughout our Union, promises to such a recommendation the most prompt and favorable result. I think proper to suggest, also, in case this measure is adopted, that it be recommended to the States to include, in the amendment, a right in Congress to institute, likewise, seminaries of learning, for the all-important purpose of diffusing knowledge among our fellow citizens throughout the United States.

"Our manufactories will require the continued attention of Congress. The capital employed in them is considerable, and the knowledge acquired in the machinery and fabric of all the most useful manufactures is of great value. Their preservation, which depends on due encouragement, is connected with the high interests of the nation.

"Although the progress of the public buildings has been as favorable as circumstances have permitted, it is to be regretted that the Capitol is not yet in a state to receive you. There is good cause to presume that the two wings, the only part as yet commenced, will be prepared for that purpose at the next session. The time seems now to have arrived, when this subject may be deemed worthy the attention of Congress, on a scale adequate to national purposes. The completion of the middle building will be necessary to the convenient accommodation of Congress, of the committees, and various offices belonging to it. It is evident that the other public buildings are altogether insufficient for the accommodation of the several executive departments, some of whom are much crowded, and even subjected to the necessity of obtaining it in private buildings, at some distance from the head of the department, and with inconvenience to the management of the public business. Most nations have taken an interest and a pride in the improvement and ornament of their metropolis, and none were more conspicuous in that respect than the ancient republics. The policy which dictated the establishment of a permanent residence for the national government, and the spirit in which it was commenced and has been prosecuted, show that such improvements were thought worthy the attention of this nation. Its central position, between the northern and southern extremes of our union, and its approach to the west, at the head of a great navigable river, which interlocks with the western waters, prove the wisdom of the councils which established it. Nothing appears to be more reasonable and proper, than that convenient accommodations should be provided, on a well digested

plan, for the heads of the several departments, and for the Attorney General; and it is believed that the public ground in the city, applied to those objects, will be found amply sufficient. I submit this subject to the consideration of Congress, that such further provision may be made in it, as to them may seem proper.

"In contemplating the happy situation of the United States, our attention is drawn, with peculiar interest, to the surviving officers and soldiers of our revolutionary army, who so eminently contributed, by their services, to lay its foundation. Most of those very meritorious citizens have paid the debt of nature, and gone to repose. It is believed that among the survivors there are some not provided for by existing laws, who are reduced to indigence, and even to real distress. These men have a claim on the gratitude of their country, and it will do honor to their country to provide for them. The lapse of a few years more, and the opportunity will be forever lost: indeed, so long already has been the interval, that the number to be benefited by any provision which may be made, will not be great.

"It appearing in a satisfactory manner that the revenue arising from imposts and tonnage, and from the sale of the public lands, will be fully adequate to the support of the civil government, of the present military and naval establishments, including the annual augmentation of the latter, to the extent provided for; to the payment of the interest on the public debt, and to the extinguishment of it at the times authorized, without the aid of the internal taxes; I consider it my duty to recommend to Congress their repeal. To impose taxes, when the public exigencies require them, is an obligation of the most sacred character, especially with a free people. The faithful fulfilment of it is among the highest proofs of their virtue and capacity for self-government. To dispense with taxes, when it may be done with perfect safety, is equally the duty of their representatives. In this instance we have the satisfaction to know that they were imposed when the demand was imperious, and have been sustained with exemplary fidelity. I have to add, that however gratifying it may be to me, regarding the prosperous and happy condition of our country, to recommend the repeal of these taxes at this time, I shall nevertheless be attentive to events, and, should any future emergency occur, be not less prompt to suggest such measures and burthens as may then be requisite and proper."

On the eleventh of December, the State of Mississippi was acknowledged by Congress as sovereign and independent, and was admitted to the Union. In the course of the same month, an expedition which had been set on foot by a number of adventurers from different countries, against East and West Florida, was terminated by the troops of the United States. They had formed an establishment at Amelia Island, at that time the subject of negociation between Spain and our government, and their direct objects being undoubtedly piratical, the law of nations and the stipulations of various treaties required of the United States to suppress it. A similar establishment had been previously formed at Galveston, a small island on the coast of Texas, and it was subsequently in a like manner suppressed.

Several important measures were adopted by Congress during the session 1817—18; among which were the bill fixing the compensation of members of Congress at eight dollars a day; a second, in acquiescence with the suggestion of the President, to abolish internal duties; and a third, providing, upon the same recommendation, for the indigent officers and soldiers of the revolutionary army. In April, 1818, Illinois adopted a State constitution, and in December following was admitted as a member of the Union.

Soon after the conclusion of this session of Congress, the President, in pursuance of his determination to visit those parts of the United States most exposed to the enemy, prepared to survey the Chesapeake bay, and the country lying on its extensive shores. In the month of May, he left Washington, accompanied by the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Navy, and other gentlemen of distinction. On his arrival at Annapolis, the President and his suite made a minute examination of the contiguous waters, in reference to their fitness for a naval depot. After making a farther examination of the coast, he proceeded to Norfolk. Having at length accomplished the principal object of his tour, he returned to Washington on the seventeenth of June, through the interior of Virginia The same demonstrations of respect and affection that were extended to him during his northern tour, followed him in this.

On the twenty-seventh of May, 1818, a treaty concluded at Stockholm with the government of Sweden, by Mr. Russell, Minister Plenipotentiary to that court, was ratified by the President and Senate on the part of the United States. During the same year a war was carried on between the United States and the Seminole Indians, which terminated in the complete discomfiture of the latter party. A particular account of this war is given in the life of President Jackson, who bore a conspicuous part in it.

On the twenty-eighth of January, 1819, a convention between Great Britain and the United States, concluded at London, October 20th, 1818, and ratified by the Prince Regent on the second of November following, was ratified by the President of the United States. By the first article of this convention, the citizens of the United States have liberty, in common with the subjects of Great Britain, to take fish on the southern, western, and northern coast of Newfoundland. The second article establishes the northern boundaries of the United States from the Lake of the Woods, to the Stony Mountains. By the fourth article, the commercial convention between the two countries, concluded at London, in 1815, is extended for the term of ten years longer.

On the twenty-second of February following, a treaty was concluded at Washington, by John Quincy Adams, and Luis de Onis, by which East and West Florida, with all the islands adjacent, were ceded by Spain to the United States. By this treaty the western boundary between the United States and Spain was settled. A sum not exceeding five millions of dollars was to be paid by the United States out of the proceeds of sales of lands in Florida, or in stock, or money, to citizens of the United States, on account of Spanish spoliations and injuries. To liquidate the claims, a board was to be constituted by the government of the

United States, of American citizens, to consist of three commissioners, who should report within three years.

On the second of March, 1819, the government of the Arkansas Territory was organized by act of Congress. During the following summer, the President visited the southern section of the country, having in view the same great national interests which had prompted him in his previous tour to the north. In this tour the President visited Charleston, Savannah, and Augusta; thence he proceeded to Nashville, through the Cherokee nation, and thence to Louisville and Lexington, Kentucky, and returned to the seat of government early in August.

The most important topic of consideration, during the ensuing session, was connected with the admission of the territory of Missouri into the Union. It was on the expediency of imposing it as a condition of this admission, that the future removal or transportation of slaves into that territory should be prohibited. This question divided itself into three branches: 1. The constitutionality of the measure. 2. Its conformity to the stipulations of the treaty of 1803, by which France ceded the territory in question to the United States. 3. The expediency of the measure, as it might affect the relative condition of slaves in the United States, and as it might affect the relations between different parts of the Union. The affirmative and negative of these propositions were supported with equal zeal and eloquence by nearly equal numbers. Mr. Rufus King, and Mr. John Sergeant, took the lead in this debate in favor of restriction; Mr. Clay and Mr. Pinckney were the champions of the opposite party. This question gave rise to great warmth of feeling, and seemed at one time to threaten the dissolution of the Union.* In the

* In the debate in the Senate on this subject, Mr. Lowrie, of Maryland, observed—"Before I sit down, permit me to advert to some expressions which have fallen from gentlemen in this debate. The gentleman from Virginia (Mr. Barbour) the other day told us, that this subject will be an ignited spark, which, communicated to an immense mass of combustion, will produce an explosion that will shake this Union to its centre. The gentleman from Georgia (Mr. Walker) tells us, that he thinks he hears the thunders roll, he sees the father arrayed against the son, and the brother drawing the bloody sword from the bosom of the brother! Mr. President, I will not now detain the Senate, by inquiring in which of the States these combustible materials are, or by pointing out the field on which the battle will be fought. Before that bill leaves your table, if no other gentleman takes up this part of the subject, I may perhaps take the liberty of looking at it a little more in detail; not, sir, as a member from a single state, but as one of the representatives of the whole United States. At present, however, I will only observe, that I also believe, with those gentlemen, that we are drawing to a very serious crisis; to save us from which, all the wisdom of the present Congress, as well as the blessings of the Almighty, will be necessary. But, sir, if the alternative be, as gentlemen thus broadly intimate, a dissolution of the Union, or the extension of slavery over this whole western country, I, for one, will choose the former. I do not say this lightly; I am aware that the idea is a dreadful one. The choice is a dreadful one. Either side of the alternative fills my mind with horror. I have not however yet despaired of the republic. And, unless the melancholy result convinces me to the contrary, I must still believe, that we are able to dispose of this distracting question so as to satisfy the reasonable expectations of the people of the United States."

A New York paper remarks, "We have no fear as to the result of this war of words. Mr. King, were he left to struggle single-handed, would, on this subject,

view of the subject taken by Mr. King, he confined himself chiefly to the power of Congress to lay this restriction, implied in the general authority to admit new States, and to the nature of state sovereignty. The concluding portion of his speech was devoted to a very high and momentous consideration: that by the law of nature, and the eternal rule of justice, there can be no such thing as a right in a fellow creature to hold him and his posterity in bondage; that treaties and constitutions ought to be construed in the sense of this great paramount law; and that the toleration of slavery in the original States and those formed from the original States, a toleration acknowledged to have grown out of necessity, could furnish no ground for originating this unjust institution, where such necessity does not exist. In a subsequent speech he alluded to the injustice of placing freemen on the footing of slaves; and to the sense of injury which the inhabitants of the free States must and ought to feel at finding themselves outvoted by an union of freemen and slaves, in any ratio whatever. He stated and repeated that the slave ratio in the representation of the old States, and those formed out of the old States, was a matter of deliberate and sacred compact. But he maintained that to force upon the non-slave-holding States new parties to this compact, and to continue to extend the slave ratio over the vast tract of country growing up into new States, was an injustice most flagrant in its nature, and ruinous in its necessary consequences.

In the progress of this discussion an attempt was made to annex the Missouri bill to the Maine bill; it was proposed in the Senate, and rejected by the House. The course taken in the final decision of the question of restriction was not a little remarkable. On the last day of February, 1820, after one of the longest and ablest debates ever held in Congress, the House of Representatives voted, by a majority of eight, to adopt an amendment to the Missouri bill restricting slavery; and on the first day of March, they voted, by a majority of four, to reject the amendment, to which they had so deliberately agreed.* On the third of March, an act was passed, admitting Maine into the Union on an equal footing with the original States.

One of the most unfortunate incidents of a public nature that mark this period of our history, is the death of Commodore Decatur. He fell in a duel fought on the twenty-first of March with Commodore Barron. The course pursued by the House of Representatives on this occasion

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triumph over the combined battery of senatorial combatants for the extension of slavery. He will, however, be powerfully supported by Otis, Mellen, Roberts, and others; who, in point of talents, rank high in our national senate."

* The Missouri question is at length decided. The fatal die is cast, by which a new wound is inflicted on the honor of our country, and the curse of slavery is extended over a tract of country nearly equal to the five original slave-holding States of the Union. This has been done by means of the votes of men in both houses of Congress, whose constituents have unequivocally expressed their disapprobation of the measure. The vote was decided in both houses by men who acted in opposition to the expressed instructions of their State Legislatures; the decision in the House of Representatives by the votes of two men from our own State; one of them even from our own town, and almost the only man belonging to the town who did not anxiously wish for a contrary decision.—*Boston Repertory.*

was highly dignified and honorable. Eminent as had been the public services of the deceased, they refused to take the usual notice of such an event by adjournment, because he had fallen in violation of the laws of God and of his country. His funeral took place at Washington on the twenty-fifth of the month. An immense assemblage of citizens was collected on the melancholy occasion. His remains were attended to the vault at Kalorama, in which they were deposited, by a great part of the male population of the city and adjacent country, by the President of the United States, and nearly all the officers of government, members of Congress, and representatives of foreign governments at that time resident in Washington. Due military honors were rendered on the occasion by the marine corps under the command of Major Miller, and minute guns were fired from the navy-yard during the procession and funeral service.

On the twenty-seventh of March, the President transmitted to Congress an extract of a letter from the Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States at St. Petersburgh, bearing date the preceding first of November, on the subject of our relations with Spain; indicating the sentiments of the Emperor of Russia, respecting the non-ratification, by his Catholic Majesty, of the treaty recently concluded between the United States and Spain, and the strong interest taken by his majesty in promoting the ratification of that treaty. He also transmitted an extract of a letter from our Minister at Madrid, of a later date than those previously communicated, by which it appears, that at the instance of the Chargé des Affaires of the Russian Emperor, a new pledge had been given by the Spanish government that the Minister who had been lately appointed to the United States, should set out on his mission without delay, with full power to settle all differences in a manner satisfactory to the parties. The President further communicated that the governments of France and Russia had expressed an earnest desire that the United States would take no immediate step on the principle of reprisal, which might tend to disturb the peace between the States and Spain. Under these circumstances, he submitted to Congress the propriety of postponing a decision on the questions then depending with Spain, until the next session.

On the tenth of May, the President communicated to Congress another message on the same subject. The minister sent from Spain had received no authority to surrender the territory in dispute, and the treaty with Spain still remained unratified by his Catholic Majesty. The object of his mission was merely to make complaints, and demand explanations respecting an imputed system of hostility on the part of citizens of the United States, against the subjects and dominions of Spain, and an unfriendly policy in their government, and to obtain new stipulations against these alleged injuries, as the condition on which the treaty should be ratified. One proposition of the minister was, that the United States should abandon the right to recognise the revolutionary colonies in South America, or to form new relations with them. In short, the treaty was declared to be of no obligation whatever; and its ratification was made to depend, not on the considerations which led to its adoption, and the conditions which it contained, but on a new article unconnected with it

respecting which a new negociation was to be opened, of indefinite duration, and doubtful issue. The concluding passage of this message is highly honorable to the feelings which prompted it.

"Under this view of the subject, the course to be pursued would appear to be direct and obvious, if the affairs of Spain had remained in the state in which they were when this minister sailed. But it is known that an important change has since taken place in the government of that country, which cannot fail to be sensibly felt, in its intercourse with other nations. The Minister of Spain has essentially declared his inability to act, in consequence of that change. With him, however, under his present powers, nothing could be done. The attitude of the United States must now be assumed, on full consideration of what is due to their rights, their interest, and honor, without regard to the powers or incidents of the late mission. We may, at pleasure, occupy the territory, which was intended and provided by the late treaty as an indemnity for losses so long since sustained by our citizens, but still nothing could be settled definitely, without a treaty between the two nations. Is this the time to make the pressure? If the United States were governed by views of ambition and aggrandizement, many strong reasons might be given in its favor. But they have no objects of that kind to accomplish; none which are not founded in justice, and which can be injured by forbearance. Great hope is entertained that this change will promote the happiness of the Spanish nation. The good order, moderation, and humanity, which have characterized the movement, are the best guarantees of its success. The United States would not be justified in their own estimation, should they take any step to disturb its harmony. When the Spanish government is completely organized on the principles of this change, as it is expected it soon will be, there is just ground to presume that our differences with Spain will be speedily and satisfactorily settled. With these remarks, I submit it to the wisdom of Congress, whether it will not still be advisable to postpone any decision on this subject until the next session."

On the thirteenth of November, 1820, Congress reassembled at Washington. Mr. Gaillard took the chair of the Senate as President *pro tempore;* and a committee was appointed to wait on the President of the United States, to inform him of the organization of the Senate, and of its readiness to receive and act upon such communication as he might think proper to make. In the House of Representatives, on calling over the roll, it appeared that there were present a sufficient number of members to constitute a quorum. This being ascertained, the clerk informed the House that he had received a letter from the Honorable Henry Clay, late Speaker of the House, in which Mr. Clay begged leave to resign the office of Speaker, as imperious circumstances would prevent him from attending to its duties till after the Christmas holidays. This was ordered to lie on the table, and to be inserted in the journals of the House. The House then proceeded to ballot for a new Speaker, and no choice having been made after seven successive trials, an adjournment took place without election. It was evident, from an inspection of the ballotings, that the old distinctions of party had been broken down on the occasion, and that the

votes did not indicate the strength of any party before known in the country.

The whole of the following day was spent by the House in an ineffectual attempt to choose a Speaker. Nineteen ballots took place, without the intervention of any circumstances, either from the accession of members, or a disposition to effect an union, to show whether or not a Speaker was to be chosen. The favorite candidates were Mr. Lowndes, of South Carolina, Mr. J. W. Taylor, of New York, and Mr. Smith, of Maryland. On this day's balloting the former had a plurality of votes four times, Mr. Taylor five times, and Mr. Smith three times.

On the second day of the session, a communication was made to the Senate by the President, accompanied with a copy of the Constitution as adopted for the government of the State of Missouri. This communication having been read, it was resolved that a committee should be appointed to inquire whether any, and if any, what legislative measures may be necessary for admitting the State of Missouri into the Union. On the following day, the choice of Speaker of the House was effected, and Mr. John W. Taylor, of New York, took the chair. The President's message was this day received and read.

It commenced with an expression of much satisfaction at the state of public affairs, and of the general felicity of our situation. Nothing explicit was communicated in respect to our relations with Spain; and no change had occurred in our relations with Great Britain. An attempt had been made to regulate our commerce with France, on the principle of reciprocity and equality, and the French minister was soon expected at Washington to attempt an arrangement of these important interests. The contest between Spain and her colonies was declared to be maintained by the latter with most success.

"In looking to the internal concerns of the country," continued the message, "you will, I am persuaded, derive much satisfaction from a view of the several objects to which, in the discharge of your official duties, your attention will be drawn. Among these, none holds a more important place than the public revenue, from the direct operation of the power by which it is raised, on the people, and by its influence in giving effect to every other power of the government. The revenue depends on the resources of the country, and the facility by which the amount required is raised, is a strong proof of the extent of the resources, and of the efficiency of the government. A few prominent facts will place this great interest in a just light before you. On the thirtieth of September, 1815, the funded and floating debt of the United States was one hundred and nineteen millions six hundred and thirty-five thousand five hundred and fifty-eight dollars. If to this sum be added the amount of five per cent. stock, subscribed to the Bank of the United States, the amount of Mississippi stock, and of the stock which was issued subsequently to that date, the balances ascertained to be due to certain States, for military services, and to individuals, for supplies furnished, and services rendered, during the late war, the public debt may be estimated as amounting at that date, and as afterwards liquidated, to one hundred and fifty-eight millions seven hundred and thirteen thousand forty-nine dollars. On

the thirtieth of September, 1820, it amounted to ninety-one millions nine hundred and ninety-three thousand eight hundred and eighty-three dollars, having been reduced in that interval, by payments, sixty-six millions eight hundred and seventy-nine thousand one hundred and sixty-five dollars. During this term, the expenses of the government of the United States were likewise defrayed, in every branch of the civil, military, and naval establishments; the public edifices in this city have been rebuilt, with considerable additions; extensive fortifications have been commenced, and are in a train of execution; permanent arsenals and magazines have been erected in various parts of the Union; our navy has been considerably augmented, and the ordnance, munitions of war, and stores, of the army and navy, which were much exhausted during the war, have been replenished.

"By the discharge of so large a proportion of the public debt, and the execution of such extensive and important operations, in so short a time, a just estimate may be formed of the great extent of our national resources. The demonstration is the more complete and gratifying, when it is recollected that the direct tax and excise were repealed soon after the termination of the late war, and that the revenue applied to these purposes has been derived almost wholly from other sources.

"The receipts into the Treasury from every source, to the thirtieth of September last, have amounted to sixteen millions seven hundred and ninety-four thousand one hundred and seven dollars and sixty-six cents; whilst the public expenditures, to the same period, amounted to sixteen millions eight hundred and seventy-one thousand five hundred and thirty-four dollars and seventy-two cents: leaving in the Treasury, on that day, a sum estimated at one million nine hundred and fifty thousand dollars.

"With the Indians peace has been preserved, and a progress made in carrying into effect the act of Congress, making an appropriation for their civilization, with the prospect of favorable results. As connected equally with both these objects, our trade with those tribes is thought to merit the attention of Congress. In their original state, game is their sustenance, and war their occupation; and, if they find no employment from civilized powers, they destroy each other. Left to themselves, their extirpation is inevitable. By a judicious regulation of our trade with them, we supply their wants, administer to their comforts, and gradually, as the game retires, draw them to us. By maintaining posts far in the interior, we acquire a more thorough and direct control over them; without which it is confidently believed that a complete change in their manners can never be accomplished. By such posts, aided by a proper regulation of our trade with them, and a judicious civil administration over them, to be provided for by law, we shall, it is presumed, be enabled not only to protect our own settlements from their savage incursions, and preserve peace among the several tribes, but accomplish also the great purpose of their civilization.

"Considerable progress has also been made in the construction of ships of war, some of which have been launched in the course of the present year.

"Our peace with the powers on the coast of Barbary has been preserved,

but we owe it altogether to the presence of our squadron in the Mediterranean. It has been found equally necessary to employ some of our vessels for the protection of our commerce in the Indian sea, the Pacific, and along the Atlantic coast. The interests which we have depending in those quarters, which have been much improved of late, are of great extent, and of high importance to the nation, as well as to the parties concerned, and would undoubtedly suffer, if such protection was not extended to them. In the execution of the law of the last session, for the suppression of the slave trade, some of our public ships have also been employed on the coast of Africa, where several captures have already been made of vessels engaged in that disgraceful traffic."

On the twenty-fifth, Mr. Lowndes, from the committee on the Constitution of Missouri, made an able report on the subject, declaring said constitution to be republican, and concluding with a *Resolve*, That the State of Missouri shall be, and is hereby, declared to be one of the United States of America, and is admitted into the Union on an equal footing with the original States, in all respects whatever. Mr. Lowndes moved to refer the resolution to a committee of the whole, on the state of the union, which put it into the power of the House to act upon it at any time. Whilst on the floor, he took occasion to say that this report must be considered, as indeed must all reports of committees, as the act of a majority of the committee, and not as expressing the sentiment of every individual of the committee. The debate on this subject continued one week, and it was decided by a majority of fourteen in the House, that Missouri could not be admitted into the Union with the present Constitution. This discussion was managed with great ability and good temper. The members from Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, and Mississippi, voted unanimously in support of the Missouri Constitution. The northern and middle States, with a few exceptions, cast all their votes against its admission.

The Missouri question again presented itself in rather a different shape, on the fourteenth of February, 1821, the day appointed by law for opening and counting the votes for President and Vice-President for the ensuing term. It was foreseen that a difficulty might arise in regard to the votes for Missouri, and, to guard against it, a resolution had been passed in the Senate the day before, directing, among other things, that in case any objection should be made to counting the votes returned from Missouri, and provided these votes would not make any difference in the result, the President should declare that if the votes of Missouri were counted, the number of votes for A. B. for President would be so many, and if the votes of Missouri were not counted, the number would be so many, and that in either case A. B. is elected. The same course in relation to Vice-President. This resolution was taken up in the House this morning. It was generally supported by the restrictionists, and was also warmly supported by Mr. Clay as the only mode of avoiding the difficulty. It was, however, opposed by most of the Missouri party. It was finally agreed to on the part of the House, sometime after the hour appointed for the meeting of the two Houses to count the votes.

The Constitution is not very explicit in prescribing the mode of procedure, or who shall be judge of the returns. The Senate had passed a resolution, directing that the President of the Senate should preside while the two Houses were assembled. The House of Representatives, not to yield the point of dignity, passed a resolution directing that the Speaker of the House should retain his seat, and that a chair should be provided at his right for the President of the Senate. A message was sent to the Senate to inform them that the House were ready to receive them in the Representatives' Chamber, and to proceed to count the votes. Mr. Clay moved that a committee should be appointed to receive the President and Senate at the door, and conduct them to their seats. This motion was opposed, as without precedent, but it prevailed. A part of the seats of the members, on the right of the chair, were vacated to accommodate the members of the Senate. The President of the Senate having taken his seat, the returns were laid before him by the clerk of the Senate, remaining sealed. Mr. Barbour, teller on the part of the Senate, and Messrs. Smith and Sergeant, tellers on the part of the House, sat at the clerk's table, and the clerks of the Senate and House occupied separate tables in front. The President of the Senate first took up the return from the State of New Hampshire, cut the seal and handed it to the teller on the part of the Senate. He first read the superscription, then the certificate of the Governor of the due appointment of the electors,—the record of proceedings of the electors,—the number of votes given for each candidate, duly certified by all the electors. The papers were then handed to one of the tellers on the part of the House, who repeated the reading of all the documents in the same order. The Clerk of the Senate, who in the meantime had made an entry of the votes given by the State for each candidate, read it aloud. The clerk of the House then read the entry which he had made, precisely of the same import. The entries made by the clerks were then handed to the tellers and examined by them, and handed back to the clerks. The President of the Senate then took up the return of the State of Massachusetts, cut the seal, and handed it to the teller, and the same order of proceedings was had upon it as before. The same order was observed in relation to the returns of all the States. Some of the returns were much more full and formal than others, and occupied much time in reading. The reading of the whole occupied several hours. When the President of the Senate came to the return of the votes of Missouri, Mr. Livermore of New Hampshire objected to their being received and counted, Missouri not being a State. As soon as this objection was made, a member of the Senate proposed that the Senators should withdraw. The Senate immediately withdrew, and Mr. Floyd, of Virginia, proposed a resolution, importing that Missouri is a State of the Union, and the votes returned from that State ought to be received and counted. A debate ensued on this resolution. A motion was made to postpone the consideration, and afterwards a motion to lay it on the table, which last prevailed. The Senate were then informed by message, that the House were ready to proceed in counting the votes.

The Senate again came in. The return of Missouri was opened and

read and recorded by the clerks. The statement of the votes as returned was then read over by the President of the Senate, and he declared the result in the form prescribed by the joint resolution of the two Houses, viz. "If the votes of Missouri were counted, the number of votes for James Monroe would be two hundred and thirty-one; if they are not counted, the number of votes for James Monroe is two hundred and twenty-eight, and for John Q. Adams one. For Vice-President, if the votes of Missouri were counted, the number of votes for D. D. Tompkins would be two hundred and eighteen, if not, two hundred and fifteen, &c."—This is not the precise form, but the words were to this effect. He was going on to declare Monroe and Tompkins duly elected, when Mr. Floyd rose, and addressing the President of the Senate, demanded to be informed whether the votes of Missouri were counted or not. The President of the Senate replied, that it was an occasion on which there could be no debate. Mr. Floyd repeated his question, and demanded an answer. The Speaker of the House rose and said that the gentleman from Virginia must take his seat. Mr. Randolph rose and addressed the President of the Senate nearly to the same effect as he had been addressed by Mr. Floyd. The Speaker told him he was out of order, and must take his seat. Mr. Randolph remained upon the floor, and there were cries of order, order, from all parts of the House. The Speaker again told Mr. Randolph he must take his seat. Mr. R. sat down, and instantly Mr. Brush of Ohio, who sat near him, rose and said, "I rise to support the right of the gentleman from Virginia." The Speaker told Mr. Brush that he also was out of order, and must take his seat. He sat down, and order being restored, the President of the Senate proceeded to declare James Monroe and D. D. Tompkins duly elected President and Vice-President. Mr. Randolph then rose and addressed the chair.

Mr. Randolph said, it was not without reluctance that he offered himself to the attention of the House at this time; but he submitted to the very worthy gentleman from Maryland who had just taken his seat, whether the object which he had in view could, according to his own views of propriety, be effectuated by the course which he had recommended to this House. It was no part of his nature, Mr. R. said, nor of his purpose to inflate, to a greater magnitude this exaggerated question of the admission of Missouri into the Union. But the question had now assumed that aspect which, had it depended on him, it should have taken at an earlier period of the session. It was, he said, not only congenial with the principles and practices of our free government, but, unless he was deceived, with the practice of that country from which we have adopted, and wisely adopted, our manly institutions, that on any occasion when any person presents himself to a representative body with credentials of title to a seat, he shall take his seat, and perform the functions of a member, until a prior and a better claim shall not only be preferred, but established. It was seen, that, but the day before yesterday, the committee of elections of this House came forward with a report, stating that the qualifications and returns of certain members were perfect who have been acting and legislating, and on whose votes the laws of the

land have depended, for the last three or four months. Just so it ought to have been with regard to the Representative from the State of Missouri. She has now, said Mr. R., presented herself, for the first time, in a visible and tangible shape. She comes into this House, not in *forma pauperis*, but claiming to be one of the co-sovereignties of this confederated government, and presents to you her vote, by receiving or rejecting which, the election of your Chief Magistrate will be lawful or unlawful; he did not mean by the vote of Missouri, but by the votes of all the States. Now comes the question, whether we will not merely repel her, but repel her with scorn and contumely. *Cui bono?* And he might add, *quo warranto?* He should like to hear, he said, from the gentleman from New Hampshire (Mr Livermore) where this House gets its authority—he should like to hear some of the learned (or unlearned) sages of the law, with which this House, as well as all our legislative bodies, abounds, shew their authority for refusing to receive the votes from Missouri. Mr. R. said he went back to first principles. The Electoral Colleges, he said, are as independent of this House, as this House is of them. They had as good a right to pronounce on their qualifications, as this House has on those of its members. Your office, said he, in regard to the electoral votes, is merely ministerial. It is to count the votes, and you undertake to reject the votes. To what will this lead? Do you ever expect to see the time when there shall be in the Presidential chair a creature so poor, so imbecile, not only not worthy of being at the head of the nation, but not worthy of being at the head of a petty corporation—do you ever expect to see in that office an animal so poor, as not to have in this House retainers enough to enable him to reject the vote of any State, which, being counted, might prevent his continuance, and their continuance, and that of their friends, in office? He spoke not of the present incumbent—he was not so wanting in common decency and decorum as to do so—he spoke in reference not only to what is past, but to that which is prospective, and which every man who looks the least into futurity, must know will happen, and, in all probability, will shortly happen. He undertook to say, that if this House should, by a vote of indefinite postponement—for the form was immaterial—or in any other way—and it would be observed, for the first instance in the person of Missouri, of this much injured, long insulted, trampled upon member of this confederacy, was this example to be set—if, said he, you do, for the first time, now refuse to receive the votes of a State, it will be created into a precedent, and that in the lifetime of some of those who now hear me, for the manufacture of Presidents by this House. The wisest men may make constitutions on paper, as they please. What, Mr. R. asked, was the theory of this Constitution? It is, that this House, except upon a certain contingency, has nothing at all to do with the appointment of President and Vice-President of the United States, and when it does act, must act by States, and by States only can it act on this subject, unless it transcend the limits of the Constitution. What, he asked, was to be the practice of the Constitution, as now proposed? That an informal meeting of this and the other House is to usurp the initiative, the nominative power, with regard to the two first officers of the

government; that they are to wrest from the people of the United States their indubitable right of telling us whom they wish to exercise the functions of the government, in despite and contempt of their decision. Is there to be no limit to the power of Congress? No mound or barrier to stay their usurpation? Why were the electoral bodies established? The Constitution has wisely provided that they shall assemble, each by itself, and not in one great assembly. By this means, assuredly, that system of intrigue which was matured into a science, or rather into an art here, was guarded against. But Mr. R. ventured to say, that the electoral college of this much despised Missouri, acting conformably to law, and to the genius and nature of our institutions, if it were composed of but one man, was as independent of this House as this House was of it. If, however, said he, *per fas aut nefas*, the point is to be carried; if the tocsin is to be sounded; if the troops are to be rallied, and Missouri is to be expelled with scorn from our august presence—how august, Mr. Speaker, I leave it for you to decide—there are those who will be willing to take her to their arms. And in point of mere expediency, he would ask of gentlemen—he put the suggestion in that shape, because he believed they were now doing nothing but riveting those ties by which Missouri would, he trusted, forever be bound to that section of the country by which, with whatever reason, her rights have been supported on this floor? I do look with a sentiment I cannot express, said Mr. R.—I look with a sentiment of pity—and that has been said to be nearly allied to love, as I know it to be allied to a very different emotion—I look with pity on those who believe that, by their feeble efforts in this House,—governed by forms and technicalities, your sergeant at arms and committees of attendance, and mummeries such as belong to other countries where I have never travelled, and trust in God I never shall,—they can stop the growth of the rising Empire in the West.—Let gentlemen lay a resolution on the table, let it be engrossed in a fair hand, and do you, Mr. Speaker, sign it, that the waves of the Mississippi shall not seek the ocean, and then send your sergeant at arms to carry it into execution; and see whether you can enforce it with all the force, physical or moral, under your control. Mr. R. concluded by expressing his hope that the gentleman from Maryland would withdraw his motion for indefinite postponement.

Mr. Archer replied to Mr. Randolph, who rose again in his turn to explain.

Mr. Randolph said. it was highly probable that the few remarks which he had made might give rise to misapprehensions, in the minds of other gentlemen, as they had done in the mind of his colleague.—He therefore wished to explain. His position, he said, was misunderstood. It had been said, and pertinently said, that Missouri might be admitted into the Union in more ways than one. His position, then, was, that this is the first instance in which Missouri has knocked at the door and demanded her rights. It is now for us, said Mr. R., by permitting her to come in, or rather by refraining from extruding her from this hall, to determine whether she shall now be one of our commonwealth, or, as the fashion is to call it, of our empire. Mr. R. said, he had no

doubt that Congress might drive Missouri into the wilderness, like another son of Hagar. If we do, said he, we drive her at our own peril. If either of the worthy Senators and Representatives from Missouri, whose long forbearance had excited surprise in no man's breast more than in that of Mr. R.—he did not mean to blame them for pursuing the counsel of cooler heads than his—had presented themselves here, would you (addressing the speaker) have felt yourself bound to exclude them from the communion with more than papal power—not only from the cup of wine, but from the bread of life itself? Let me tell my friend before me, (Mr. Archer,) we have not the power which he seems to think we possess; and, if this be a *cassus omissus* in the Constitution, I want to know where we acquire the power to supply the defect. You may keep Missouri out of the Union by violence, but here the issue is joined. She comes forward in the person of Presidential and Vice-Presidential Electors, instead of that of her Representative; and she was thus presented in a shape as unquestionable as that of New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, or the proudest and oldest State in the Union. She comes forward by her attorneys, her electors. Will you deny them admittance? Will you thrust her electors, and hers only from this hall? Mr. R. said, his friend had not given to this subject the sort of consideration which he knew him to be capable of giving it. I made no objection, said Mr. R., to the votes of New Hampshire, Maine, or Vermont: I have as good a right to object to the votes of New Hampshire, as the gentleman from New Hampshire has to object to the votes of Missouri. Who made thou, Cain, thy brother's keeper? Who put Missouri into custody of the honorable gentleman of New Hampshire? The electors of Missouri are as much *homines probi et legales* as the electors of New Hampshire. This, Mr. R. said, was no skirmish, as it had been called. This was the battle, when Greek meets Greek; it was a conflict not to be decided between the phalanx and the legion, whether the impenetrability of the one or the activity of the other shall prevail. Let us buckle on our armor, said Mr. R., let us put aside all this flummery, these metaphysical distinctions, these legal technicalities, these special pleadings, this dry minuteness, this unprofitable drawing of distinctions without difference: let us say now, as we have said on another occasion, we will assert, maintain, and vindicate our rights, or put to every hazard what you pretend to hold in such high estimation. Mr. R. said, he recollected perfectly well, in the celebrated election of Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr—they live, said he, illustrious examples of the merits of their respective partisans—what were we then told? Why, that we must withdraw our opposition, or there would be no election; that a dissolution of the Union impended; that volcanoes began to play; that earthquakes yawned beneath us—and, recollect, Sir, we had a President in the chair who had a majority in this House, small as it was. He treated the idea of giving way with derision and scorn: we said, we will not give way, and you must take the consequences: we appealed, said Mr. R., to the good sense of the nation—and I do now appeal to this nation, said he, whether this pretended sympathy for the rights of free negroes and mulattoes is to supersede the rights of the free

white citizens, of ten times their whole number. They gave way, Sir said Mr. R.—The sheep is the most timid and helpless of all animals: it retreats before any attack is offered to it. The President of the United States, Mr. R. said, possesses great powers and highly responsible functions, and should be looked up to with veneration and deference, because he is a chief magistrate of a people, legally appointed by their suffrages. But a President of the United States, appointed by the exclusion of the votes of those who are the same flesh and blood as ourselves—for the people of Missouri are not natives of Missouri, with the exception of a few French and still fewer Spaniards—is no more the chief magistrate of this country, than that thing—that pageant, which the majorities of the two Houses proposed to set up just twenty years ago—a President made by law—no, by the form and color of law, against the principles of the Constitution, and in violation of the rights of the freemen of this country. Sir, said Mr. R., I would not give a button for him. On his personal account, and for his personal qualities, I might treat him with respect as an individual, but as Chief Magistrate of this country, he would be more odious to my judgment than one of the house of Stuart attempting to seat himself on the throne of England, in defiance of the laws of succession and of the opinion of the people.

The President of the Senate then proposed that the Senate should retire, and to this proposition the members of the Senate acceded. Mr. Randolph in the meanwhile speaking. The Senate then withdrew, and Mr. Randolph submitted the following resolutions:

1. *Resolved*, That the electoral votes of the State of Missouri have this day been counted, and do constitute part of the majority of two hundred and thirty-one votes given for President, and of two hundred and eighteen votes given for Vice-President.

2. *Resolved*, That the whole number of electors appointed, and of votes given for President and Vice-President, have not been announced by the presiding officers of the Senate and House of Representatives, agreeable to the provisions of the Constitution of the United States, and that therefore the proceeding has been irregular and illegal.

A motion was then made to adjourn, which was carried by yeas and nays.

On the twenty-sixth of February, Mr. Clay, from the joint committee appointed on the Missouri subject, reported the following resolution.

Resolved, That Missouri shall be admitted into this Union on an equal footing with the original States, in all respects whatever, upon the fundamental condition, that the fourth clause of the twenty-sixth section of the third article of the Constitution submitted on the part of said State to Congress, shall never be construed to authorize the passage of any law, and that no law shall be passed in conformity thereto, by which any citizen of either of the States in this Union shall be excluded from the enjoyment of any of the privileges and immunities to which such citizen is entitled under the Constitution of the United States: *Provided*, that the Legislature of the said State, by a solemn public act, shall declare the assent of the said State, to the said fundamental condition, and shall transmit to the President of the United States, on or before the

fourth Monday in November next, an authentic copy of the said act; upon the receipt whereof the President, by proclamation, shall announce the fact: whereupon, and without any further proceeding on the part of Congress, the admission of the said State into this Union shall be considered as complete.

Mr. Clay briefly explained the views of the committee, and the considerations which induced them to report the resolution. He considered this resolution as being the same in effect as that which had been previously reported by the former committee of thirteen members; and stated that the committee on the part of the Senate was unanimous, and that on the part of the House nearly so, in favor of this resolution.

Mr. Adams, of Massachusetts, delivered his objections to the resolution, on the ground of the defect of power in the Congress of the United States, to authorize or require the Legislature of a State once admitted into the Union, to do the act proposed by this resolution to be demanded of the Legislature of Missouri.

Mr. Allen, of Massachusetts, delivered his sentiments, with much earnestness, and pretty much at large, in opposition to the resolution, on the ground as well of its terms, as of hostility to the toleration of slavery in any shape, or under any pretence, by the legislation of Congress; and concluded by moving to amend the resolution by striking out the word *citizen*, wherever it occurs in the resolution, as above printed, and to insert in lieu thereof "free negro or mulatto."

At length the final question was taken, and decided in the affirmative, by a vote of eighty-seven to eighty-one. So the resolution was passed, and ordered to be sent to the Senate for concurrence; here it received its last reading and was pased on the twenty-eighth.

On the twenty-second of February, a proclamation was issued by the President, promulgating the treaty which had been made with Spain, and its final ratifications by the United States and his Catholic Majesty. Two measures of great public interest and importance were thus at about the same period brought to a felicitous termination. The session of Congress, though it had been stormy in its progress, terminated in good order and perfect harmony.

On the fifth of March, Mr. Monroe took the oath to support the Constitution of the United States, and was again inaugurated as President. On this occasion he made an address to his fellow citizens at large, and laid before them a general view of the policy which the government intended to pursue. He very properly availed himself of his re-election, to consider it as the public approbation of his conduct in the preceding term. After a brief notice of measures for fortification and defence, which had been rendered necessary by the events of the last war, the President took a cursory review of our foreign relations, and the state of the national revenue. The address concludes with the following paragraphs:

"The care of the Indian tribes within our limits has long been an essential part of our system, but, unfortunately, it has not been executed in a manner to accomplish all the objects intended by it. We have treated them as independent nations, without their having any substan-

tial pretension to that rank. The distinction has flattered their pride, retarded their improvement, and, in many instances, paved the way to their destruction. The progress of our settlements westward, supported as they are by a dense population, has constantly driven them back with almost the total sacrifice of the lands which they have been compelled to abandon. They have claims on the magnanimity, and, I may add, on the justice of this nation, which we must all feel. We should become their real benefactors, we should perform the office of their Great Father, the endearing title which they emphatically give to the Chief Magistrate of our Union. Their sovereignty over vast territories should cease, in lieu of which the right of soil should be secured to each individual, and his posterity in competent portions; and, for the territory thus ceded by each tribe, some reasonable equivalent should be granted, to be vested in permanent funds for the support of civil government over them, and for the education of their children, for their instruction in the arts of husbandry, and to provide sustenance for them until they could provide it for themselves. My earnest hope is, that Congress will digest some plan, founded on these principles, with such improvements as their wisdom may suggest, and carry it into effect as soon as it may be practicable.

"Europe is again unsettled, and the prospect of war increasing. Should the flame light up, in any quarter, how far it may extend, it is impossible to foresee. It is our peculiar felicity to be altogether unconnected with the causes which produce this menacing aspect elsewhere. With every power we are in perfect amity, and it is our interest to remain so, if it be practicable on just conditions. I see no reasonable cause to apprehend variance with any power, unless it proceed from a violation of our maritime rights. In these contests, should they occur, and to whatever extent they may be carried, we shall be neutral; but, as a neutral power, we have rights which it is our duty to maintain. For light injuries it will be incumbent on us to seek redress in a spirit of amity, in full confidence that, injuring none, none would knowingly injure us. For more imminent dangers we should be prepared, and it should always be recollected that such preparation, adapted to the circumstances, and sanctioned by the judgment and wishes of our constituents, cannot fail to have a good effect of averting dangers of every kind. We should recollect, also, that the season of peace is best adapted to these preparations.

"If we turn our attention, fellow citizens, more immediately to the internal concerns of our country, and more especially to those on which its future welfare depends, we have every reason to anticipate the happiest results. It is now rather more than forty-four years since we declared our independence, and thirty-seven since it was acknowledged. The talents and virtues which were displayed in that great struggle were a sure presage of all that has since followed. A people who were able to surmount, in their infant state, such great perils, would be more competent, as they rose into manhood, to repel any which they might meet in their progress. Their physical strength would be more adequate to foreign danger, and the practice of self-government, aided by the light of experience, could not fail to produce an effect, equally salutary, on all

those questions connected with the internal organization. These favorable anticipations have been realized. In our whole system, national and state, we have shunned all the defects which unceasingly preyed on the vitals and destroyed the ancient republics. In them there were distinct orders, a nobility and a people, or the people governed in one assembly. Thus, in the one instance, there was a perpetual conflict between the orders in society for the ascendancy, in which the victory of either terminated in the overthrow of the government, and the ruin of the state. In the other, in which the people governed in a body, and whose dominions seldom exceeded the dimensions of a county in one of our States, a tumultuous and disorderly movement permitted only a transitory existence. In this great nation there is but one order, that of the people, whose power, by a peculiarly happy improvement of the representative principle, is transferred from them without impairing, in the slightest degree, their sovereignty, to bodies of their own creation, and to persons elected by themselves, in the full extent necessary for all the purposes of free, enlightened, and efficient government. The whole system is elective, the complete sovereignty being in the people, and every officer, in every department, deriving his authority from, and being responsible to them, for his conduct."

On the 3d of December, Congress again assembled, and the Honorable Philip P. Barbour was elected Speaker of the House. On the 5th, the President transmitted to both Houses of Congress the annual message. It was quite long and interesting, presenting a favorable view of the affairs of the nation, as respected its commerce, manufactures, and revenue. It stated that, in pursuance of the treaty with Spain, possession of East and West Florida had been given to the United States, but that the officers charged with that service had omitted, in contravention of the orders of their sovereigns, the delivery of the archives and documents relative to the sovereignty of those provinces. This omission had given rise to several disagreeable and painful incidents. The success of the South American colonies, during the previous year, was another topic of the message. The new government of Colombia had extended its territories, and considerably augmented its strength; and at Buenos Ayres, where civil dissension had sometime before prevailed, greater harmony and better order had been restored. Equal success had attended their efforts in the provinces on the Pacific. It was advised, as the true policy of the United States, to promote a settlement of this question with Spain based on the independence of the colonies.

Manufactures receive particular attention in this message. "It cannot be doubted, that the more complete our internal resources, and the less dependent we are on foreign powers, for every national, as well as domestic purpose, the greater and more stable will be the public felicity. By the increase of domestic manufactures, will the demand for the rude materials at home be increased, and thus will the dependence of the several parts of our Union on each other, and the strength of the Union itself, be proportionably augmented. In this process, which is very desirable, and inevitable under the existing duties, the resources which obviously present themselves to supply a deficiency in the revenue, should

it occur, are the interests which may derive the principal benefit from the change. If domestic manufactures are raised by duties on foreign, the deficiency in the fund necessary for public purposes should be supplied by duties on the former. At the last session, it seemed doubtful, whether the revenue derived from the present sources would be adequate to all the great purposes of our Union, including the construction of our fortifications, the augmentation of our navy, and the protection of our commerce against the dangers to which it is exposed. Had the deficiency been such as to subject us to the necessity, either to abandon those measures of defence, or to resort to other means for adequate funds, the course presented to the adoption of a virtuous and enlightened people appeared to be a plain one. It must be gratifying to all to know, that this necessity does not exist. Nothing, however, in contemplation of such important objects, which can be easily provided for, should be left to hazard. It is thought that the revenue may receive an augmentation from the existing sources, and in a manner to aid our manufactures, without hastening prematurely the result which has been suggested. It is believed that a moderate additional duty on certain articles would have that effect, without being liable to any serious objection."

On the twenty-first of January, on motion of Mr. Sergeant, chairman of the committee on the judiciary, the House went into a committee of the whole, Mr. Taylor in the chair, on the bill for establishing an uniform system of bankruptcy. The first section of the bill being under consideration, Mr. Sergeant rose and occupied the floor in favor of the bill, till the hour of adjournment, when the committee rose and the House adjourned. On the following day, Mr. Sergeant resumed and closed his speech on this important subject. Mr. Randolph utterly denied the power of Congress, to pass a law impairing the obligation of contracts, whenever made. Mr. Smyth, of Virginia, took a prominent stand in opposition to the bill; and Mr. Sergeant continued to the close the chief speaker in its defence. The bill was finally rejected in the House by a vote of ninety-nine to seventy-two.

On the twenty-sixth of February, Mr. Lloyd, of Maryland, rose in the Senate, and addressed the chair as follows:

"Mr. President: It has become my painful duty to announce to the Senate the melancholy fact, that my much esteemed and distinguished colleague is no more. An attempt to excite the sympathies of the Senate for a loss so great and so afflicting—a loss we must all sincerely deplore—would betray a suspicion of their sensibility. This chamber, Sir, has been one of the fields of his fame. You have seen him in his strength. You have seen him the admiration of the Senate; the pride of his native State; the ornament of his country. *He is now no more.* But, for his friends and relatives, there is consolation beyond the grave. I humbly and firmly trust, that he now reposes on the bosom of his God."

Sundry resolves were then entered into, for appointing a committee for superintending the funeral, and for the Senate's attending the same, and wearing a mourning badge. Similar proceedings also took place in the House; in which body, the preceding day, Mr. Randolph had moved

and carried an adjournment, on the premature report of Mr. Pinckney's death; on which occasion he made the following observations:

Mr. Randolph rose, he said, to announce to the House a fact, which, he hoped, would put an end, at least for this day, to all further jar or collision, here or elsewhere, among the members of this body. Yes, for this one day, at least, said he, let us say, as our first mother said to our first father,

> "While yet we live, scarce one short hour, perhaps,
> Between us two let there be peace."

"I rise to announce to the House, the not unlooked for death of a man who held the first place in the public estimation, in the first profession in that estimation, in this or in any other country. We have been talking of General Jackson, and a greater than him is not here, but gone forever! I allude, Sir, to the boast of Maryland, and the pride of the United States—the pride of all of us—but particularly the pride and ornament of the profession of which you, Mr. Speaker, are a member, and an eminent one. He was a man with whom I lived, when a member of this House, and a new one too; and ever since he left it for the other—I speak it with pride—in habits, not merely negatively friendly, but of kindness and cordiality. The last time that I saw him was on Saturday—the last Saturday but one—in the pride of life, and full possession and vigor of all his faculties, in that lobby. He is now gone to his account, (for as the tree falls, so it must lie,) where we must all go, where I must very soon go, and by the same road too, the course of nature—and where all of us, put off the evil day as long as we may, must also soon go. For what is the past but as a span, and which of us can look forward to as many years as we have lived? The last act of intercourse between us was an act, the recollection of which I would not be without, for all the offices that all the men of the United States have filled, or ever shall fill. He had, indeed, his faults—foibles, I should rather say; and, Sir, who is without them? Let such, and such only, cast the first stone. And these foibles, faults if you will, which every body could see, because every body is clear sighted in regard to the faults and foibles of others—he, I have no doubt, would have been the first to acknowledge, on a proper representation of them.

"Every thing now is hidden to us—not, God forbid! that utter darkness rests upon the grave, which, hideous as it is, is lighted, cheered, and warmed by fire from heaven—not the impious fire fabled to be stolen from heaven by the heathen, but by the spirit of the living God, whom we all profess to worship, and whom I hope we shall spend the remainder of this day in worshiping, not with mouth honor, but in our hearts; in spirit and in truth, that it may not be said of us, also, 'This people draweth nigh unto me with their mouth and honoreth me with their lips, but their heart is far from me.' Yes, it is just so. He is gone. I will not say that our loss is irreparable; because such a man as has existed may exist again. There has been a Homer; there has been a Shakspeare; there has been a Milton; there has been a Newton. There may then be another Pinckney; but there is now none. And it was to announce this event

I have risen. I am, said Mr. Randolph, almost inclined to believe in presentiments. I have been all along as well assured of the fatal termination of that disease with which he was affected, as I am now. And I have dragged my weary limbs before sunrise to the door of his sick chamber, (for I would not intrude upon the sacred sorrows of his family,) almost every morning since his illness. From the first I had almost no hope. I move you, Sir, that this House do now adjourn."

On the 8th of March, the President communicated to Congress a message, in which he recommended the recognition of South American independence. This message was referred to a committee, who reported unanimously in favor of the proposed measure, and introduced a resolve to appropriate a sum to enable the President to give due effect to such recognition. The Spanish Minister, on the publication of the message, immediately addressed a letter to Mr. Adams, the Secretary of State, in which he entered a solemn protest against this recognition of the governments mentioned of the insurgent provinces of South America; and declared that it could in no way invalidate in the least the rights of Spain to said provinces, or to employ every means in her power to reunite them to the rest of her dominions. To this letter the Secretary made a reply, in which he stated that the recognition by the President was not intended to invalidate any right of Spain, or to affect the employment of any means which she might be disposed to use for the purpose of reuniting those provinces to the rest of her dominions. It was merely the acknowledgment of existing facts, with the view to the regular establishment, with these newly formed nations, of those political and commercial relations which it is the moral obligation of civilized and Christian nations to entertain reciprocally with one another.

On the 2d of December, Congress again assembled, Mr. Gaillard taking the chair of the Senate, and Mr. Barbour that of the House. The message of the President contained a satisfactory exposition of the affairs of the confederacy, both at home and abroad. The view of our national finances was very favorable. On the subjects of internal improvement, and manufactures, the President observed:

"Believing that a competent power to adopt and execute a system of internal improvement has not been granted to Congress, but that such a power, confined to great national purposes and with proper limitations, would be productive of eminent advantage to our Union, I have thought it advisable that an amendment of the Constitution, to that effect, should be recommended to the several States. A bill which assumed the right to adopt and execute such a system having been presented for my signature, at the last session, I was compelled, from the view which I had taken of the powers of the General Government, to negative it, on which occasion I thought it proper to communicate the sentiments which I had formed, on mature consideration, on the whole subject. To that communication, in all the views in which the great interest to which it relates, may be supposed to merit your attention, I have now to refer. Should Congress, however, deem it improper to recommend such an amendment, they have, according to my judgment, the right to keep the road in repair, by providing for the superintendence of it, and appropriating the

money necessary for repairs. Surely, if they had the right to appropriate money to make the road, they have a right to appropriate it to preserve the road from ruin. From the exercise of this power no danger is to be apprehended. Under our happy system, the people are the sole and exclusive fountain of power. Each government originates from them, and to them alone, each to its proper constituents, are they respectively and solely responsible, for the faithful discharge of their duties, within their constitutional limits. And that the people will confine their public agents, of every station, to the strict line of their constitutional duties, there is no cause to doubt. Having, however, communicated my sentiments to Congress, at the last session, fully, in the document to which I have referred, respecting the right of appropriation, as distinct from the right of jurisdiction and sovereignty over the territory in question, I deem it improper to enlarge on the subject here.

"From the best information that I have been able to obtain, it appears that our manufactures, though depressed immediately after the peace, have considerably increased, and are still increasing, under the encouragement given them by the tariff of 1816, and by subsequent laws. Satisfied, I am, whatever may be the abstract doctrine in favor of unrestricted commerce, provided all nations would concur in it, and it was not liable to be interrupted by war, which has never occurred, and cannot be expected, that there are other strong reasons applicable to our situation, and relations with other countries, which impose on us the obligation to cherish and sustain our manufactures. Satisfied, however, I likewise am, that the interest of every part of our Union, even of those most benefited by manufactures, requires that this subject should be touched with the greatest caution, and a critical knowledge of the effect to be produced by the slightest change. On full consideration of the subject, in all its relations, I am persuaded, that a further augmentation may now be made of the duties on certain foreign articles, in favor of our own, and without affecting injuriously any other interest. For more precise details, I refer you to the communications which were made to Congress during the last session."

On the recognition of South American independence, the message continued:

"A strong hope was entertained that peace would, ere this, have been concluded between Spain and the Independent Governments south of the United States in this hemisphere. Long experience having evinced the competency of those governments to maintain the independence which they had declared, it was presumed that the considerations which induced their recognition by the United States, would have had equal weight with other powers, and that Spain herself, yielding to those magnanimous feelings of which her history furnishes so many examples, would have terminated, on that basis, a controversy so unavailing, and at the same time, so destructive. We still cherish the hope, that this result will not long be postponed.

"Sustaining our neutral position, and allowing to each party, while the war continues, equal rights, it is incumbent on the United States to claim of each, with equal rigor, the faithful observance of our rights,

according to the well known law of nations. From each, therefore, a like co-operation is expected in the suppression of the piratical practice which has grown out of this war, and of blockades of extensive coasts on both seas, which, considering the small force employed to sustain them, have not the slightest foundation to rest on."

The first Comptroller of the Treasury transmitted to the House a list of balances due more than three years. The House in committee took up the bill reported last session on the disbursement of public moneys. Mr. Bassett said in remarking on this subject, that it was a fact stated in a message from the President, that at one time accounts for one hundred millions of dollars, advanced for different objects, remained unsettled; and mentioned large losses to the public by defalcations of individuals. The bill was ordered to be printed, and the committee rose. Mr. Cannon introduced some resolutions respecting improving the militia for the national defence. Mr. Condict, of New Jersey, made a motion for instructing the naval committee to inquire, and report immediately, what measures are necessary effectually to extirpate the West India pirates, and to punish those who aid and abet them. He took notice of the very slight reference which the President had made to this subject in his message, "being all comprised in a short paragraph," which he read. He hoped to see a competent force immediately provided to ferret out these freebooters, and drag them to a condign and speedy punishment—not to have them brought here, and tried by a jury, under all the delays incident to our courts; but, as they had placed themselves beyond the laws of civil society, had set at defiance the laws of God and man, the most effectual restraint upon their barbarities would be to exhibit to them the spectacle of a few dozen of their leaders suspended by halters from the yard-arms of our public ships. About this time the Speaker presented a message from the President upon the subject of piracies, recommending the providing a competent force to repress their enormities.

The proceedings of this session of Congress excited but little interest and attention in the nation at large. There were no topics of engrossing importance. The case of the mutilated documents, as it was called, occupied the time of the House for some days. This was a case in which certain documents which had been given to Messrs. Gales & Seaton to be printed, were printed with the omission of certain sentences. Public attention was first called to this omission by an article in the Washington Republican, and the charge there made was in substance as follows: That in printing the documents accompanying the report of the Secretary of the Treasury, of the 14th February, 1822, in answer to a resolution of the House of Representatives, calling upon him to exhibit a statement of his transactions with all those banks which had been made by him the depositories of public moneys received from the sales of public lands, that they had suppressed and totally omitted, in the printed document which they furnished the House, parts of those documents implicating Mr. Crawford the most strongly. From the investigations pursued on this subject, it appeared that neither Mr. Gales nor Mr. Seaton had any knowledge of, or participation in, the suppressions in question; and that there was no evidence tending in the slightest degree to show

that the suppressions were caused by the influence of the Secretary of the Treasury, or with his knowledge. They were marked by one of the chief clerks of the Department of the Treasury, for the purpose of calling the attention of the Secretary to them, and omitted by the direction of the same clerk.

On the 1st of December, being the day established by the Constitution, the eighteenth Congress commenced its first session. In his message, at the opening of the session, the President spoke in animated terms of the prosperous condition of the country, and of the amicable state of our relations with foreign countries.

The message represented the public finances to be even more prosperous than had been anticipated; that the state of the army, in its organization and discipline, had been gradually improving for several years, and had attained a high degree of perfection; that the proposed fortifications of the country were rapidly progressing to a state of completion, and that the military academy at West Point had already attained a high degree of perfection, both in its discipline and instruction. In relation to the efforts of the executive to stop the depredations of pirates on the national commerce, the President stated, that, in the West Indies, and the Gulf of Mexico, the naval force had been augmented, according to the provisions of Congress. "This armament," said he, "has been eminently successful in the accomplishment of its object. The piracies, by which our commerce in the neighborhood of the island of Cuba had been afflicted, have been repressed, and the confidence of the merchants in a great measure restored."

In allusion to the struggle of the Greeks for liberty, the message contained the following language—language to which every American would cordially subscribe:—"A strong hope has been long entertained, founded on the heroic struggle of the Greeks, that they would succeed in their contest, and resume their equal station among the nations of the earth. It is believed that the whole civilized world takes a deep interest in their welfare. Although no power has declared in their favor, yet none, according to our information, has taken part against them. Their cause and their name have protected them from dangers, which might, ere this, have overwhelmed any other people. The ordinary calculations of interest, and of acquisition, with a view to aggrandizement, which mingle so much in the transactions of nations, seem to have had no effect in regard to them. From the facts which have come to our knowledge, there is good cause to believe that their enemy has lost, forever, all dominion over them—that Greece will again become an independent nation. That she may obtain that rank, is the object of our most ardent wishes."

On the existing state of the country, the President held the following strong and eloquent language: "If we compare the present condition of our Union with its actual state at the close of our revolution, the history of the world furnishes no example of a progress in improvement, in all the important circumstances which constitute the happiness of a nation which bears any resemblance to it. At the first epoch, our population did not exceed three millions. By the last census it amounted to about

ten millions, and, what is more extraordinary, it is almost altogether native; for the emigration from other countries has been inconsiderable. At the first epoch, half the territory within our acknowledged limits was uninhabited and a wilderness. Since then new territory has been acquired, of vast extent, comprising within it many rivers, particularly the Mississippi, the navigation of which to the ocean was of the highest importance to the original States. Over this territory our population has expanded in every direction, and new States have been established, almost equal in number to those which formed the first bond of our Union. This expansion of our population and accession of new States to our Union, have had the happiest effect on all its higher interests. That it has eminently augmented our resources, and added to our strength and respectability, as a power, is admitted by all. But it is not in these important circumstances only, that this happy effect is felt. It is manifest, that, by enlarging the basis of our system, and increasing the number of States, the system itself has been greatly strengthened in both its branches. Consolidation and disunion have thereby been rendered equally impracticable. Each government, confiding in its own strength, has less to apprehend from the other; and, in consequence, each enjoying a greater freedom of action, is rendered more efficient for all the purposes for which it was instituted."

In his message to Congress, at the opening of the session, the President, having alluded to the struggle of the Greeks for liberty, and having expressed, as the organ of public sentiment, the sympathy of the nation in their behalf, a resolution was presented to the House of Representatives, by a member, providing for the expenses incident to the appointment of an agent, or commissioner to Greece, whenever the President should deem such appointment expedient. Although Congress did not deem it expedient to adopt the resolution, it being indefinitely postponed, it served to call forth the warmest expressions of regard, on the floor of Congress, for that oppressed people, and to elicit the attachment of the country to the principles of rational liberty.

On the 27th of May, 1824, the eighteenth Congress closed its first session. Among the most important bills which were passed was one for abolishing imprisonment for debt; and a second establishing a tariff of duties on imports into the country.

Each of these bills caused much debate in the national legislature, and excited no small solicitude among those classes of citizens, whose interests were likely to be most affected by them. The bill for abolishing imprisonment for debt was necessarily qualified and guarded, giving no immunity to fraud, and containing the requisite checks to shield its benefits from abuse. The bill for a revision of the tariff occupied the House of Representatives for ten weeks, and was at length passed only by a majority of five. On the occasion of its final decision, only two members, out of two hundred and thirteen, were absent.

In the course of the summer an event occurred, which caused the highest sensations of joy throughout the Union; this was the arrival of the Marquis de La Fayette, the friend and ally of the Americans during the former war with Great Britain, and who eminently contributed, by

his fortune, influence, skill, and bravery, to achieve the glorious objects of their revolutionary struggle.

The second session of the eighteenth Congress began on the 6th of December, 1824; on which occasion, the President represented the country to be highly prosperous and happy, both in respect to its internal condition and foreign relations.

"Our relations," said he, "with foreign powers are of a friendly character, although certain interesting differences remain unsettled Our revenue, under the mild system of impost and tonnage, continues to be adequate to all the purposes of government. Our agriculture, commerce, manufactures, and navigation flourish. Our fortifications are advancing, in a degree authorized by existing appropriations, to maturity, and due progress is made in the augmentation of the navy to the limit prescribed by law."

This session of Congress closed on the 3d of March, 1825, being limited by the Constitution to that period. Among the most interesting subjects which occupied its attention during the session, were the occupation of the Oregon on the north-west coast, and the suppression of piracy. The bill respecting the former, however, was lost in the Senate, being indefinitely laid on the table; while that respecting piracy passed; which, however, does little more than to authorize the building of ten additional ships of war.

The bill authorizing the occupation of the Oregon was passed by the House of Representatives, but had previously been so amended as to provide only for a military occupation of the mouth of the river. This amendment was adopted, for the purpose of avoiding a violation of the treaty with Great Britain, which provides that the boundary line on that frontier shall remain unsettled ten years.

On the subject of piracy, the President, in a message to the Senate, suggested three expedients; one, by the pursuit of the offenders to the settled as well as unsettled parts of the island from whence they issue; another, by reprisal on the inhabitants; and a third, by a blockade of the ports of those islands. These suggestions gave rise to a bill in the Senate, which embraced the several expedients proposed in the message, and which, for some weeks, was a prominent topic of debate. The opposers of the bill contended that it introduces a new principle into the rights of nations, and that a resort to the measure proposed by it would be in effect a declaration of war with Spain. This objection was anticipated by the President, and obviated by him, on the ground that the Spanish authorities are utterly incapable of suppressing the practice in question. The discussion of the subject led to a disclosure of facts, which, in respect to its atrocities and the numbers concerned in it, exceeded even conjecture, and which forced conviction upon all, that something, and something efficient, must speedily be done.

The administration of Mr. Monroe closed on the 3d of March. During his presidency the country enjoyed a uniform state of peace and prosperity. By his prudent management of the national affairs, both foreign and domestic, he eminently contributed to the honor and hap-

piness of millions, and retired from office, enjoying the respect, and affection, and gratitude of all.

On the 3d of March, 1825, Mr. Monroe retired to his residence in Loudon county, Virginia. Subsequent to that period, he discharged the ordinary judicial functions of a magistrate of the county, and of curator of the University of Virginia. In the winter of 1829 and '30, he served as a member of the Convention called to revise the Constitution of that Commonwealth; and took an active part in their deliberations. over which he was unanimously chosen to preside. From this station he was, however, compelled, before the close of the labors of the Convention, by severe illness, to retire. The succeeding summer, he was, in the short compass of a week, visited by the bereavement of the beloved partner of his life, and of another near, affectionate, and respected relative. Soon after these deep and trying afflictions, he removed his residence to the city of New York; where, surrounded by filial solicitude and tenderness, the flickering lamp of life held its lingering flame, as if to await the day of the nation's birth and glory; when the soldier of the revolution, the statesman of the confederacy, the chosen chieftain of the constituted nation, sunk into the arms of slumber, to awake no more upon earth, and yielded his pure and gallant spirit to receive the sentence of his Maker.

"In the multitude of a great nation's public affairs," says Mr. J. Q. Adams, in his eulogy on the subject of this memoir, "there is no official act of their Chief Magistrate, however momentous, or however minute, but should be traceable to a dictate of duty, pointing to the welfare of the people. Such was the cardinal principle of Mr. Monroe. In his first address, upon his election to the Presidency, he had exposed the general principles by which his conduct, in the discharge of his great trust, would be regulated. In his second Inaugural Address, he succinctly reviewed that portion of the career through which he had passed, fortunately sanctioned by public approbation; and promised perseverance in it, to the close of his public service. And, in his last annual message to Congress, on the 7th of December, 1824, announcing his retirement from public life, after the close of that session of the Legislature, he reviewed the whole course of his administration, comparing it with the pledges which he had given at its commencement, and at its middle term, appealing to the judgment and consciousness of those whom he addressed, for its unity of principle as one consistent whole; not exempt indeed, from the errors and infirmities incident to all human action, but characteristic of purposes always honest and sincere, of intentions always pure, of labors outlasting the daily circuit of the sun, and outwatching the vigils of the night—and what he said not, but a faithful witness is bound to record; of a mind anxious and unwearied in the pursuit of truth and right; patient of inquiry; patient of contradiction; courteous, even in the collision of sentiment; sound in its ultimate judgments; and firm in its final conclusions.

"Such, my fellow citizens, was James Monroe. Such was the man, who presents the only example of one whose public life commenced with the War of Independence, and is identified with all the important events of your history from that day forth for a full half century. And now,

what is the purpose for which we have here assembled to do honor to his memory? Is it to scatter perishable flowers upon the yet unsodded grave of a public benefactor? Is it to mingle tears of sympathy and of consolation, with those of mourning and bereaved children? Is it to do honor to ourselves, by manifesting a becoming sensibility, at the departure of one, who, by a long career of honor and of usefulness, has been to us all as a friend and brother? Or is it not rather to mark the memorable incidents of a life signalized by all the properties which embody the precepts of virtue and the principles of wisdom? Is it not to pause for a moment from the passions of our own bosoms, and the agitations of our own interests, to survey in its whole extent the long and little beaten path of the great and the good: to fix with intense inspection our own vision, and to point the ardent but unsettled gaze of our children upon that resplendent row of cresset lamps, fed with the purest vital air, which illuminate the path of the hero, the statesman and the sage. Have you a son of ardent feelings and ingenuous mind, docile to instruction, and panting for honorable distinction? point him to the pallid cheek and agonizing form of James Monroe, at the opening blossom of life, weltering in his blood on the field of Trenton, for the cause of his country. Then turn his eye to the same form, seven years later, in health and vigor, still in the bloom of youth, but seated among the Conscript Fathers of the land, to receive entwined with all its laurels the sheathed and triumphant sword of Washington. Guide his eye along to the same object, investigating, by the midnight lamp, the laws of nature and nations, and unfolding them at once, with all the convictions of reason and all the persuasions of eloquence, to demonstrate the rights of his countrymen to the contested navigation of the Mississippi, in the hall of Congress. Follow him with this trace in his hand, through a long series of years, by laborious travels and intricate negociations, at imperial courts, and in the palaces of kings, winding his way amidst the ferocious and party-colored revolutions of France, and the lifeguard favorites and Camarillas of Spain. Then look at the map of United North America, as it was at the definitive peace of 1783. Compare it with the map of that same empire as it is now; limited by the Sabine and the Pacific Ocean, and say, the change, more than of any other man, living or dead, was the work of James Monroe. See him pass successively from the hall of the Confederation Congress to the Legislative Assembly of his native commonwealth; to their Convention which ratified the Constitution of the North American people; to the Senate of the Union; to the chair of diplomatic intercourse with ultra revolutionary France; back to the executive honors of his native State; again to embassies of transcendent magnitude, to France, to Spain, to Britain; restored once more to retirement and his country; elevated again to the highest trust of his State; transferred successively to the two pre-eminent Departments of Peace and War, in the National Government; and at the most momentous crisis burthened with the duties of both—and finally raised, first by the suffrages of a majority, and at last by the unanimous call of his countrymen to the Chief Magistracy of the Union. There behold him, for a term of eight years, strengthening his country for defence by a system of combined fortifications, military and

naval, sustaining her rights, her dignity and honor abroad; soothing her dissensions, and conciliating her acerbities at home; controlling, by a firm though peaceful policy, the hostile spirit of the European Alliance against Republican Southern America; extorting, by the mild compulsion of reason, the shores of the Pacific from the stipulated acknowledgment of Spain; and leading back the Imperial Autocrat of the North, to his lawful boundaries, from his hastily asserted dominion over the Southern Ocean. Thus strengthening and consolidating the federative edifice of his country's union, till he was entitled to say, like Augustus Cæsar, of his imperial city, that he had found her built of brick and left her constructed of marble."

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

*John Quincy Adams is descended from a race of farmers, tradesmen, and mechanics. In 1630, his remote ancestor, Henry Adams, came to America, with seven sons, and established himself in this country. Thus early rooted in the soil, a warm attachment to the cause and the rights of America has been, from generation to generation, the birthright of this family.

The first of this name, who emerged from private life, and rose to conspicuous public stations, were Samuel Adams, the proscribed patriot of the Revolution, and John Adams, who was pronounced by his venerable copatriot, Thomas Jefferson, "The Colossus of Independence." These two distinguished benefactors of their country, were descendants of the same remote ancestor. Samuel Adams deceased without male issue; John Quincy Adams is the son of his illustrious fellow laborer and relative. He was born in the year 1767, and was named for John Quincy, his great-grandfather, who bore a distinguished part in the councils of the province, at the commencement of the last century.

The principles of American Independence and freedom were instilled into the mind of Mr. John Q. Adams, in the very dawn of his existence. Both of his revered parents had entered, with every power and faculty, into the cause of the country. When the father of Mr. Adams repaired to France as joint commissioner with Franklin and Lee, he was accompanied by his son John Quincy, then in his eleventh year. In this country he passed a year and a half with his father, and enjoyed the enviable privilege of the daily intercourse and parental attentions of Benjamin Franklin; whose kind notice of the young was a peculiar trait in his character, and whose primitive simplicity of manners and methodical habits left a lasting impression on the mind of his youthful countryman.

After a residence of about eighteen months in France, John Quincy Adams returned to America with his father, who came home to take part in the formation of the Constitution of his native State. After a sojourn of a few months at home, the voice of the country called on Mr. Adams' father again to repair to Europe as a commissioner for negociating a treaty of peace and commerce with Great Britain, whenever she might be disposed to put an end to the war.

He took his son with him. They sailed in a French frigate bound to Brest; but the vessel having sprung a dangerous leak, was obliged to put in the nearest port, which proved to be Ferrol, in Spain. From that

* For the early part of this memoir we have been indebted to a biographical sketch, published at the time of the presidential canvass, which terminated in the election of General Jackson.

place Mr. Adams travelled by land to Paris, where he arrived in January 1780, and when his son, J. Q. Adams, was put to school. In the month of July, of the same year, Mr. Adams repaired to Holland to negociate a loan in that country. His son accompanied him, and was placed first in the public school of the city of Amsterdam, and afterwards in the University of Leyden. In July, 1781, Mr. Francis Dana, (afterwards Chief Justice of the State of Massachusetts,) who had gone out with Mr. Adams, as Secretary of Legation, received, from the continental Congress, the commission of Minister to the Empress of Russia, and John Q. Adams was selected by Mr. Dana, as a private secretary of this mission. After spending fourteen months with Mr. Dana, he left him to return through Sweden, Denmark, Hamburgh, and Bremen, to Holland, where his father had been publicly received as Minister from the United States, and had concluded a commercial treaty with the republic of the Netherlands. He performed this journey during the winter of 1782—3, being sixteen years of age, without a companion. He reached the Hague in April, 1783, his father being at that time engaged at Paris in the negociation of peace. From April to July his son remained at the Hague under the care of Mr. Dumas, a native of Switzerland, a zealous friend of America, who then filled the office of an agent of the United States. The negociations for peace being suspended in July, Mr. Adams' father repaired on business to Amsterdam, and on his return to Paris he took his son with him. The definitive treaty of peace was signed in September, 1783, from which time till May, 1785, he was chiefly with his father in England, Holland, and France.

It was at that period, that he formed an acquaintance with Mr. Jefferson, then residing in France as American Minister. The intercourse of Mr. Jefferson with his former colleague, the father of Mr. Adams, was of an intimate and confidential kind, and led to a friendship for his son, which, formed in early life, scarcely suffered an interruption from subsequent political dissensions, and revived with original strength during the last years of the life of this venerable statesman.

Mr. Adams was, at the period last mentioned, about eighteen years of age. Born in the crisis of his country's fortunes, he had led a life of wandering and vicissitude, unusual at any age. His education, in every thing but the school of liberty, had been interrupted and irregular. He had seen much of the world—much of men—and had enjoyed but little leisure for books. Anxious to complete his education, and still more anxious to return to his native America, when his father was, in 1785, appointed Minister to the Court of St. James, his son, at that period of life when the pleasures and splendor of a city like London are most calculated to fascinate and mislead, asked permission of his father to go back to his native shores. This he accordingly did. On his return to America, he became a member of the ancient seat of learning at Cambridge, where, as early as 1743, Samuel Adams, in taking his degrees, had the proposition, "that the people have a just right of resistance, when oppressed by their rulers."

In July, 1787, Mr. Adams left college and entered the office of Theophilus Parsons afterward Chief Justice of the State, as a student of

law at Newburyport. On a visit of General Washington to that town, in 1789, Mr. Parsons, being chosen by his fellow citizens to be the medium of expressing their sentiments to the General, called upon his pupils each to prepare an address. This call was obeyed by Mr. Adams, and his address was delivered by Mr. Parsons.

After completing his law studies at Newburyport, Mr. Adams removed to the capital of Massachusetts, with a view of employing himself in the practice of the profession. The business of a young lawyer is generally of inconsiderable amount; and Mr. Adams employed the leisure afforded him by this circumstance, and by his industrious habits, in speculations upon the great political questions of the day.

In April, 1793, on the first information that war between Great Britain and France had been declared, Mr. Adams published a short series of papers, the object of which was, to prove that the duty and interest of the United States required them to remain neutral in the contest. These papers were published before General Washington's proclamation of neutrality, and without any knowledge that such a proclamation would issue. The opinions they expressed were in opposition to the ideas generally prevailing, that the treaty of alliance of 1778 obliged us to take part in the wars of France. But the proclamation of neutrality by General Washington, sanctioned by all his cabinet, with Mr. Jefferson at its head, was shortly made public, and confirmed the justice of the views which Mr. Adams had been, (it is believed,) the first to express before the public, on this new and difficult topic of national law.

In the winter of 1793 and 1794, the public mind of America was extensively agitated by the inflammatory appeals of the French Minister, Genet. It is known to all with what power and skill this foreign emissary was resisted in the official correspondence of the then Secretary of State, Thomas Jefferson. Among those who co-operated in the public prints, in the same patriotic cause, none was more conspicuous than Mr. Adams, whose essays, in support of the administration, were read and admired throughout the country.

His reputation was now established as an American statesman, patriot, and political writer, of the first order. Before his retirement from the Department of State, Mr. Jefferson recommended him to General Washington as a proper person to be introduced into the public service of the country. The acquaintance between Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Adams, which had been formed in France, had lately been renewed, on occasion of a visit of Mr. Adams to Philadelphia in 1792; and the promptitude and ability with which he had just seconded the efforts of the Secretary of State, in enforcing the principles of public law on the turbulent French Envoy, no doubt led Mr. Jefferson thus to recommend him to General Washington.

General Washington's own notice had been drawn to the publications of Mr. Adams above alluded to. He had in private expressed the highest opinion of them, and had made particular inquiries with respect to their author. Thus honorably identified, at the early age of twenty-seven, with the first great and decisive step of the foreign policy of the United States, and thus early attracting the notice, and enjoying the confidence of Wash-

ington and Jefferson, Mr. Adams was, in 1794, appointed Minister Resident to the Netherlands, an office corresponding in rank and salary with that of a Charge d' Affaires at the present day. The father of Mr. Adams was, at this time, Vice-President of the United States; but it is unnecessary to say, to those acquainted with the character of these great men, that the appointment of his son was made by General Washington unexpectedly to the Vice-President, and without any previous intimation that it would take place.

Mr. Adams remained at his post in Holland till near the close of General Washington's administration. He was an attentive observer of the great events then occurring in Europe, and his official correspondence with the Government was regarded by General Washington as of the highest importance.

One of the last acts of General Washington's administration was the appointment of Mr. Adams as Minister Plenipotentiary to Portugal. On his way from the Hague to Lisbon, he received a new commission, changing his destination to Berlin. This latter appointment was made by Mr. Adams' father, then President of the United States, and in a manner highly honorable to the restraint of his parental feelings, in the discharge of an act of public duty. Although Mr. Adams' appointment to Portugal was made by General Washington, and Mr. Adams' father did no more than propose his transfer to Berlin, yet feelings of delicacy led him to hesitate, before he took even this step. He consulted the beloved father of his country, then retired from office, and placed in a situation beyond the reach of any of the motives which can possibly prejudice the minds of men in power. The following letter from General Washington is the reply to President Adams' inquiry, and will ever remain an honorable testimony to the character of Mr. Adams.

"MONDAY, FEBRUARY 20, 1797

"DEAR SIR,

"I thank you for giving me a perusal of the inclosed. The sentiments do honor to the head and heart of the writer; and if my wishes would be of any avail, they should go to you in a strong hope, that you will not withhold merited promotion from John Q. Adams, because he is your son. For without intending to compliment the father or the mother, or to censure any others, I give it as my decided opinion, that Mr. Adams is the most valuable public character we have abroad; and that there remains no doubt in my mind, that he will prove himself to be the ablest of all our diplomatic corps. If he was now to be brought into that line, or into any other public walk, I could not, upon the principle which has regulated my own conduct, disapprove of the caution which is hinted at in the letter. But he is already entered; the public, more and more, as he is known, are appreciating his talents and worth; and his country would sustain a loss, if these were to be checked by over delicacy on your part.

"With sincere esteem, and affectionate regard,

"I am ever yours,

"GEO. WASHINGTON."

The principal object of Mr. Adams' mission to Berlin, was effected by the conclusion of a treaty of commerce with Prussia. He remained in that country till the spring of 1801, when he was recalled by his father and returned to America. During the last year of his residence in Germany, Mr. Adams made an excursion into the province of Silesia, which he has described in a series of letters that have been collected and published in a volume, and have been translated into French and German, and extensively circulated in Europe.

Mr. Adams's residence on the continent of Europe, from 1794 to 1801, was of great importance in its influence upon his political character and feelings. He contemplated, with every advantage for understanding their secret springs, the great movements in the political world, which were then taking place. His early education in France, and his connexion with the continental courts, prevented his forming those attachments for the English policy, which almost universally prevailed among such of the citizens of America as opposed the principles of the French revolution. The union of these circumstances enabled him to hold an impartial and truly American course between the the violent extremes to which public opinion in America ran, on the great question of our foreign relations. It was also fortunate that he was absent from the country, during the period when domestic parties were organized and arrayed against each other. We have already seen that his manly and patriotic course had gained him the approbation of Mr. Jefferson before he retired from office. The great schism in the American family had not yet taken place. General Washington labored to prevent its occurrence, and distributed his appointments among all the able and patriotic, without regard to the party distinctions which were forming.

Mr. Adams came into the Presidency in 1797, with the intention, had the strong current of events permitted him, to pursue the same course. The first step taken by him after his inauguration, was a friendly and confidential interview with Mr. Jefferson, in which he proposed to him, if it should be thought proper, on consideration, for the Vice-President to leave the country, to go to France as the American Minister, in the hope that he, if any one, would be able to adjust our difficulties with that country. That Mr. Jefferson, on his side, had not suffered the political contests, into which they had been drawn, to alienate his feelings from his old revolutionary copatriot, is apparent from the following letter of Mr. Jefferson to Governor Langdon, which was written after the election of Mr. Adams as President, and Mr. Jefferson as Vice-President, was ascertained.

"MONTICELLO, JANUARY 22, 1797.

"DEAR SIR,

"Your friendly letter of the 2d instant never came to hand till yesterday, and I feel indebted for the solicitude you therein express for my undertaking the office, to which you inform me I am now called. I know not from what source an idea has spread itself, which I have found to be generally spread, that I would accept the office of President of the United States, but not that of Vice-President. When I retired from the office I

last held, no man in the Union less expected than I did, ever to have come forward again; and whatever has been insinuated to the contrary, to no man in the Union was the share which my name bore in the late contest, more unexpected than it was to me. If I had contemplated the thing beforehand, and suffered my will to enter into action at all upon it, would have been in a direction exactly the reverse of what has been imputed to me. But I had no right to a will on the subject, much less to control that of the people of the United States in arranging us according to our capacities. Least of all could I have any feelings, which would revolt at taking a station secondary to Mr. Adams. I have been secondary to him, in every situation in which we ever acted together in public life, for twenty years past. A contrary position would have been novelty, and his the right of revolting at it. Be assured, then, my dear Sir, that if I had had a fibre in my composition still looking after public office, it would have been gratified precisely by the very call you are pleased to give me, and no other. But in truth, I wish for neither honors nor offices. I am happier at home than I can be elsewhere. Since, however, I am called out, an object of great anxiety to me is, that those with whom I am to act, shutting their minds to the unfounded abuse of which I have been the subject, will view me with the same candor with which I shall certainly act. An acquaintance of many long years, insures to me your just support, as it does to you the sentiments of sincere respect and attachment, with which I am, dear Sir, your friend and servant, THOMAS JEFFERSON.

"HONORABLE JOHN LANGDON."

The same sentiments of respect towards Mr. Adams, were more publicly expressed by Mr. Jefferson on taking the chair of the Senate, as Vice-President of the United States, in the following terms: "I might here proceed, and with the greatest truth, to declare my zealous attachment to the Constitution of the United States; that I consider the union of these States as the first of blessings; and as the first of duties, the preservation of that Constitution, which secures it; but I suppose these declarations not pertinent to the occasion of entering into an office, whose primary business is merely to preside over the forms of this House; and no one more sincerely prays that no accident may call me to the higher and more important functions which the Constitution eventually devolves on this office. These have been justly confided to the eminent character which has preceded me here, whose talents and integrity have been known and revered by me, through a long course of years; have been the foundation of a cordial and uninterrupted friendship between us; and I devoutly pray he may be long preserved for the government, the happiness, and the prosperity of our common country."

Such were the feelings entertained towards each other by these venerable fellow laborers in the cause of American Independence, who have happily closed, in a singular coincidence of death, the lives which they had passed in an unison scarcely interrupted, in the service of their country. But the extraordinary nature of our foreign relations, in their influence on domestic politics, proved too strong for the control of the wise, the

candid, and the patriotic. The country was rent into contending parties. The President of the United States regarded as the head of the federal party, was compelled, besides the natural resistance of the party opposed to his administration, to encounter the odium of the strong and violent measures, brought forward by the friends of General Hamilton, among them the Alien and Sedition Laws, neither of which was recommended nor desired by Mr. Adams, nor proposed by his advice. In consequence of his refusal to plunge the country into a war with France, Mr. Adams lost the support of General Hamilton and his friends, whose opposition defeated his re-election; and thus prostrated the devout prayer of Mr. Jefferson, that he might be long preserved "for the Government of the country."

During this critical period of our foreign and domestic politics, Mr. John Q. Adams was abroad. He was aloof from the scene of warfare. His situation secured him from the necessity of taking part in those political contentions in which he must either have been placed in the painful position of acting with the party opposed to his father, or he would have been obliged to encounter the natural imputation of being biassed in support of him by filial attachment. From this painful alternative Mr. Adams was spared, by his residence abroad, during the whole period in which our domestic parties were acquiring their organization; and he returned to his native land, as every American of ingenuous mind unfailingly returns after a long absence, a stranger to local parties, and a friend to his country. There was not an individual in the country, to whom, with greater justice than Mr. Adams, might have been applied the magnanimous remark of Mr. Jefferson, in his inaugural address, "We are all Republicans, we are all Federalists."

In 1802, Mr. Adams was elected to the Senate of Massachusetts, from the district of Boston; and signalized that fearless independence, which has ever characterized his political course, by his strong, though ineffectual opposition to a powerful combination of banking interests, of which the centre was placed among his immediate constituents.

In 1803, he was elected a Senator of the United States for six years, from the 4th of March, 1803. No person could come into that body, in a situation better to enable him to act the honorable part of an independent, upright, and patriotic Senator. He had successively received testimonials of the respect and confidence of those, who had administered the government, including Mr. Jefferson, then President. In the political controversies of the day he had not shared. He was pledged neither in opposition nor support to any men or measures, other than those which his sense of duty should dictate to him to be supported or opposed.

His conduct in the Senate was such as to have been justly expected from his position. He had neither principles to permit, nor passions to drive him into indiscriminate opposition or blind support. He supported the administration in every measure which his judgment approved. Especially in the new aspect which the political world was assuming in consequence of the infraction of our neutral rights and violation of the sovereignty of our flag by Great Britain, Mr. Adams was the promp and undeviating supporter of the honor of his country, and of the

measures adopted by the administration for its defence. In pursuing this independent course, Mr. Adams incurred the disapprobation of the legislature of Massachusetts, which, in May, 1808, by a small majority of federal votes, elected another person, as Senator, from the period of the expiration of Mr. Adams's term, and passed resolutions of the nature of instruction to their Senators, containing principles which Mr. Adams disapproved. Choosing neither to act in conformity with these resolutions, nor to represent constituents who had lost their confidence in him, Mr. Adams resigned his place in the Senate of the United States.

It needs not be said that the decided support of a man like Mr. Adams was peculiarly acceptable to the administration at this moment. It was a support given in the dark days of Mr. Jefferson's administration, when England was now acting against the country the part which France had acted ten years before, and when the operation of the restricting system (the only measure of resistance, which, in the opinion of the administration, the country could then in prudence adopt;) had paralyzed the energies of the country, and excited wide spread discontent. It was a support given by an independent statesman, who had borne the name of the opposite party, at a moment when, in addition to all the strength of the federalists, Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Madison were called to encounter, within the bosom of their own party and their own State, the unexpected and perilous defection of men, who had once led the ranks of the republican party, in the House of Representatives; but who now quarrelled with Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Madison, and threw themselves into a course of unsparing and unrelaxing opposition. At this moment of trial, when, besides the honest conflict of opposite parties, Mr. Jefferson was thus pressed by the whole incumbent weight of the British empire, and by a tremendous assault from the ranks of his friends, aiming to embarrass him and supplant Mr. Madison, Mr. Adams came out boldly and manfully in his support.

The retirement of Mr. Adams from the Senate of the United States, although varying the direction, did not abate the activity of his uncommon powers for serving his fellow men. A life of unremitted public occupation had, by virtue of strict method, untiring diligence, and temperate habits, left him leisure to acquire, as a relaxation, a mass of useful learning, which would, in most cases, have been deemed the fruit of a life of literary seclusion. Distinguished as a writer among the best which the country has produced, and as a public speaker, for force, and impressiveness, and senatorial eloquence, not less rare, Mr. Adams was, in 1806, called to the chair of rhetoric and oratory, in the seminary where he received his education, and delivered a course of lectures on the *Art of Speaking Well;* the most important art to the youth of a free country.

But his country had higher claims upon his services. In June, 1809, he was appointed by Mr. Madison as Minister to Russia. He had the good fortune, here, to acquire the confidence of the Emperor Alexander, who was delighted with the contrast of the republican simplicity of the American Minister with the splendor of the foreign Envoys. He admitted Mr. Adams to a degree of intimacy rarely enjoyed with despotic

monarchs even by their own ministers. This circumstance laid the foundation of that good-will toward America, on the part of the Emperor Alexander, of which the country has enjoyed, on many occasions, the important fruits. But its first fruit was the most important of all; for it was unquestionably owing to the confidential relation between Mr. Adams and the Emperor, that the mediation of Russia was tendered between England and the United States; a mediation which, though it was declined by England, produced an offer from that country to treat directly, and thus led to peace.

It was for this reason that he was placed by Mr. Madison at the head of the commission of five, by which the treaty of peace was negociated, and which consisted of some of the ablest men in the country. It is unnecessary to speak of the skill, with which that negociation was conducted. Mr. Adams bore a full part in its counsels and labors; and a proportionate share of the credit is due to him, for that cogency and skill which drew from the Marquis of Wellesley, in the British House of Lords, the declaration that, "in his opinion, the American Commissioners had shown the most astonishing superiority over the British, during the whole of the correspondence."

This tribute is the more honorable to Mr. Adams and his colleagues, Mr. Gallatin, Mr. Clay, and their departed associate Mr. Bayard, from the circumstance, that, on every important point, the British Commissioners received special instructions from the Ministry at London, directing the terms in which the American Envoys were to be answered.

Having borne this important part, in bringing the war to a close by an honorable peace, Mr. Adams was employed, in conjunction with Messrs. Clay and Gallatin, in negociating a convention of commerce with Great Britain, on the basis of which our commercial intercourse with that country has been since advantageously conducted. Having been appointed our Minister at London by Mr. Madison, Mr. Adams remained in that place, till the accession of Mr. Monroe to the chair of State. On this occasion, Mr. Monroe, in the formation of his Cabinet, took deliberate counsel with the most prudent and patriotic citizens of the country. Among others the opinion of General Jackson was freely imparted to him. The counsel of this distinguished citizen was expressed, in the following terms: "Every thing depends on the selection of your ministry. In every selection, party and party feelings should be avoided. Now is the time to exterminate that *monster*, called party spirit. By selecting characters most conspicuous for their probity, virtue, capacity, and firmness, without any regard to party, you will go far, if not entirely, to eradicate those feelings, which on former occasions threw so many obstacles in the way of government, and perhaps have the pleasure and honor of uniting a people heretofore politically divided. The Chief Magistrate of a great and powerful nation should never indulge in party feelings."

To this counsel Mr. Monroe felt himself unable to accede. He thought that "the association of any of the federal party in the administration would wound the feelings of its friends to the injury of the republican cause." He made known, however, to General Jackson his

design of distributing, as far as possible, the places in the cabinet, throughout the country. "I shall," said he in his letter to General Jackson, of March 1st, 1817, "take a person for the Department of State from the eastward; and Mr. Adams, by long service in our diplomatic concerns appearing to entitle him to the preference, supported by his acknowledged abilities and integrity, his nomination will go to the Senate." In reply to this intimation, General Jackson, in his letter of March 18th, observes: "I have no hesitation in saying, you have made the best selection to fill the Department of State, that could be made. Mr. Adams in the hour of difficulty will be an able helpmate, and I am convinced his appointment will afford general satisfaction." It was with something of prophetic feeling that General Jackson declared in 1817, "that Mr. Adams, in the hour of difficulty, would be an able helpmate." It was not a long time before the conduct of General Jackson himself was the subject of solemn investigation before the grand inquest of the nation. The letters of Mr. Adams to the Spanish Minister, justifying the conduct of General Jackson, against the complaints of Spain, came seasonably to the support of this distinguished citizen, and effected the vindication of him against every charge of a violation of the rights of Spain.

In the pursuance of the intimation of Mr. Monroe, as above described, Mr. Adams was called home from England and became Secretary of State. On this arduous office he entered, as General Jackson had foretold that he would, "to the general approbation of the country." He retained the confidence of Mr. Monroe and acquired that of his new colleagues. In reference to all questions of the foreign relations of the country, Mr. Adams was the influential member of the cabinet; and is, consequently, more than any other individual composing it, entitled to the credit of the measures which, during Mr. Monroe's administration, were adopted in reference to the foreign policy of the government. It is not necessary that these should here be specified. One only is too important to be forgotten—the recognition of the independence of the New Republics of the South. The credit of first effectually proposing that measure, in the House of Representatives, is due to Mr. Clay; that of choosing the propitious moment when it could be proposed with the unanimous consent of Congress, and the nation, belongs, in the first degree, to Mr. Adams. Nor is he entitled to less credit, for the successful termination of our differences with Spain. A controversy, of thirty years' standing, which had resisted the skill of every preceding administration of the government, was thus brought to an honorable close. Indemnity was procured for our merchants, and East and West Florida added to our republic. Next to the purchase of Louisiana, the history of our country presents no measure of equal brilliancy with that of the acquisition of this territory.

On every important occasion and question that arose during Mr. Monroe's administration, the voice of Mr. Adams was for his country, for mild councils, and for union. In the agitations of the Missouri question, his influence was exerted for conciliation. He believed that by the Constitution and the treaty of cession of 1803, Congress was barred from

adopting the proposed restrictions on the admission of Missouri. Of internal improvement by roads and canals, he was ever the friend, and moved in the Senate of the United States the first project of their systematic construction. To the protection of American manufactures, by a judicious revision of the tariff, he was, in like manner, friendly. To the cause of religion and learning he afforded all the aid in the power of an individual, not merely by the uniform countenance of every effort for their advancement, but by the most liberal pecuniary assistance to the college, founded by the communion of Baptists, in the Dictrict of Columbia.

Such were his claims to the last and highest gift which the people can bestow on a long tried, faithful servant. Various circumstances conspired to strengthen them, in the Presidential canvass for the term beginning in 1825. Of nine Presidential elections, one only had given a President to a non-slave holding State. Of the several candidates presented to the people at this election, Mr. Adams was the only one who represented the non-slave holding interest. The people of our slave holding States are sacredly entitled to protection, in their rights and feelings on this subject; but they ought, neither in prudence nor justice, to demand a monopoly in the government of the country. Of nine elections, one only had resulted in the choice of a representative of the commercial, navigating, and manufacturing interests. Had the choice been presented to the people between Mr. Adams and any other candidate singly, Mr. Adams would perhaps have been chosen; he having been, it is believed, in almost every State, either the first or second choice of the people.

In consequence of the number of candidates, no choice by the people was effected, and no candidate approached to nearer than within thirty votes of a majority. The three persons who received the highest number of votes for the Presidency, were Andrew Jackson, John Quincy Adams, and William H. Crawford. For the Vice-Presidency, John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina, received one hundred and eighty-two votes, and was consequently elected. The choice of the President, according to constitutional provisions, fell upon the House of Representatives, and, contrary to all previous expectations, an election was effected at the first balloting; Mr. Adams having received the votes of thirteen States, General Jackson the votes of seven States, and Mr. Crawford the votes of four States. The result of the election created great surprise, and in many quarters great indignation. The cry of corruption and intrigue was raised on all sides, and it was among the assertions of the time that Mr. Clay had sold the vote of Kentucky for the promise of place.

A committee of the House was appointed to wait on Mr. Adams, and notify him of his election to the Presidency; to this notification Mr. Adams returned the following reply:

"Gentlemen—In receiving this testimonial from the Representatives of the people, and States of this Union, I am deeply sensible to the circumstances under which it has been given. All my predecessors in the high station to which the favor of the House now calls me, have been honored with majorities of the electoral voices in their primary colleges. It has

been my fortune to be placed, by the divisions of sentiment prevailing among our countrymen on this occasion, in competition, friendly and honorable, with three of my fellow citizens, all justly enjoying, in eminent degrees, the public favor; and of whose worth, talents, and services, no one entertains a higher and more respectful sense than myself. The names of two of them were, in the fulfillment of the provisions of the Constitution, presented to the selection of the House, in concurrence with my own: names, closely associated with the glory of the nation, and one of them further recommended by a larger majority of the primary electoral suffrages than mine.

"In this state of things, could my refusal to accept the trust thus delegated to me, give an immediate opportunity to the people to form and to express with a nearer approach to unanimity, the object of their preference, I should not hesitate to decline the acceptance of this eminent charge, and to submit the decision of this momentous question again to their determination. But the Constitution itself has not so disposed of the contingency which would arise in the event of my refusal; I shall, therefore, repair to the post assigned me by the call of my country signified through her constitutional organs; oppressed with the magnitude of the task before me, but cheered with the hope of that generous support from my fellow citizens, which, in the vicissitudes of a life devoted to their service, has never failed to sustain me—confident in the trust, that the wisdom of the legislative councils will guide and direct me in the path of my official duty, and relying, above all, upon the superintending providence of that Being 'in whose hand our breath is, and whose are all our ways.'

"Gentlemen, I pray you to make acceptable to the House the assurance of my profound gratitude for their confidence, and to accept yourselves my thanks for the friendly terms in which you have communicated to me their decision."

On the 4th of March, 1825, Mr. Adams was inaugurated as President of the United States. At about half past twelve on that day he was introduced into the capitol, followed by the venerable Ex-President and his family, by the Judges of the Supreme Court in their robes of office, and the members of the Senate, preceded by the Vice-President, with a number of members of the House of Representatives. Mr. Adams, in a plain suit of black, ascended the steps to the Speaker's chair, and took his seat. Silence having been proclaimed and the doors of the hall closed, Mr. Adams rose and read an address, which occupied about forty minutes in the delivery. Great interest was felt on this subject, as those productions had usually contained the general principles upon which the Executive intended to administer the government. The discourse, from its importance, is worthy of a place in this volume, and is as follows:

"In compliance with an usage, coeval with the existence of our Federal Constitution, and sanctioned by the example of my predecessors in the career upon which I am about to enter, I appear, my fellow citizens, in your presence, and in that of heaven, to bind myself by the solemnities of a religious obligation, to the faithful performance of the duties allotted to me, in the station to which I have been called.

"In unfolding to my countrymen the principles by which I shall be

governed, in the fulfilment of those duties, my first resort will be to that Constitution, which I shall swear, to the best of my ability, to preserve, protect, and defend. That revered instrument enumerates the powers, and prescribes the duties of the executive magistrate; and, in its first words, declares the purposes to which these, and the whole action of the government, instituted by it, should be invariably and sacredly devoted—to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to the people of this Union, in their successive generations. Since the adoption of this social compact, one of these generations has passed away. It is the work of our forefathers. Administered by some of the most eminent men, who contributed to its formation, through a most eventful period in the annals of the world, and through all the vicissitudes of peace and war, incidental to the condition of associated man, it has not disappointed the hopes and aspirations of those illustrious benefactors of their age and nation. It has promoted the lasting welfare of that country, so dear to us all; it has, to an extent, far beyond the ordinary lot of humanity, secured the freedom and happiness of this people. We now receive it as a precious inheritance from those to whom we are indebted for its establishment, doubly bound by the examples which they have left to us, and by the blessings which we have enjoyed, as the fruits of their labors, to transmit the same, unimpaired, to the succeeding generation.

"In the compass of thirty-six years, since this great national covenant was instituted, a body of laws enacted under its authority, and in conformity with its provisions, has unfolded its powers, and carried into practical operation its effective energies. Subordinate departments have distributed the executive functions in their various relations to foreign affairs, to the revenue and expenditures, and to the military force of the Union by land and sea. A co-ordinate department of the judiciary has expounded the Constitution and the laws; settling, in harmonious coincidence with the legislative will, numerous weighty questions of construction which the imperfection of human language had rendered unavoidable. The year of jubilee, since the first formation of our Union, has just elapsed; that of the declaration of our independence is at hand. The consummation of both was effected by this Constitution. Since that period, a population of four millions has multiplied to twelve. A territory bounded by the Mississippi, has been extended from sea to sea. New States have been admitted to the Union, in numbers nearly equal to those of the first confederation. Treaties of peace, amity, and commerce, have been concluded with the principal dominions of the earth. The people of other nations, inhabitants of regions acquired, not by conquests, but by compact, have been united with us in the participation of our rights and duties, of our burdens and blessings. The forest has fallen by the axe of our woodsmen—the soil has been made to teem by the tillage of our farmers; our commerce has whitened every ocean. The dominion of man over physical nature, has been extended by the invention of our artists. Liberty and law have marched hand in hand. All the purposes of human association have been accomplished as effectually as under any

other government on the globe; and at a cost, little exceeding, in a whole generation, the expenditures of other nations in a single year.

"Such is the unexaggerated picture of our condition, under a Constitution founded upon the republican principle of equal rights. To admit that this picture has its shades, is but to say, that it is still the condition of men upon earth From evil, physical, moral, and political, it is not our claim to be exempt. We have suffered, sometimes by the visitation of Heaven, through disease; often by the wrongs and injustice of other nations, even to the extremities of war; and, lastly, by dissensions among ourselves—dissensions, perhaps, inseparable from the enjoyment of freedom, but which have more than once appeared to threaten the dissolution of the Union, and, with it, the overthrow of all the enjoyments of our present lot, and all our earthly hopes of the future. The causes of these dissensions have been various, founded upon differences of speculation in the theory of republican government; upon conflicting views of policy, in our relations with foreign nations; upon jealousies of partial and sectional interests, aggravated by prejudices and prepossessions, which strangers to each other are ever apt to entertain.

"It is a source of gratification and of encouragement to me, to observe that the great result of this experiment upon the theory of human rights, has, at the close of that generation by which it was formed, been crowned with success equal to the most sanguine expectations of its founders. Union, justice, tranquillity, the common defence, the general welfare, and the blessings of liberty—all have been promoted by the government under which we have lived. Standing at this point of time, looking back to that generation which has gone by, and forward to that which is advancing, we may, at once, indulge in grateful exultation, and in cheering hope. From the experience of the past, we derive instructive lessons for the future. Of the two great political parties which have divided the opinions and feelings of our country, the candid and the just will now admit, that both have contributed splendid talents, spotless integrity, ardent patriotism, and disinterested sacrifices, to the formation and administration of this government; and that both have required a liberal indulgence for a portion of human infirmity and error. The revolutionary wars of Europe, commencing precisely at the moment when the government of the United States first went into operation under this Constitution, excited a collision of sentiments and of sympathies, which kindled all the passions, and embittered the conflict of parties, till the nation was involved in war, and the Union was shaken to its centre. This time of trial embraced a period of five and twenty years, during which, the policy of the Union, in its relations with Europe, constituted the principal basis of our political divisions, and the most arduous part of the action of our federal government. With the catastrophe in which the wars of the French revolution terminated, and our own subsequent peace with Great Britain, this baneful weed of party strife was uprooted. From that time, no difference of principle connected either with the theory of government, or with our intercourse with foreign nations, has existed, or been called forth, in force sufficient to sustain a continued combination of parties, or give more than wholesome anima-

tion to public sentiment, or legislative debate. Our political creed is, without a dissenting voice that can be heard, that the will of the people is the source, and the happiness of the people the end, of all legitimate government upon earth—That the best security for the beneficence, and the best guaranty against the abuse of power, consists in the freedom, the purity, and the frequency of popular elections—That the general government of the Union, and the separate governments of the States, are all sovereignties of limited powers; fellow servants of the same masters, uncontrolled within their respective spheres, uncontrollable by encroachments upon each other—That the firmest security of peace is the preparation, during peace, of the defences of war—That a rigorous economy, and accountability of public expenditures, should guard against the aggravation, and alleviate, when possible, the burden of taxation—That the military should be kept in strict subordination to the civil power—That the freedom of the press, and of religious opinion, should be inviolate—That the policy of our country is peace, and the ark of our salvation union, are articles of faith upon which we are all agreed. If there have been those who doubted whether a confederated representative democracy were a government competent to the wise and orderly management of the common concerns of a mighty nation, those doubts have been dispelled. If there have been projects of partial confederacies, to be erected upon the ruins of the Union, they have been scattered to the winds. If there have been dangerous attachments to one foreign nation, and antipathies against another, they have been extinguished. Ten years of peace, at home and abroad, have assuaged the animosities of political contention, and blended into harmony the most discordant elements of public opinion. There still remains one effort of magnanimity, one sacrifice of prejudice and passion, to be made by the individuals throughout the nation, who have heretofore followed the standards of political party. It is that of discarding every remnant of rancor against each other; of embracing, as countrymen and friends; and of yielding to talents and virtue alone, that confidence which, in times of contention for principle, was bestowed only upon those who bore the badge of party communion.

"The collisions of party spirit, which originate in speculative opinions, or in different views of administrative policy, are, in their nature, transitory. Those which are founded on geographical divisions, adverse interests of soil, climate, and modes of domestic life, are more permanent, and, therefore, perhaps, more dangerous. It is this which gives inestimable value to the character of our government, at once federal and national. It holds out to us a perpetual admonition to preserve alike, and with equal anxiety, the rights of each individual State in its own government, and the rights of the whole nation, in that of the Union. Whatever is of domestic concernment, unconnected with the other members of the Union, or with foreign lands, belongs exclusively to the administration of the State Governments. Whatsoever directly involves the rights and interests of the federative fraternity, or of foreign powers, is of the resort of this general government. The duties of both are obvious in the general principle, though sometimes perplexed with difficulties in the detail. To respect the rights of the State Governments is the inviolable

duty of that of the Union: the government of every State will feel its own obligation to respect and preserve the rights of the whole. The prejudices every where too commonly entertained against distant strangers, are worn away, and the jealousies of jarring interests are allayed by the composition and functions of the great national councils, annually assembled from all quarters of the Union, at this place. Here the distinguished men from every section of our country, while meeting to deliberate upon the great interests of those by whom they are deputed, learn to estimate the talents, and do justice to the virtues of each other. The harmony of the nation is promoted, and the whole Union is knit together by the sentiments of mutual respect, the habits of social intercourse, and the ties of personal friendship, formed between the representatives of its several parts, in the performance of their service at this metropolis.

"Passing from this general review of the purposes and injunctions of the Federal Constitution, and their results, as indicating the first traces of the path of duty, in the discharge of my public trust, I turn to the administration of my immediate predecessor, as the second. It has passed away in a period of profound peace; how much to the satisfaction of our country, and to the honor of our country's name, is known to you all. The great features of its policy, in general concurrence with the will of the Legislature, have been—To cherish peace while preparing for defensive war—To yield exact justice to other nations, and maintain the rights of our own—To cherish the principles of freedom and of equal rights, wherever they were proclaimed—To discharge, with all possible promptitude, the national debt—To reduce, within the narrowest limits of efficiency, the military force—To improve the organization and discipline of the army—To provide and sustain a school of military science—To extend equal protection to all the great interests of the nation—To promote the civilization of the Indian tribes; and—To proceed in the great system of internal improvements, within the limits of the constitutional power of the Union. Under the pledge of these promises, made by that eminent citizen, at the time of his first induction to this office, in his career of eight years, the internal taxes have been repealed; sixty millions of the public debt have been discharged; provision has been made for the comfort and relief of the aged and indigent among the surviving warriors of the revolution; the regular armed force has been reduced, and its constitution revised and perfected; the accountability for the expenditures of public moneys has been made more effective; the Floridas have been peaceably acquired, and our boundary has been extended to the Pacific ocean; the independence of the southern nations of this hemisphere has been recognised, and recommended, by example and by council, to the potentates of Europe; progress has been made in the defence of the country, by fortifications and the increase of the navy—towards the effectual suppression of the African traffic in slaves—in allurring the aboriginal hunters of our land to the cultivation of the soil and of the mind—in exploring the interior regions of the Union, and in preparing, by scientific researches and surveys, for the further application of our national resources to the internal improvement of our country.

"In this brief outline of the promise and performance of my immediate

predecessor, the line of duty, for his successor, is clearly delineated. To pursue to their consummation those purposes of improvement in our common condition, instituted or recommended by him, will embrace the whole sphere of my obligations. To the topic of internal improvement emphatically urged by him at his inauguration, I recur with peculiar satisfaction. It is that from which I am convinced that the unborn millions of our posterity, who are in future ages to people this continent will derive their most fervent gratitude to the founders of the Union, that in which the beneficent action of its government will be most deeply felt and acknowledged. The magnificence and splendor of their public works are among the imperishable glories of the ancient republics. The roads and aqueducts of Rome have been the admiration of all after ages and have survived, thousands of years, after all her conquests have been swallowed up in despotism, or become the spoil of barbarians. Some diversity of opinion has prevailed with regard to the powers of Congress for legislation upon objects of this nature. The most respectful deference is due to doubts, originating in pure patriotism, and sustained by venerated authority. But nearly twenty years have passed since the construction of the first national road was commenced. The authority for its construction was then unquestioned. To how many thousands of our countrymen has it proved a benefit? To what single individual has it ever proved an injury? Repeated liberal and candid discussions in the Legislature have conciliated the sentiments, and approximated the opinions of enlightened minds, upon the question of constitutional power. I cannot but hope, that, by the same process of friendly, patient, and persevering deliberation, all constitutional objections will ultimately be removed. The extent and limitation of the powers of the general government, in relation to this transcendantly important interest, will be settled and acknowledged, to the common satisfaction of all; and every speculative scruple will be solved by a practical public blessing.

"Fellow citizens, you are acquainted with the peculiar circumstances of the recent election, which have resulted in affording me the opportunity of addressing you at this time. You have heard the exposition of the principles which will direct me in the fulfilment of the high and solemn trust imposed upon me in this station. Less possessed of your confidence, in advance, than any of my predecessors, I am deeply conscious of the prospect that I shall stand more and oftener in need of your indulgence. Intentions upright and pure, a heart devoted to the welfare of our country, and the unceasing application of the faculties allotted to me, to her service, are all the pledges that I can give for the faithful performance of the arduous duties I am to undertake. To the guidance of the legislative councils; to the assistance of the executive and subordinate departments; to the friendly co-operation of the respective State Governments; to the candid and liberal support of the people, so far as it may be deserved by honest industry and zeal; I shall look for whatever success may attend my public service: and knowing that, 'except the Lord keep the city, the watchman waketh but in vain,' with fervent supplications for His favor, to His overruling providence, I commit, with humble but fearless confidence, my own fate, and the future destinies of my country."

After delivering this address, the President elect descended from the chair, and placing himself on the right hand of the Judges' table, received from the Chief Justice a volume of the laws of the United States, from which he read the oath of office: at the close of which, the House rang with the cheers and plaudits of the assembled multitude.*

The vacancies which were made in the cabinet by the election of the Secretary of State and War to the Presidency and Vice-Presidency, and by the retirement of the Secretary of the Treasury, rendered it expedient to convene the Senate, immediately after the dissolution of the eighteenth Congress. On the 4th of March, the same day when the President was inaugurated, the members assembled, and after the necessary formalities were gone through, the Vice-President took the chair, and addressed the Senate upon the importance of its duties, and the immediate dependence of all the other departments of the government upon that body. After glancing at the construction of the Senate, and commending the character it had sustained, he proceeded to say, that while presiding, "he should only regard the Senate and its duties, and should strive with a feeling of pride to preserve the high character already attained by the Senate for dignity and wisdom, and to elevate it, if possible, still higher in public esteem." The new members then appeared and took their seats. Upon the presentation of the credentials of Mr. Lanman, of Connecticut, a question was raised as to his right to a seat, under the following circumstances. Previous to the expiration of his term of service, the Legislature of Connecticut had endeavored without success to choose a person to fill the vacancy whenever it should occur, and finally adjourned without making a choice. After the adjournment of the Legislature, the Governor transmitted to Mr. Lanman a temporary appointment as Senator, in contemplation of the vacancy, under that part of the Constitution authorizing appointments by the State Executives, "when vacancies happen by resignation or otherwise, during the recess of the Legislature."

A committee was appointed to search for precedents, and reported the following cases bearing on the question before the Senate.

On the 27th of April, 1797, William Cocke was appointed a Senator by the Governor of Tennessee, to fill the vacancy caused by the expiration of his term of service on the 3d of March preceding, and took his seat on the 15th of May, and was qualified.

This case differed from Mr. Lanman's only in the fact that Mr. Cocke was appointed after the vacancy had occurred, and Mr. Lanman was appointed in anticipation of a vacancy. The case of Uriah Tracy, from Connecticut, in 1801, resembled the one before the Senate in every particular, and the question was there raised as to his right to take his seat.

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* The congratulations which poured in from every side occupied the hands, and could not but reach the heart of the President. The meeting between him and his venerated predecessor, had in it something peculiarly affecting. General Jackson, we were pleased to observe, was among the earliest of those who took the hand of the President; and their looks and deportment towards each other were a rebuke to that littleness of party spirit, which can see no merit in a rival, and feel no joy in the honor of a competitor.—*National Intelligencer.*

The Senate then determined in favor of Mr. Tracy by a vote of thirteen to ten.

Two cases subsequently occurred similar to this precedent, viz. Joseph Anderson, a Senator from Tennessee, in 1809, and John Williams, from Tennessee, in 1817. To the admission and qualification of these Senators no objection was made. The question was considered as settled by the decision in 1801, and they took their seats. The Senate now, however, came to an opposite conclusion, and by a vote of twenty-three to eighteen, decided that Mr. Lanman was not entitled to his seat.

The Senate then went into the consideration of executive business, and confirmed the nominations made by the President for the several departments. Henry Clay, of Kentucky, was appointed Secretary of State Richard Rush, of Pennsylvania, Secretary of the Treasury; James Barbour, of Virginia, Secretary of War.

To the appointment of Mr. Clay, a warm opposition was made on the part of a few Senators, and the injunction of secrecy being removed, the vote appeared to have been twenty-seven in favor, and fourteen against it.

After disposing of the nominations made by the executive, the Senate took into consideration the treaty made with Colombia for the suppression of the slave trade. This treaty was made in conformity with a resolution of the House of Representatives, recommending to the executive to make treaties, giving the mutual right of search of vessels in suspected parts of the world, in order more effectually to prevent the traffic in human flesh. The amendments proposed by the Senate, at the last session, to the treaty with Great Britain, for the same purpose, were introduced into this treaty; but the fate of the treaty with England has probably caused a change in the minds of some of the Senators, and other views had been taken of the subject by others, and the treaty was rejected by a vote of twenty-eight to twelve.

The divisions which had been taken on the foregoing questions, left little doubt that the new administration was destined to meet with a systematic and organized opposition; and, previous to the next meeting of Congress, the ostensible grounds of opposition were set forth at public dinners and meetings, so as to prepare the community for a warm political contest, until the next election. Those who placed themselves in opposition to the administration, without reference to its measures, urged as reasons for their hostility, that Mr. Adams' election was the result of a bargain between Mr. Clay and himself; and his election of Mr. Clay as Secretary of State, was relied upon as a conclusive proof of the bargain; that he was elected against the expressed will of the people; and that Congress, by not taking General Jackson, the candidate having the highest number of votes, had violated the Constitution, and disobeyed their constituents. Personal objections were also urged; but as these formed no part of the justification of the opposition which was to be arrayed in anticipation of measures, it is unnecessary to give them a place. Those who were friendly to the new administration, or disposed to judge of it by its acts, replied to these objections, that Mr. Clay, as a representative, was obliged to decide between three candidates for the Presidency, and that his vote was in accordance with all his previous

declarations: that his own situation as a candidate who might possibly succeed, rendered it unsuitable for him to express any preference for either of the other candidates, until the decision of the Legislature of Louisiana (first heard at Washington 27th December) had left him free to decide between his former competitors: that Mr. Crawford, though constitutionally a candidate, was virtually withdrawn by the situation of his health, and that as between Mr. Adams and General Jackson, the previous deliberate expression of his sentiments as to the latter's character and qualifications for a civil office, rendered it impossible for him to vote for him without the most gross inconsistency: that Mr. Adams' experience, learning, and talents were guarantees for his proper performance of the duties of the chief magistracy, which were not in the power of his competitor to offer, and that having been compelled to discharge this duty as a representative of the people, it would have argued an improper distrust of his own character and of public opinion, to have refused to take the appointment of Secretary of State from Mr. Adams, because he had contributed by his vote to elect him to the Presidency. As to the fact of his selection as Secretary of State, they vindicated it on the ground, that his situation as Speaker of the House, and his long and intimate acquaintance with our national affairs, made him the most prominent candidate for that station, and the strong support he received in the west for the Presidency, showed that his appointment would gratify a part of the Union, which, until then, had never been complimented with a representative in the cabinet.*

One of the most prominent topics of public interest during this year was the controversy between the national government and the executive of Georgia. This controversy grew out of a compact made between these parties in 1802, by which the United States agreed to extinguish the Indian title to the lands occupied by them in Georgia, "whenever it could be peaceably done, upon reasonable terms." The consideration of this compact was the relinquishment, by Georgia, of her claim to the Mississippi Territory. The Indian claim to fifteen million acres had already been extinguished, and the land conveyed to Georgia. There still remained in that State five millions two hundred and ninety-two thousand acres in the possession of the Cherokees, and four millions two hundred and forty-five thousand in the hands of the Creek nation. Just before the close of Mr. Monroe's administration, great efforts were made by Georgia to complete the entire removal of the Indians from her borders, and the President had been induced to appoint two commissioners to treat with the Creeks for the purchase of their claim. But the Creek nation had been enjoying the comforts and security of civilization, and were unwilling to leave them for the toilsome life of the hunter. A law was passed by them, forbidding the sale of land, on the pain of death. No persuasion of the commissioners could induce them to waver in their purpose; but the treachery of a small part of the nation had nearly led to the most unfortunate consequences. A few of the chiefs were induced to remain, after the breaking up of the general council of the nation,

* Annual Register.

and by this small fraction of the Indian power, all the lands of the Creek tribes in Georgia and Alabama were ceded to the United States. The treaty thus dishonorably formed was transmitted to the Senate, and ratified by them on the 3d of March, 1825, the last day of the session. Intelligence of this national sanction of injustice produced among the Creeks a general excitement, and M'Intosh, the leader of the small party which assented to the treaty, was put to death. A council of the Creek nation determined that the illegal compact should not be executed. A special agent was appointed by the President to ascertain the circumstances under which the treaty was made, and his report fully justified the charges of corruption and ill faith. On this representation, the President very properly resolved that no interference should be made with their possession till the meeting of Congress. At this decision the Governor of Georgia was much offended, and threatened to take the execution of the treaty into his own hands, but the firm measures of the national executive induced him to leave the affair to the constitutional authorities.

A negociation was now opened between the Indian tribes and the national government, which resulted in annulling the old treaty, and the formation of a new one, by which the Creeks were allowed to retain all their land in Alabama, and ceded all their lands in Georgia for a more liberal compensation than had been before stipulated. The chief difference between this and the previous treaty was in the amount ceded, and the consideration paid; but the Georgia delegation and the enemies of the administration, made a fruitless opposition to its ratification.

The condition of the Indians in the north-western States and Territories, was another important subject of executive consideration. Wars had for many years existed among these unfortunate tribes, on account of their unsettled boundaries and hunting grounds. A deputation, consisting of Governors Cass and Clarke, was appointed to treat with these nations, and to attempt the settlement of their differences. Representatives from the most powerful of these tribes, to the number of two thousand and upwards met the commissioners of the United States at Prairie des Chiens, and entered upon a peaceful examination of their respective rights. In about a fortnight their claims were satisfactorily adjusted, and hostilities, that had raged for nearly a century almost without cessation, were thus happily terminated. The singular success of the commissioners of the United States, in producing this felicitous result, reflects on these distinguished individuals the highest honor. Seldom has so desirable and important an issue been effected with so much dispatch, judiciousness, and economy

It was another branch of the national policy, to concentrate the tribes scattered through the several States into a nation, and remove them to the west of the Mississippi. This plan was first fully developed in a message of President Monroe, bearing date January 27th, 1825. The Indians, however, refused to co-operate with our government in the measures necessary to effect this object, and the intentions of the President were consequently frustrated. A modification of this system was afterwards proposed to Congress by Mr. Barbour, Secretary of War, and a bill was introduced to carry his plan into effect. It was the object of this proposal, to set apart the territory west of the Mississippi, beyond the

States and Territories, and that east of the Mississippi and west of the lakes Huron and Michigan, for the exclusive abode of the Indians, under a territorial government to be maintained by the United States; to induce them to remove as individuals, not as tribes; and in the course of time to amalgamate them into a common nation, and distribute their property among the individual Indians. The establishment of common schools was also contemplated, and assistance in learning and pursuing the arts of agriculture. This subject was taken up with great zeal and energy, and large appropriations were made for effecting the benevolent and wise purposes of improvement in the condition of the tribes. A large grant was also made for the relief of the Florida Indians, who were in a state of great distress.

A subject which greatly excited public interest during the recess of Congress, was the inquiry instituted into the conduct of Captains Porter and Stewart. Captain Porter had been recalled from his command in the West Indies, shortly before the close of Mr. Monroe's administration, in consequence of his landing at Foxardo to compel an apology from the authorities of the place, for their misconduct toward one of the officers of his squadron. A court of inquiry was appointed to examine into this affair, which seemed an unauthorized infringement on the laws of nations, and it assembled at Washington in the month of May, 1825. A difference occurred between the accused and his tribunal, which resulted in the withdrawal of Captain Porter from the court, and a publication of his reasons, with an account of the proceedings of the court. This step was made the foundation of a substantial charge, when the final opinion of the court of inquiry was reported to the President, and a court martial was ordered to consider his conduct. This court found Captain Porter guilty of violating his instructions by a hostile landing at Foxardo, and of insubordination and unbecoming conduct, growing out of his controversy with the court of inquiry. He was accordingly sentenced to a suspension of six months. The lightness of the punishment was owing to a full conviction on the part of the court, that Captain Porter's conduct was merely an error of judgment, and that he was only actuated by the desire of promoting the honor of his country, while on the West India station. The charges against Captain Stewart were of a different nature, calculated to affect his character as an officer and man of honor, but he was fully acquitted, after a patient and minute investigation, of every charge.

In the September of 1825, the Marquis de la Fayette took leave of the people, who had received him as an adopted son whom they delighted to visit with honors. His course through the United States had been a continued series of festivals and celebrations, and for several months his life had been a perpetual pageant. It was thought proper that his final departure from the country should take place from the capitol; and a frigate was accordingly provided, and named in his honor the Brandywine, to transport him to his native country. On the invitation of the President, he passed a few weeks at the national palace, receiving all appropriate honors from the people, and taking leave of the distinguished men who had been associated with him in the struggles of the revolution. He had previously visited the venerable Adams, who, from his earliest

youth, aimed at independence, as the right of the colonies, and whose resolute and single-hearted devotion to that cause, made him emphatically the master-spirit of the revolution. He now, in succession, took leave of the other Ex-Presidents—the illustrious author of the declaration of independence—the able supporter and advocate of the Federal Constitution—and the soldier of the revolution, who had shed his blood in the same cause with La Fayette."

These preliminary visits having been paid, the guest of the nation prepared for his departure. The day appointed for the purpose was the 7th of September. On this occasion, the civil authorities of the District of Columbia assembled at the President's house, to join in the affecting ceremonies of taking leave of one so honored and loved. About noon, La Fayette entered the great hall, accompanied by the marshal of the District and one of the President's sons. The scene was in the highest degree sublime. In his age and glories, the former chivalrous soldier of the revolution, now the acknowledged and consistent champion of free principles in two hemispheres, was bidding farewell to a grateful nation, from whom he had received the most cordial and touching hospitalities. The parting address of Mr. Adams was worthy of the occasion, and was worthy of his station; it was delivered with great dignity, though evident emotion, and produced a very deep impression. We insert it as one of the most favorable specimens of Mr. Adams's eloquence:

"General La Fayette: It has been the good fortune of many of my fellow citizens, during the course of the year now elapsed, upon your arrival at their respective places of abode, to greet you with the welcome of the nation. The less pleasing task now devolves upon me, of bidding you, in the name of the nation, adieu.

"It were no longer seasonable, and would be superfluous to recapitulate the remarkable incidents of your early life—incidents which associated your name, fortunes, and reputation, in imperishable connexion with the independence and history of the North American Union.

"The part which you performed at that important juncture, was marked with characters so peculiar, that, realizing the fairest fable of antiquity, its parallel could scarcely be found in the *authentic* records of human history.

"You deliberately and perseveringly preferred toil, danger, the endurance of every hardship, and privation of every comfort, in defence of a holy cause, to inglorious ease, and the allurements of rank, affluence, and unrestrained youth, at the most splendid and fascinating court of Europe.

"That this choice was not less wise than magnanimous, the sanction of half a century, and the gratulations of unnumbered voices, all unable to express the gratitude of the heart with which your visit to this hemisphere has been welcomed, afford ample demonstration.

"When the contest of freedom, to which you had repaired as a voluntary champion, had closed, by the complete triumph of her cause in this country of your adoption, you returned to fulfil the duties of the philanthropist and patriot in the land of your nativity. There, in a consistent and undeviating career of forty years, you have maintained through every

vicissitude of alternate success and disappointment, the same glorious cause to which the first years of your active life had been devoted, the improvement of the moral and political condition of man.

"Throughout that long succession of time, the people of the United States, for whom and with whom you have fought the battles of liberty, have been living in the full possession of its fruits; one of the happiest among the family of nations. Spreading in population; enlarging in territory; acting and suffering according to the condition of their nature; and laying the foundations of the greatest, and, we humbly hope, the most beneficent power that ever regulated the concerns of man upon earth.

"In that lapse of forty years, the generation of men with whom you co-operated in the conflict of arms, has nearly passed away. Of the general officers of the American army in that war, you alone survive. Of the sages who guided our councils; of the warriors who met the foe in the field or upon the wave, with the exception of a few, to whom unusual length of days has been allotted by Heaven, all now sleep with their fathers. A succeeding, and even a third generation, have arisen to take their places; and their children's children, while rising up to call them blessed, have been taught by them, as well as admonished by their own constant enjoyment of freedom, to include in every benison upon their fathers, the name of him, who came from afar, with them and in their cause, to conquer or to fall.

"The universal prevalence of these sentiments was signally manifested by a resolution of Congress, representing the whole people, and all the States of this Union, requesting the President of the United States to communicate to you the assurances of grateful and affectionate attachment of this government and people, and desiring that a national ship might be employed, at your convenience, for your passage to the borders of our country.

"The invitation was transmitted to you by my venerable predecessor: himself bound to you by the strongest ties of personal friendship, himself one of those whom the highest honors of his country had rewarded for blood early shed in her cause, and for a long life of devotion to her welfare. By him the services of a national ship were placed at your disposal. Your delicacy preferred a more private conveyance, and a full year has elapsed since you landed upon our shores. It were scarcely an exaggeration to say, that it has been, to the people of the Union, a year of uninterrupted festivity and enjoyment, inspired by your presence. You have traversed the twenty-four States of this great confederacy—you have been received with rapture by the survivors of your earliest companion in arms—you have been hailed as a long absent parent by their children, the men and women of the present age: and a rising generation, the hope of future time, in numbers surpassing the whole population of that day when you fought at the head and by the side of their forefathers, have vied with the scanty remnants of that hour of trial, in acclamations of joy, at beholding the face of him whom they feel to be the common benefactor of all. You have heard the mingled voices of the past, the present, and the future age, joining in one universal chorus of delight at

your approach; and the shouts of unbidden thousands, which greeted your landing on the soil of freedom, have followed every step of your way, and still resound, like the rushing of many waters, from every corner of our land.

"You are now about to return to the country of your birth—of your ancestors—of your posterity. The executive government of the Union, stimulated by the same feeling which had prompted the Congress to the designation of a national ship for your accommodation in coming hither, has destined the first service of a frigate, recently launched at this metropolis, to the less welcome, but equally distinguished trust, of conveying you home. The name of the ship has added one more memorial to distant regions and to future ages, of a stream already memorable, at once in the story of your sufferings and of our independence.

"The ship is now prepared for your reception, and equipped for sea. From the moment of her departure, the prayers of millions will ascend to Heaven that her passage may be prosperous, and your return to the bosom of your family as propitious to your happiness, as your visit to this scene of your youthful glory has been to that of the American people.

"Go, then, our beloved friend—return to the land of brilliant genius, of generous sentiment, of heroic valor; to that beautiful France, the nursing mother of the twelfth Louis, and the fourth Henry; to the native soil of Bayard and Coligni, of Turenne and Catinat, of Fenelon and D'Aguesseau. In that illustrious catalogue of names which she claims as of her children, and with honest pride holds up to the admiration of other nations, the name of La Fayette has already for centuries been enrolled. And it shall henceforth burnish into brighter fame: for if, in after days, a Frenchman shall be called to indicate the character of his nation by that of one individual, during the age in which we live, the blood of lofty patriotism shall mantle in his cheek, the fire of conscious virtue shall sparkle in his eye, and he shall pronounce the name of La Fayette. Yet we, too, and our children, in life and after death, shall claim you for our own. You are ours, by that more than patriotic self-devotion with which you flew to the aid of our fathers at the crisis of their fate. Ours, by that long series of years in which you have cherished us in your regard. Ours by that unshaken sentiment of gratitude for your services, which is a precious portion of our inheritance. Ours, by that tie of love, stronger than death, which has linked your name, for the endless ages of time, with the name of Washington.

"At the painful moment of parting from you, we take comfort in the thought, that wherever you may be, to the last pulsation of your heart, our country will be ever present to your affections; and a cheering consolation assures us, that we are not called to sorrow most of all, that we shall see your face no more. We shall indulge the pleasing anticipation of beholding our friend again. In the meantime, speaking in the name of the whole people of the United States, and at a loss only for language to give utterance to that feeling of attachment with which the heart of the nation beats, as the heart of one man—I bid you a reluctant and affectionate farewell."

The first session of the nineteeth Congress opened on the 5th of December, 1825, and John W. Taylor was chosen Speaker of the House. On the next day the President transmitted his message to Congress by his private secretary. This document presented a brief and simple examination of our domestic and foreign affairs. It stated that our foreign relations had undergone no material change, since the adjournment of the preceding Congress; but alluded to the recent alteration in the British commercial system, and to its partially developed results. It called the attention of Congress to the claims of our merchants upon various European powers; and still more earnestly to the claims of the few survivors of our revolutionary army, upon their country for relief and support. A short review was given of the progress of the United States since the adoption of the Constitution, and a new organization of some of the departments was suggested, to make them better adapted to the advancing wants of the country. The judiciary was particularly mentioned as inadequate to the discharge of its multiplied duties.

The President then proceeded to urge upon Congress the employment of the resources of the country, in improving the means of internal communication. A national university and observatory were recommended, and the exploration of the north-west coast, by one of the public ships, for the purpose of advancing astronomical and geographical science. The efforts of our navy, in repressing the West India piracies, were mentioned with approbation, and an increase of our naval establishment was recommended, corresponding with the augmented power and commerce of the country. The executive acceptance of the invitation extended by the South American republics to the United States, to send ministers to the Panama Congress, was communicated to Congress, with the alleged understanding between the several governments that it was neither expected nor desired that any part should be taken by this country which should compromise her neutrality. The state of the finances was represented as favorable, the receipts having exceeded the expectations of the Secretary of the Treasury, and the reduction of the public debt having amounted to nearly eight millions of dollars. Though one thousand and one hundred new postoffices had been established during the two preceding years, the receipts of the postoffice department had exceeded its expenditures by the sum of forty-five thousand dollars.

Of the topics suggested by the message, many were not acted upon by Congress, other topics having been agitated to divert their attention. One of the most important of these subjects was a proposed amendment of the Constitution, in that part of it which provides for the election of the executive. This was introduced in the House during the first week of the session, by Mr. M'Duffie, of South Carolina, in the shape of a resolution to amend the Constitution by establishing an uniform mode of electing the President and Vice-President by districts, and declaring the sense of the House in favor of preventing the election from devolving upon Congress. A resolution, providing for the same object, by a direct vote of the people in districts, was brought forward at about the same time in the Senate by Mr. Benton, of Missouri. This amendment was not afterwards called up for discussion, and, according to the rule of the

Senate. expired with the other unfinished business at the close of the session.

The resolution of Mr. M'Duffie met with a different fate, and gave rise to long, animated, and sometimes angry discussions. It was debated with much spirit and eloquence, and considerably in detail, by Mr. M'Duffie in favor of the amendment, and by Mr. Storrs, of New York, in opposition. Many other distinguished members took part in the discussion, which finally assumed the character of a debate in answer to an executive message, or a resolution to consider the state of the nation. Most of the advocates of the amendments declared themselves opposed to the administration, and made many pointed allusions to the supposed circumstances of the recent election, and to an alleged coalition between the friends of the President and the friends of the Secretary of State. The fate of the proposed amendments, considering the protracted discussion to which they had given rise, was a little singular. On the first, which took the election from Congress, one hundred and twenty-three voted in the affirmative, and sixty-four in the the negative; the second, in favor of the district system, was rejected by a vote of one hundred and one to ninety-one. The subject was then referred to a select committee of twenty-four, one from each State, who were unable to agree upon any plan to prevent the election from devolving upon Congress, and at the end of the session were discharged from any farther consideration of the matter. Thus abortively ended the attempt at amending the Constitution, producing no other effect than that of highly exciting the feelings of Congress, and of marshalling parties against and in favor of the administration in the most marked and decided manner.

At the close of the session, a resolution was introduced in the Senate, to inquire into the expediency of reducing the executive patronage. This resolution was referred to a committee, and six bills were reported by the chairman, Mr. Benton, with a view of carrying into detail the principles professed in the resolution. The effect of these bills would have been to vest in Congress a great portion of executive power, and thus divert the attention of the Legislature from its peculiar duties. Of the report and bills six thousand were ordered to be printed, but the whole matter remained subsequently undisturbed, and was buried with the unfinished business at the close of the session.

Another subject, which occupied much of the attention of Congress, was the acceptance by the President of the invitation to send commissioners to the Congress of Panama, and the nomination of Richard C. Anderson and John Sargeant as Ministers on the part of the United States, and William B. Rochester, of New York, as Secretary. These nominations were at length confirmed by the Senate, and the necessary appropriations made by the House; not, however, without a long and angry debate, in which many reflections were cast upon the executive on account, as it was deemed, of its hasty acceptance of the above invitation.

The Congress at Panama had for its object the cementing of the friendly relations of all the Independent States of America, and was designed, also, to serve as a common council in the conflicting state of things in South America, and as an umpire in their differences. The

plan of such a Congress was first introduced into a treaty between Peru and Colombia in 1822. In the three succeeding years the same subject was had in view in treaties concluded between Colombia, Chili, Guatimala, and Mexico; and the Isthmus of Panama was designated as the place of meeting of this great American Congress. To this Congress an invitation was given, by several of the above States, to the United States to send commissioners. Before the meeting of the Federal Congress, the invitation had been accepted by the President, and, on the meeting of that body, the above nomination of ministers was made. The message of the President to the Senate, with the documents touching this subject, was referred to the committee on foreign relations; where it remained till January 16th, when a report was made condemning the mission, and ending with a resolution declaring it to be inexpedient to send ministers to Panama. This resolution was negatived after several attempts to amend it, and the nominations made by the President of the above ministers confirmed. Here it was expected the subject, at least so far as the Senate was concerned, would end. A few days after, however, a resolution was offered, the import of which was, that the President was not constitutionally competent to accept the invitation from the governments of the new republics to send ministers to the Panama Congress. The resolution, however, was laid upon the table by a vote of twenty-three to twenty-one.

In this debate, Mr. Randolph took occasion to stigmatize the Secretary of State, for his vote in the Presidential election, in such terms as induced that gentleman to demand an explanation of the offensive epithets. Any explanation Mr. Randolph pertinaciously refused when called upon by Mr. Clay; and, on the 8th of April, a meeting took place between them, which, after two ineffectual fires, resulted in the reconciliation of the parties. Much regret prevailed throughout the country that Mr. Clay, occupying so high and responsible a station, should have felt himself compelled to resort to a mode of settling a controversy so revolting to reason, and so unjustifiable in the view of sound morality.

In the House of Representatives, the committee on foreign relations reported in favor of the expediency of sending ministers, and offered a resolution to make the necessary appropriations. On the 3d of April this resolution was taken into consideration, but it was not until the 21st, and after encountering great opposition, that it passed by a vote of one hundred and thirty-three to sixty-one.

The House having thus assented to the policy of the mission by making the appropriation, measures were taken to carry it into effect; and orders were transmitted to Mr. Anderson, who was then in Colombia, to attend the Congress which was to hold its first meeting in the month of June. In his way to Panama, however, a malignant fever, by which he was attacked, proved fatal to him. After the decision of Congress, it was found too late for Mr. Sargeant to reach Panama in season to attend the first meeting of the members of the mission, and accordingly the United States were not represented. On the 22d of June, the representatives of Peru, Mexico, Central America, and Colombia, met, and commenced their deliberations. Upper Peru and Chili were not represented. Diplo-

matic agents from England and the Netherlands, though these governments had not been invited, were present, but were not permitted to attend upon the deliberations of the Congress. The body continued in session until the 15th of July, having concluded between themselves as belligerents, a treaty of friendship and perpetual confederation, offensive and defensive, to which all other American powers might accede within the year. The next meeting was ordered to be held at Tacubaya, a village near Mexico, in the month of February, 1827.

During this session of Congress, a bill was introduced making provision for the surviving officers of the revolution. After an animated discussion of the subject, the bill was virtually lost by being recommitted, by a vote of ninety to eighty-five, for the purpose of ascertaining the number of revolutionary officers who ought to be provided for by law, and the amount necessary to make such provision.

On the 22d of May, 1826, Congress closed its session. It was a long one, but, excepting the sanction given to the Panama mission, nothing of great public interest was accomplished. On the 4th of July occurred the fiftieth anniversary of American independence, which was celebrated throughout the Union with many demonstrations of joy. This day, rendered memorable by the event which it celebrated, was made still more memorable, in the annals of American history, by the death of the two venerable Ex-Presidents, Adams and Jefferson.

The opposition to the administration of Mr. Adams gained strength and development by daily increase, and numerous parties combined for its support or overthrow in various parts of the country. These parties were generally of a geographical character, and in the nineteenth Congress it was usually found that the representatives from the southern, took sides directly opposed to those from the northern and western States. A resolution was expressed in some quarters to put down the administration at every hazard, no matter what might be its policy, its integrity, or its success. The cry of corruption was re-echoed by office seekers, and the more desperate portion of the oppositionists, till it began to gain currency with the public, and proved sufficient to secure the downfall of the administration against which it was raised.

The Panama mission was a fruitful subject of clamor and opposition. It was stigmatized as imprudent, unnecessary, at variance with our true and prevailing policy, and pregnant with peril. Charges of extravagance in expenditures were next brought against the heads of the government, and resolutions were introduced in Congress, intimating that the executive patronage was too large, and ought to be diminished. The assertion of the President of his constitutional authority to appoint, during the vacation of Congress, diplomatic agents to transact the foreign business of the country, was represented as the assumption of an undelegated power. Every opportunity was seized to represent the policy of the federal authorities as tending towards consolidation, and as indicating a disposition for an expensive and magnificent scheme of government.

In conformity with the views of the opposition, a nomination for the next Presidency was immediately made, and in October, 1825, the Legislature of Tennessee recommended General Jackson to the suffrages of

the people of the United States for the highest office in their gift. This nomination he formally accepted, in an address delivered before both Houses of the Legislature of that State, in which he resigned his seat in the Senate. In this address he plainly intimated his dissatisfaction at the result of the late Presidential election, and a willingness to sanction an opposition to the administration on the ground of its corrupt origin. This same ground had been taken by the adherents of the Vice-President, in the discussion of Mr. M'Duffie's proposed amendment of the Constitution in the first session of the nineteenth Congress. The public mind was irritated and exasperated by these charges, which were diffused with an industry and zeal to be paralleled only by their baseness. Accusation and recrimination became frequent and passionate, and the most bitter and indignant feelings took place of the tranquillity that had so long reigned in the political world.

At length the charge of corruption was brought from a responsible quarter, and an investigation ensued, which resulted in the complete acquittal of the parties accused. Directly after the adjournment of the eighteenth Congress, a letter appeared, bearing date the 8th of March, 1825, purporting to relate a conversation with General Jackson, in which he said that a proposition had been made to him by Mr. Clay's friends to secure his election to the Presidency, on condition that Mr. Adams should not continue as Secretary of State. This proposition was said to have been indignantly repelled. A correspondence immediately ensued on this subject between Mr. Beverly, the author of the letter in question, and General Jackson, in which an account of the negociation alluded to was given at length, and the General disclaimed making any charge against Mr. Clay, and denied having accused him of being privy to the communication. Testimony was now produced by Mr. Clay and his friends, which completely refuted the charge of bargain, and hurled it with scorn in the teeth of his enemies. It was proved beyond a question that in voting for Mr. Adams in the House of Representatives, Mr. Clay and his friends had acted with entire consistency, and that any other course would have indeed laid them open to the charge of gross and palpable violation of the principles they had always professed in relation to the election. But the accusation had been made to answer the purpose for which it was framed, and the opposition to the administration had found a permanent basis to build upon.

Mr. Adams continued to act on the principles which he had professed in his inaugural speech, of administering the government without regard to the distinctions of party. In the distribution of offices he asked merely as to the qualifications of the candidates, not of their political opinions. No one suffered by that ruthless policy, which bears so close a resemblance to the proscription of the Roman emperors; the one striking at life itself, the other at the means of life. It is difficult to say which of the two is the more cruel, but they are surely equally unjust and vindictive. The system which makes the presidential chair a mere scramble for office, and the chief executive of the nation a dispenser of loaves and fishes to political adherents, is too mean, narrow, and contemptible, not to be subversive of all the best purposes of government, and must end in

the subversion of government itself. The political forum is converted into an arena of battle, and the first moments of victory are sacred to spoil, devastation, and rapine. The lust of gold stifles the cry of mercy, and all the rules of honorable warfare are violated in the fierceness and vindictiveness of triumph. Office holders should be content with fulfilling the duties of their respective stations, and not consider themselves in the light of mere partisans, rewarded for upholding a particular man or set of men. The people pay them for a different service. Mr. Adams regarded this subject in its true bearings, and he acted in it with the stern and fearless integrity which has marked the whole course of his political life. Regardless of consequences, he was perhaps often injudicious in the diffusion of executive patronage, and sometimes furnished the enemy with artillery to be employed in the destruction of his own citadel.

But however the efforts of the opposition might embarrass the movements of the administration, they could not retard the rapid progress of the country in wealth and prosperity. The great works of internal improvement, contemplated by the act of April, 1824, were prosecuted with great spirit and vigor. Many routes for roads and canals were surveyed, and a great mass of topographical knowledge was thus collected at Washington. The attention of the general government was also directed to many other subjects of internal improvement, such as th navigation of several important rivers, building lighthouses, piers, and removing obstructions from bays and harbors. The navigation of the Mississippi and Ohio was much improved during this year, by the removal of snags and other impediments from their channels. An impulse was thus given to the efforts of the State Governments, and canals and roads were laid out in various directions. Manufacturing establishments flourished with great vigor, and gave proofs of becoming lasting sources of wealth and employment to the national industry. In the year ending September 30, 1826, the value of domestic manufactures exported amounted to five millions eight hundred and fifty-two thousand seven hundred and thirty-three dollars, of which one million one hundred and thirty-eight thousand one hundred and twenty-five dollars consisted of cotton piece goods. The increase of tonnage in the United States during 1826, was one hundred eleven thousand and seventy-nine tons, being double the increase of any one of the preceding twelve years. In conformity with the plan proposed for the settlement of the remaining tribes of the aborigines on the west of the Mississippi, provision was made for the removal thither of such Indians as were disposed to emigrate. Fourteen hundred Shawnees, and about seven hundred Creeks removed in this manner to spots selected by themselves. The Cherokees refused to cede another foot of land, notwithstanding the efforts made by the general government to procure such a cession of territory as would satisfy the claims of Georgia. The north-western Indians now gave hostile indications, and attacked and murdered some American citizens; but by the prompt measures adopted by Governor Cass, the murderers were given up and tranquillity again restored.

Congress having adjourned without passing any law for the purpose of meeting the restrictive measures of the British government in respect

to the colonial trade, the President issued a proclamation, dated March 17th, closing the ports of the United States against vessels from the British colonies, which had been opened by the act of 1822. By this measure the British restrictions were completely reciprocated, and the President was sustained in it by public opinion.

The second session of the nineteenth Congress commenced on the 4th of December, 1826, when the two Houses were organized in the usual manner. The message of the President on this occasion gave a clear account of our foreign relations, and made particular reference to the controversy with Great Britain on the colonial trade. The death of the Emperor Alexander of Russia, was mentioned in terms which the friendly feelings displayed by that monarch towards this country seemed to require. Our commercial connexions with France and the Netherlands were represented to be placed on a more favorable basis than at the commencement of the preceding Congress. In the postoffice there had been received during the year a surplus of eighty thousand dollars above the expenditures. The revenue was sufficiently large to authorize the application of seven millions sixty-seven thousand and thirty-nine dollars to the reduction of the public debt, and three millions nine hundred and forty-four thousand three hundred and fifty-nine dollars to the payment of interest. A system was recommended for the permanent increase of the navy; the unsettled land claims in Florida and Louisiana; the works of internal improvement, reported by the board of engineers; and the attention of Congress was particularly called to the irregularities of the Brazilian and Buenos-Ayrean squadrons towards neutral flags. The estimates of appropriations for the different departments of the government were submitted with the message; and a system of cavalry tactics prepared during the summer under the direction of the War Department. These were the most important topics suggested by the message.

In this session an ineffectual effort was again made to introduce an uniform system of bankrupt laws; the bill reported for this purpose having been rejected. Shortly after the commencement of the session, an article appeared in a newspaper published at Alexandria, intimating that one Mix, who had been engaged in a certain contract with the War Department, while the Vice-President was Secretary of War, had accused him of participating in its profits. This contract had been the subject of much animadversion during the administration of Mr. Monroe, and the Vice-President immediately addressed a letter to the Secretary of the Senate, vacating his seat until the subject might be investigated. "Charges have been made against me," said Mr. Calhoun, "of the most serious nature, and which, if true, ought to degrade me from the high station in which I have been placed by the choice of my fellow citizens, and to consign my name to perpetual infamy. In claiming investigation of the House, I am sensible that, under our free and happy institutions, the conduct of public servants is a fair subject of the closest scrutiny and the freest remark, and that a firm and faithful discharge of duty affords, ordinarily, ample protection against political attacks; but when such attacks assume the character of impeachable offences, and become in some degree official,

by being placed among the public records, an officer thus assailed, however base the instruments used, if conscious of innocence, can look for refuge only to the hall of the immediate representatives of the people. It is thus I find myself unexpectedly placed."

This communication was referred to a select committee, which reported, after a laborious examination, that no charge against the Vice-President had been placed among the records of the War Department, and perfectly exculpated him from having any participation in the profits of that or any other government contract.

The Creek controversy, which might have been considered as happily settled by the treaty of 22d of April, was still to continue a subject of excitement. Instead of waiting till the tribes had removed from their ceded lands, Governor Troup ordered the surveyors employed by him to enter the Indian territories and commence the surveys, previous to the time prescribed by the treaty for the removal. The Indians resisted these encroachments, and the Governor ordered out a force of militia. In this posture of affairs, the President determined to support the laws of the Union by the authority which the Constitution had placed in his hands, previously submitting the affair to Congress, to have it determined whether it were necessary to resort to any new measures. On the 5th of February he transmitted to both Houses of Congress a message, in which he gave a plain statement of the facts, and declared his determination to enforce the laws, and fulfil the duties of the nation by all the force committed for that purpose to his charge. "That the arm of military force will be resorted to only in the event of the failure of all other expedients provided by the laws, a pledge has been given by the forbearance to employ it at this time. It is submitted to the wisdom of Congress to determine, whether any further acts of legislation may be necessary or expedient to meet the emergency which these transactions may produce."

Great excitement was displayed in both Houses on the receipt of this message. The committee of the Representatives, to which it was referred, reported that it "is expedient to procure a cession of the Indian lands in the State of Georgia, and that until such a cession is procured, the law of the land, as set forth in the treaty at Washington, ought to be maintained by all necessary, constitutional, and legal means." The firmness of the President brought the Governor of Georgia to reason, and he addressed a letter to the delegation of that State at Washington, submitting to the decision of Congress, and denying any intention of a resort to force, except the sovereignty of the State came into collision with the United States. A cession of the Creek land in Georgia was finally procured, and the dispute in respect to this portion of the Indian territory was put at rest.

A bill for an additional protection on woolens was agitated during this session, and finally laid on the table by the casting vote of the Vice-President. The defeat of this measure occasioned much discussion in all parts of the Union, and stimulated the friends of this branch of industry to renewed exertions. In Pennsylvania a State Convention was proposed, to choose delegates to attend a general Convention at Harrisburg on the 30th of July, 1827. Other States answered with alacrity

to this invitation, and a meeting was held at the appointed time. of delegates in the highest degree respectable in point of talent, weight of character, and dignity of standing. The reports of their committees, on various subjects connected with domestic industry, exhibited the importance and the necessity of increased protection, and a memorial to Congress, drawn up in conformity with these views, was unanimously adopted. These proceedings were received in the southern States with much dissatisfaction. They were represented as at war with their best interests, and with the spirit of the Constitution. No means were omitted to raise a strong excitement in the community, in opposition to all increase of the woolen duty; but at the time of the twentieth Congress, the public mind was more and more impressed with the opinion that effectual measures would be resorted to for the relief of this branch of national industry.

We have not room for a detailed account of the various measures of Mr. Adams's administration. During the whole of it the United States enjoyed uninterrupted peace; for the foreign policy of the government had nothing in view but the maintenance of our national dignity, the extension of our commercial relations, and the successful prosecution of the claims of American citizens upon foreign governments.

A portion of these claims upon Sweden and Denmark, was obtained, and the claims which arose against the Brazilian government, during the war between that power and Buenos Ayres, were speedily adjusted by the liquidation of the claims. The exorbitant pretensions of Great Britain, respecting the West India trade, were resisted, although at the expense of the direct trade between the United States and the British islands.

The difficulties which occurred in carrying into effect the treaty of Ghent, relative to deported slaves, and other property taken away, having been found insurmountable, the sum of one million two hundred and four thousand nine hundred and sixty dollars, which was amply sufficient, was obtained from the British government in satisfaction of these claims. A convention was also concluded with that government, and a mode provided for the peaceable settlement of the long pending, and finally threatening dispute concerning the north-east boundary of the United States. The treaty of commerce between the United States and Great Britain, and the convention effecting a temporary compromise of their conflicting claims to the territory west of the Rocky Mountains, both of which expired by their own limitation, October 20th, 1828, were renewed for an indefinite period, with liberty to either party to terminate them, on giving one year's notice. Some commercial difficulties, which grew out of an adherence of the government of the Netherlands, to the principles of discriminating duties, were adjusted to mutual satisfaction. New treaties of amity, navigation, and commerce, in which the liberal principles maintained by the United States, in her commercial and foreign policy, were generally recognized, were concluded with Colombia, Austria, Sweden, Denmark, Guatemala, and the Hanseatic league.

It was, however, in the domestic policy of the government, that the character of the administration was most strongly displayed. During its continuance in office, new and increased activity was imparted to those powers vested in the Federal Government, for the developement of

the resources of the country; and the public revenue liberally expended in prosecuting those national measures, to which the sanction of Congress had been deliberately given, as the settled policy of the government.

More than one million of dollars had been expended in enlarging and maintaining the lighthouse establishment; half a million in completing the public buildings; two millions in erecting arsenals, barracks, and furnishing the national armories; nearly the same amount had been expended in permanent additions to the naval establishment; upwards of three millions had been devoted to fortifying the seacoast; and more than four millions expended in improving the internal communications between different parts of the country, and in procuring information, by scientific surveys, concerning its capacity for further improvement. Indeed, more had been directly effected by the aid of government, in this respect, during Mr. Adams's administration, than during the administrations of all his predecessors. Other sums, exceeding a million, had been appropriated for objects of a lasting character, and not belonging to the annual expense of the government; making, in the whole, nearly fourteen million dollars, expended for the permanent benefit of the country, during this administration.

At the same time, the interest on the public debt was punctually paid, and the debt itself was in a constant course of reduction, having been diminished thirty millions three hundred and seventy-three thousand one hundred and eighty-eight dollars during this administration, and leaving due, on the 1st of January, 1829, fifty-eight millions three hundred and sixty-two thousand one hundred and thirty-six dollars. Whilst these sums were devoted to increasing the resources, and improving the condition of the country, and in discharging its pecuniary obligations; those claims which were derived from what are termed the imperfect obligations of gratitude and humanity, were not forgotten.

More than five millions of dollars were appropriated to solace the declining years of the surviving officers of the revolution; and a million and a half expended in extinguishing the Indian title, and defraying the expense of the removal, beyond the Mississippi, of such tribes as were unqualified for a residence near civilized communities; and in promoting the civilization of those who, relying on the faith of the United States, preferred to remain on the lands which were the abodes of their fathers.

In the condition which we have described, in peace with all the world, with an increasing revenue, and with a surplus of five millions one hundred and twenty-five thousand six hundred and thirty-eight dollars in the public treasury, the administration of the government of the United States was surrendered by Mr. Adams, who became a private citizen, to General Jackson, his successor.

Thus ended the administration of Mr. Adams, an administration marked by definite and consistent policy, and energetic councils, governed by upright motives, but from the beginning devoted to the most violent opposition, and a signal overthrow. The election which terminated in the defeat of Mr. Adams was marked with extreme bitterness, asperity,

and profligacy. On both sides the press was virulent, libellous, and mean. No privacy was safe, no confidence was sacred; even the tombs of the illustrious dead were violated, and their ashes defiled. The arts of party warfare were more insidious than the arts of savage treachery, and its arms more ruthless than the tomahawk or the scalping-knife. Calumny and falsehood were the usual resources of the most violent partisans, and the only weapons that they never for a moment laid aside. The brave soldier was described as a malignant savage, and the experienced statesman as a man who had purchased by intrigue a position that he was determined to maintain by corruption. It must be most sincerely hoped that an era may never again arrive in our history to be stamped so indelibly with the brand of shame; that public opinion will ever require of the public press a more decent regard to the charities of life and the duties of truth.

When Mr. Adams left the executive chair, the United States were at peace with all the world. But he was not long permitted to enjoy the repose of private life. In 1830, he was elected to represent in Congress the district in which he resided, and in December, 1831, he took his seat in the House of Representatives. He was then in the sixty-fifth year of his age.

From that time until the day of his death, he continued a member of the House, and one of its most active and indefatigable laborers. His fervid eloquence on all occasions where his feelings were warmly enlisted obtained for him the appellation of "the old man eloquent." His feelings and his exertions were ever enlisted on the side of popular freedom and human rights; and in the national legislature he was one of the stoutest champions of the right of petition in its broadest sense.

The editor of the Statesman's Manual (who wrote in 1846) concludes his biography with the following prophetic sentence:—"The subject of this memoir is now in his seventy-ninth year, and, 'although his eye is dim, and his natural force somewhat abated,' he is still found at his post in the public service, where, *like the Earl of Chatham, it may be expected, his mortal career will finally close.*"

That prophetic thought is now an historical fact. He was prostrated by paralysis, while in his seat in the House of Representatives, on the twenty-second day of February, 1848; and he yielded up his spirit to the God who gave it, on the twenty-third. He died in the speaker's room, in the capitol. His last words were, "This is the end of earth." He would have been eighty-one years old on the eleventh day of July, 1848.

Mr. Adams was of middle stature and rather full person, and his dark, penetrating eyes beamed with intelligence. Old age bowed his head, but when seated at his desk, in Congress, nothing but his thin gray hair indicated his physical decadence.

ANDREW JACKSON.

Andrew Jackson was born on the 15th day of March, 1767. His father was an Irishman, who landed at Charleston, South Carolina, in 1765, and settled at Waxaw, about forty-five miles above Camden, where the subject of our narrative was born. Soon after his birth his father died, leaving three sons to be provided for by their mother. She appears to have discharged the duties devolved upon her, in an exemplary manner. She had not the means to give all her children a liberal education; but Andrew, whom she intended for the ministry, was sent to school, where he continued until the war of the revolution interrupted his studies.

At the age of fourteen, Andrew Jackson, in company with his brother Robert, entered the American camp, and commenced his career in the service of his country. He was prompted to this course partly by the recommendations of his mother, and partly by the example of his elder brother, who had previously joined the army, and fallen a victim to the fatigues of his first campaign. Jackson met with no opportunity for the display of his military talent during this period. A circumstance, however, which strongly illustrates the unyielding and independent obstinacy of his character, may be related. In an attack of the British on Waxaw, eleven Americans had been taken prisoners, and among them were the two Jacksons. The evening after their capture, Andrew was accosted by a British officer, who ordered him, in an imperious tone, to clean his boots. This order he scornfully refused to obey, alleging that he expected such treatment only as was due to a prisoner of war. Incensed at his reply, the officer aimed a blow at his head with a drawn sword, which the boy parried by throwing up his left hand, not, however, without receiving a wound, of which the scar yet remains. His brother, for a similar offence, received a deep and dangerous cut on his head.

The brothers were conveyed to jail, where their wounds were wholly neglected. That of Andrew was slight, but his brother's brought on an inflammation of the brain, which, a few days after his liberation, ended in death. They were soon exchanged, and returned to their mother, who died shortly after her son. Andrew Jackson was thus left alone in the world, afflicted with disease brought on by the hardships he had undergone, and with the small-pox, which broke out on him at the same time. His life was for a while in great danger.

On his recovery, he somewhat injudiciously began to squander his estate, but at length, foreseeing the consequences of his extravagance, he betook himself to a regular course of study. He acquired some knowledge of the learned languages, and continued his literary pursuits until he reached the age of eighteen. The pulpit, for which he had been designed by his mother, was now abandoned for the bar. He

commenced the study of law in 1784, at Salisbury, in North Carolina, under the direction of Spruce M'Cay, Esq., and subsequently continued it under Colonel John Stokes. At the end of two years, he obtained a license from the Judges to practise law, and continued in the State until the spring of 1788.

He had come to the conclusion that this State presented few inducements to a young attorney. There was no chance of his rising by the aid of influential relations. The world was all before him where to choose. The ties which bind man to his birthplace, were with him obliterated by the death of his kindred. The western parts of Tennessee, about this time, offered alluring prospects to young adventurers; and there we find Jackson soon after his departure from North Carolina. The state of society in the west, at this period, was not of the most refined or settled description. Tennessee was then a new, wild country, principally occupied by hardy borderers, among whom knowledge was scarce, and law a mystery. Jackson took up his residence at Nashville. There was but one lawyer in the country, and the knavish part of the community had so contrived as to retain him in their interest. Many merchants were entirely deprived of the means of enforcing the payment of their honest dues.

In this state of things, Jackson made his appearance at Nashville. Applications were immediately made to him for his professional services, and the morning after his arrival he issued seventy writs. His presence soon became a terror to the debtors in the place, and he was consequently involved in a great many broils, which, however, did not prevent his enjoying a profitable practice. Shortly afterwards, he was appointed Attorney General for the district, in which office he remained for several years. Indian depredations being then frequent on the Cumberland, Jackson was accustomed to aid actively in garrisoning the forts, and in pursuing and chastising the enemy. In 1796, he was chosen a member of the Convention for framing a Constitution for the State. He was the same year elected a member of the House of Representatives in Congress, for the State of Tennessee. While in this capacity, it is on record that he gave his support to a measure, which offered an unhandsome slight to Washington. When that great man was about to retire from his high station, a committee, of which James Madison was a member, drew up an address to him, in which his wisdom, firmness, and other eminent qualities, were eulogized in the warmest terms. Mr. Giles, of Virginia, moved to expunge all expressions of respect, as he wished him to retire, and thought that the time for him to do so had arrived. This motion had the support of Mr. Jackson.

In Tennessee his popularity continued to increase, and in 1797 he was elected a Senator of Congress. His vote for a repeal of the alien law, was his only official act of note while he filled this station. About the middle of April, he asked leave to return home on private business. Permission was granted, and before the next session he resigned his seat. He was but a little more than thirty years of age, and hence, scarcely eligible by the Constitution at the time he was elected.

On his return to Tennessee, he was appointed Major General of the militia of that State. He held this commission till the year 1814. Soon

after his resignation of his seat in Congress, he was appointed a Judge of the Supreme Court of the State. He subsequently resigned this office through a distrust of his legal acquirements. He retired to a plantation ten miles from Nashville, and for several years nothing occurred to interrupt his repose.

The acts of Congress of the 6th of February and July, 1812, authorized the President to accept the services of fifty thousand volunteers. General Jackson addressed the militia subject to his orders, and the appeal to their patriotism was promptly answered. "Twenty-five hundred brave men placed themselves under his command, armed and equipped for war, and being duly authorized, he assembled them at Nashville in December. The weather, for that latitude, was very severe, and the earth was clad in white; but the hardy backwoodsmen bore their hardships as patiently as the trees of their native forests. They descended the Mississippi in January, in spite of cold and ice, to Natchez. Much honor is due to their chief for his exertions to preserve their ardor unabated, and his endeavors to establish discipline among them. But as there was no appearance of war in the south-west, their services were not needed, and General Jackson received an order from the Secretary of War to disband his troops, and deliver the public property in his possession to General Wilkinson. This order General Jackson thought fit to disobey. In spite of all opposition, he broke up his camp, and marched his troops homeward through the forests, sharing their hardships, and setting them an example of untiring patience and perseverance. At the close of the march, he disbanded his men, who returned to their respective homes. In a letter to the Secretary of War, he stated, that had he dismissed his forces on receiving the order, the sick would have suffered, and many would have been compelled by want to enlist in the regular service. In fine, his conduct was approved, and the expenses incurred were paid by government."

The volunteers, who had descended the river, having been discharged early in May, there was little expectation that they would again be called for. Tennessee was too remotely situated in the interior of the country to expect their services would be required for her defence, and hitherto the British had discovered no serious intention of waging operations against any part of Louisiana. Their repose, however, was not of long duration. The Creek Indians, inhabiting the country lying between the Chatahochee and Tombigbee, and extending from the Tennessee river to the Florida line, had lately manifested strong symptoms of hostility towards the United States. This disposition was greatly strengthened through means used by the northern Indians, who were then making preparations for a war against the United States, and who wished to engage the southern tribes in the same enterprise.

An artful impostor had, about this time, sprung up amongst the Shawnees, who, by passing for a prophet, acquired astonishing influence among his people. He succeeded in exciting a hatred against the inhabitants of the United States, which soon after broke forth in acts of violence. His brother Tecumseh was dispatched to the southern tribes, to kindle in them the same temper. Hostilities began to spread along the whole line of our southern and south-western frontier. A regular communication was kept up between

the Creeks or Muscogees and the northern tribes; whilst frequent depredations were committed on the border settlers. By one of the incursions, in the summer of 1812, several families had been murdered in a shocking manner, near the mouth of the Ohio; and, shortly afterwards, another party, entering the limits of Tennessee, had butchered two families of women and children. These acts were not sanctioned by the Creek government, for on application to the chiefs, the offenders were punished with death. No sooner was this done, however, than the spirit of the greater part of the nation suddenly kindled into civil war. War clubs, painted red, were seen every where among them, and it was evident that some deep and settled purpose of revenge was working in their minds.

The first ebullition of their rage fell upon those of their countrymen who were known to be peaceably disposed towards the United States. Incited by Wetherford, one of the principal chiefs, they then proceeded to the attack of Fort Mimms in the territory of Mississippi. This fort contained at that time about one hundred and fifty men, besides a considerable number of women and children, who had fled there for protection. The Indians carried it by assault. The slaughter was indiscriminate. Nearly three hundred persons, including women and children, were put to death with the most savage barbarity. But seventeen of the whole number in the fort escaped to tell of the dreadful catastrophe.

The news of this outrage produced a great excitement in Tennessee. A number of respectable citizens convened at Nashville, and after conferring with the Governor and General Jackson, urged the propriety of immediately marching an army into the heart of the Creek nation. This measure was recommended to the Legislature, and that body passed a law authorizing the executive to call into the field three thousand five hundred of the militia. Three hundred thousand dollars were voted for the support of these men. By order of the Governor, General Jackson, though yet suffering from a fractured arm, (the consequence of an affray, which has been variously represented,) called out two thousand of the volunteers and militia of his division. To this force were joined five hundred horsemen, under Colonel Coffee, who was authorized to add to his corps as many mounted riflemen as he could gather. He was ordered forthwith to proceed to the frontier, and take measures for its defence, while General Jackson should collect and organize as many as possible of his former army.

Every exertion was now made to hasten the preparations for a vigorous campaign. The day of rendezvous being arrived, and the General not being sufficiently recovered to attend in person, he forwarded by his aid-de-camp, Major Reid, an address to be read to the troops, accompanied by an order for the establishment of the police of the camp. His orders may produce a smile on the countenance of the disciplined soldier, but to the rude and independent settlers under his command they seemed intolerably rigorous and severe.

For the police of the camp, he announced the following order:

"The chain of sentinels will be marked, and the sentries posted, precisely at ten o'clock to day.

"No sutler will be suffered to sell spirituous liquors to any soldier,

without permission, in writing, from a commissioned officer, under the penalties prescribed by the rules and articles of war.

"No citizen will be permitted to pass the chain of sentinels, after retreat beat in the evening, until reveille in the morning. Drunkenness, the bane of all orderly encampments, is positively forbidden, both in officers and privates: officers under the penalty of immediate arrest; and privates, of being placed under guard, there to remain until liberated by a court martial.

"At reveille beat, all officers and soldiers are to appear on parade, with their arms and accoutrements in proper order.

"On parade, silence, the duty of a soldier, is positively commanded.

"No officer or soldier is to sleep out of camp, but by permission obtained."

On the 7th of October, General Jackson joined his division, and learned that the Creeks had detached upwards of eight hundred of their warriors to fall upon the frontier of Georgia, while the remainder of their forces were marching upon Huntsville. On the 9th, therefore, he set his army in motion. They reached Huntsville that day, by a forced march, and on the morrow formed a junction with Colonel Coffee's regiment, on the Tennessee river. Here they rested several days, during which General Jackson sent scouts to reconnoitre the Black Warrior river, a tributary of the Tombigbee, on which were several Creek villages. This delay was occasioned by the failure of an expected supply of provisions.

While the army was thus inactive, a messenger arrived from Chinnaby, a chief of the friendly Creeks. He brought intelligence that Chinnaby's encampment, near Ten Islands, on the Coosa, was threatened by the enemy, and solicited relief. This information induced the General to march to Thompson's creek, a small branch of the Tennessee, where he had reason to believe he might be met by the expected supply. He was the more inclined to action, that the scarcity of provisions depressed the spirits of his half disciplined troops. But he was again disappointed, and his letters to different quarters, soliciting the desired aid, failed of their effect. Even the planters of the frontier, who had a vital interest in the success of his operations, neglected to assist the army contractors. In this embarrassing situation, another messenger from Chinnaby arrived, to urge the necessity of an immediate movement, as the enemy was advancing upon him in great force. This information caused the army to move again.

Near Ten Islands General Jackson was met by Chinnaby, who informed him that he was within sixteen miles of the hostile Creeks, who were assembled to the number of a thousand, to oppose his march. Hence Colonel Dyer was sent with a competent force to attack the village of Littafutchee, on a branch of the Coosa. This done, the army set forward once more, and reached the islands of the Coosa without opposition, thus proving the report of Chinnaby to have been unfounded. Here Colonel Dyer rejoined, having accomplished his object. He had burned Littafutchee, with little or no loss on his own side, and brought back with him twenty-nine prisoners, men, women, and children. The scouting parties now began to bring in prisoners, and cattle and corn taken from the enemy.

The first week in November, information was received that a considerable body of the Muscogee warriors had taken a position at the village of Tallushatches, on the opposite side of the Coosa. Colonel Coffee was sent to attack them at the head of nine hundred mounted men. He forded the Coosa under the direction of an Indian guide, and advanced on Tallushatches. The Muscogees were aware of his approach, and prepared to meet it as became men. They struck the war drum, sung the war song, and by their savage war whoop gave notice that they were prepared for battle. Within a mile and a half of the village Colonel Coffee halted, divided his force into two bodies, and then advanced in such a way as to surround the enemy, who remained quiet in the buildings. Seeing this, the commander had recourse to a feint. He sent forward two companies to decoy the Indians from their cover. No sooner had these deployed into line in front of the village, and fired a few shots, than the savages boldly charged and drove them back on the main body, which opened a general fire and charged in turn. The Muscogees retired, resisting obstinately all the way, till they reached their village, where they stood fast, and a desperate conflict ensued. The Indians did not ask quarter, and when shot down continued to fight on the ground as long as their breath lasted. Many of their wives assisted in the defence, and emulated the bravery of their partners. The Tennesseans revenged the slaughter of Fort Mimms, by slaying all the men, and some women and children. Not one of the savages escaped: their total loss in killed was upwards of a hundred and eighty, and eighty-four women and children were taken alive. On the other side, five of the whites were killed outright, and forty-one were wounded.

When Colonel Coffee had rejoined the main body, General Jackson resolved to build a fort and establish a depôt at Ten Islands. The fortification was named Fort Strother.

On the evening of the 7th, a runner arrived from Talladega, a fort of the friendly Indians, thirty miles below, with information that the enemy had encamped before it in great numbers, and would certainly destroy it unless immediate assistance should be rendered. Jackson did not hesitate to march to their assistance, with all his disposable force, amounting to twelve hundred infantry and eight hundred mounted men. The troops crossed the river that very night, each horseman carrying a foot soldier behind him, though the Coosa is here six hundred yards wide. The whole night was consumed in this operation, yet the army continued its march with unabated ardor, and by the next evening arrived within six miles of the enemy. At night an express arrived from General White, with the news that that officer had not been able to move to the protection of Fort Strother, according to Jackson's desire, having received a counter order from General Cocke, to march to the mouth of Chatouga Creek. This intelligence, that his rear was left unprotected, caused General Jackson to decide on attacking the enemy without delay, lest by a change of their policy, his depôt should be carried in his absence. Orders were given accordingly.

At four in the morning, the army moved, in order of battle. The infantry advanced in three columns, and the cavalry followed, while the

wings were protected by flankers. The advance, consisting of four companies, marched four hundred yards in front, under Colonel Carroll. By seven, the army was within a mile of the enemy, and the columns deployed into line, while the cavalry made a circuit round the enemy's flank, so as to leave them small chance of escape.

About eight, the advanced guard, having approached a small thicket of underbrush, received a sharp volley. They returned it, and retreated upon the centre, according to their orders, it being the policy of the General to draw the Indians from their cover. The Indians, elated by this apparent success, raised the war whoop, and fell furiously on the left wing, tomahawk in hand. This movement had nearly decided the battle, for several companies gave way before their onset, and the officer ordered by General Jackson to throw his troops into the gap, did not execute the command. The General promptly supplied their place with the reserve, which, with the assistance of the broken troops, who began to rally, checked the advance of the savages. The line now delivered an unbroken fire, and in fifteen minutes the Creeks gave way at all points and fled. The cavalry of the left wing made great slaughter of them, and numbers fell in the pursuit, which continued three miles. The troops behaved as might have been expected from the volunteers of Tennessee, and that is a sufficient encomium.

In this battle a thousand and eighty of the Creeks were engaged; of whom three hundred were left dead on the field, and about as many more were slain in their flight. The loss of the Americans was fifteen killed, and nearly a hundred wounded, many mortally. The results of the action were, the relief of the friendly Indians at Talladega, an increase of confidence in themselves and their General on the part of the Tennesseans, and the discomfiture of the hostile Creeks.

The condition of his posts in the rear, and a want of provisions, compelled General Jackson and his men to return. Accordingly, having buried his dead, and provided litters for the wounded, he reluctantly commenced his return march on the morning succeeding the battle. He confidently hoped, from the previous assurances of the contractors, that, by the time of his return to Fort Strother, sufficient supplies would have arrived there: but to his surprise, he found that not a particle had been forwarded since his departure, and that what had been left was already consumed. Even his private stores, brought on at his own expense, and upon which he and his staff had hitherto wholly subsisted, had been, in his absence, distributed amongst the sick by the hospital surgeon, who had been previously instructed to do so, in the event their wants should require it. A few dozen biscuit, which remained, on his return, were given to the hungry applicants, without being tasted by himself or family, who were probably not less hungry than those who were thus relieved. A scanty supply of indifferent beef, taken from the enemy, or purchased of the Cherokees, was now the only support afforded. Thus left destitute, Jackson, (says his biographer, Eaton,) with the utmost cheerfulness of temper, repaired to the bullock pen, and, of the offal there thrown away, provided for himself and staff, what he was pleased to call, a very comfortable repast. Tripes, however, hastily provided in a camp, without

bread or seasoning, can only be palatable to an appetite very highly whetted; yet this constituted, for several days, the only diet at head-quarters; during which time, the General seemed entirely satisfied with his fare.

In this campaign, a soldier one morning, with a wobegone countenance, approached the General, stating that he was nearly starved, that he had nothing to eat, and could not imagine what he should do. He was the more encouraged to complain, from perceiving that the General, who had seated himself at the root of a tree, waiting the coming up of the rear of the army, was busily engaged in eating something. The poor fellow was impressed with the belief, from what he saw, that want only prevailed among the soldiers, and that the officers, particularly the General, were liberally supplied. He accordingly approached him with great confidence of being relieved. Jackson told him, that it had always been a rule with him never to turn away a hungry man when it was in his power to relieve him. I will most cheerfully, said he, divide with you what I have; and, putting his hand to his pocket, he drew forth a few acorns, from which he had been feasting, adding, it was the best and only fare he had. The soldier seemed much surprised, and forthwith circulated amongst his comrades, that their General was actually subsisting upon acorns, and that they ought no more to complain.

Discontent now began to spread through the camp of General Jackson, and at length burst into open revolt. The officers and soldiers of the militia determined to abandon their posts, and return to their homes. Jackson, apprised of their resolution, determined to oppose it at all hazard. In the morning, when they were about to carry their design into execution, he drew up the volunteers in front of them, with orders to oppose their departure. The militia, fearing to persist in their purpose, quietly abandoned it and returned to their quarters.

The next day presented a singular scene. The volunteers, who, the day before, had been the means of detaining the militia, now began likewise to mutiny. Their opposition to the departure of the militia was merely a pretence to escape suspicion, for they silently wished them success. They now determined to move away in a body, believing that no one would oppose them. As they were about to quit the camp, the militia turned the tables on them, expressing a fixed determination to obey the General's orders by enforcing their stay at the point of the bayonet. So well had Jackson contrived to make their mutual jealousies subserve his own ends. Thus situated, the volunteers had an option to remain, or to turn their weapons against their brethren in arms. They chose the former alternative. However, the complaints of the cavalry were not to be silenced; their forage was entirely exhausted, and they had no prospect of obtaining more. General Jackson listened to their petition to be permitted to return home, and granted it, on condition that they would rejoin him when required.

The most urgent solicitations of General Jackson could not suppress the discontent which still prevailed among his troops. Even his promise that if the supplies should not arrive within two days, the forces should al march homeward together, had no effect. The officers of the volunteer

brigade declared that nothing short of marching the army immediately back to the settlements, could prevent a forcible desertion of the camp, by the soldiers. The officers of the militia expressed their willingness to remain a few days longer; but the General was compelled to suffer a regiment of volunteers to leave the camp, under the condition, however, that, after satisfying their wants, they should return and act as an escort to the provisions.

Two days had elapsed since the departure of the volunteers, and no supplies had arrived. The militia earnestly demanded the fulfilment of the promise which had been made, that they should be marched back to the settlements. This was to Jackson a moment of deep dejection. "If only two men will remain with me," he exclaimed, "I will never abandon this post." Captain Gordon, of the spies, replied, "You have one, General; let us look if we can't find another," and he soon succeeded in procuring one hundred and nine volunteers. Leaving this garrison behind, Jackson, with the rest of his army, set out towards Deposit. They had not proceeded more than ten or twelve miles, when they met a convoy of the long expected commissary's stores. This sight was as unwelcome to the soldiers as it was grateful to their chief. So great was their aversion to returning, that mutiny again displayed itself in their ranks. One company had revolted, and was already moving off in the direction of home. They had proceeded some distance before information of their departure was conveyed to Jackson. Irritated at their conduct, the General pursued them until he came near a part of his staff and a few soldiers, who, with General Coffee, had halted about a quarter of a mile ahead. He ordered them to form immediately across the road, and to fire on the mutineers if they attempted to proceed. The execution of this order caused the deserters to retreat precipitately to the main body. Here it was supposed that the affair would end, and that further opposition would cease. But a mutinous disposition began presently to show itself throughout the whole brigade. Jackson, having advanced towards them, while his guard were at some distance, found on his arrival a much more extensive mutiny than that which had been just quelled. Almost the whole brigade had put itself in an attitude for moving forcibly off.

Jackson now made a signal display of energy and decision. He was still without the use of his left arm; but, seizing a musket, and resting it on the neck of his horse, he threw himself in front of the column, and threatened to shoot the first man who should attempt to advance. In this situation, he was soon after joined by Major Reid and General Coffee, who placed themselves by his side, and abided by the result. For many minutes the column preserved a sullen and hesitating attitude. At length, they turned quietly round, and agreed to return to their posts.

About the 22d of November, a deputation arrived from the Creek tribes called Hillabees, to sue for peace. They had suffered severely at Talladega, and were now ready to submit to whatever terms the General might impose. He replied that they must restore the prisoners and property they had taken, whether from the whites or the friendly Creeks, and surrender the persons concerned in the massacre at Fort Mimms.

With this answer, the Hillabee ambassadors returned to their villages on the 24th of the month.

That very night the Hillabees were attacked in their huts by the Tennessee militia, under General White. Sixty of them were killed, upwards of two hundred and fifty were made prisoners, and their villages were utterly destroyed. The officers of the eastern division, jealous of General Jackson's reputation, and unwilling to lend their aid to raise it, had refused or neglected to co-operate with him throughout the campaign. Such is often the harmony of militia operations. In this instance, the result is to be deplored. The Hillabees believed themselves assailed by Jackson, to whom they had offered his choice of terms, and from whom they had received a promise of amnesty. Under these circumstances, they concluded that peaceful conduct could not defend them from open force or treachery, and till the final cessation of hostilities they waged a war of extermination. In no instance did they ask or accept quarter.

The clamors of the troops were by no means abated during their residence at Fort Strother. The want of food was indeed obviated by the arrival of sufficient stores, but they resolved, if possible, to obtain a discharge. They insisted that the period for which they had undertaken to serve would terminate on the 10th of December, that making a year since the commencement of their engagement. Although they had been unemployed during the greater part of this time, they very reasonably contended that this circumstance did not authorize any deductions from the regular period of their engagement. General Jackson thought otherwise: he replied, that "the law of Congress, under which they had been accepted, requiring one year's service out of two, could contemplate nothing less than an actual service of three hundred and sixty-five days; and, until that had been performed, he could not, unless specially authorized, undertake to discharge them."

On the evening of the 9th, Jackson was informed that a whole brigade of volunteers was again preparing forcibly to move off. He immediately issued the following general order:

"The commanding General being informed that an actual mutiny exists in his camp, all officers and soldiers are commanded to put it down.

"The officers and soldiers of the first brigade will, without delay, parade on the west side of the fort, and await further orders." The artillery company, with two small fieldpieces, being posted in the front and rear, and the militia, under the command of Colonel Wynne, on the eminences in advance, were ordered to prevent the departure of the volunteers. This formidable opposition compelled the deserters to return once more to their posts. But although baffled in this manner, their dissatisfaction at remaining could not be quelled, and Jackson was finally induced to issue an order to General Hall, to march his brigade to Nashville.

Meanwhile the cavalry and mounted riflemen, who, under an express stipulation to return and complete the campaign, had been permitted to retire into the settlements, had, at the time appointed, reassembled in the neighborhood of Huntsville. But, catching the infection of discontent from the infantry, they began now to clamor with equal zeal for a dis-

charge. No representations could induce them to remain; and they finally abandoned their posts tumultuously, and returned to their respective homes. Thus Jackson was deserted by almost his whole original army, and remained with only about thirteen hundred men of the eastern division. The term of service of most of these had nearly expired, and they claimed their discharge as due on the 14th of December.

"The Governor of Tennessee had ordered a levy of twenty-five hundred men from the second division, to assemble at Fayetteville on the 28th of January, to serve for a period of three months. General Cocke was also required to furnish his quota. General Roberts brought two hundred men to Fort Strother, but these stipulated that they should be discharged at the end of three months. Nevertheless, fearing the resolute disposition of General Jackson, they immediately broke up and deserted to a man. Orders were immediately issued to pursue and apprehend them, and finding themselves likely to be compelled, they returned without further ado.

"The time had now come, when those of the militia who had remained in the service, claimed to be discharged, and they declared their determination to return home, whether their claim should be allowed or not. General Jackson, therefore, contrary to the advice of Governor Blount, issued an order forbidding all persons under his command to leave the camp without his written permission, on pain of death. The order was disregarded. The officer of the guard, Lieutenant Kearly, and all his sentinels, left their posts, and the officer refused to surrender his sword or submit to arrest. He formed his company, and was about to march them homeward, when a company arrived to stay his proceedings. Kearly prepared to fight his way through all opposition, and his company would have seconded him, had not General Jackson instantly repaired to the spot. He presented a pistol to the subaltern's breast, compelled him to give up his weapon, and placed him under guard. But on his submission and repentance, Kearly was released from arrest and again received into favor. While this was going on, the rest of the brigade left the camp and proceeded toward home, leaving behind them but a single regiment of militia, whose time had nearly expired. The General sent a written address after them, but it did not bring back one individual.

"In the meanwhile, the Muscogees were sustaining reverses calculated to depress their spirits and facilitate future operations against them. On the 4th of December they were defeated by the Georgia militia, under General Floyd, at Autossee, a town on the Talapoosa river. The strength of eight several towns had been gathered for the defence of this spot. Upwards of two hundred of the savage warriors were slain, and two villages were destroyed. General Clairborne also destroyed the town of Eccancacha, and routed its defenders with loss, on the 1st of January, 1814.

"On the 13th of January, eight hundred and fifty of the newly raised Tennessee volunteers arrived at Fort Strother. They had agreed to serve for sixty days only, and no persuasion could induce them to extend the term. They were organized in two mounted regiments. Two days

after, these troops took up the line of march for Talladega, followed by General Jackson with his staff, an artillery company, three companies of foot, and a company of volunteer officers, nine hundred and thirty in all. At Talladega they were joined by two or three hundred friendly Creeks and Cherokees. With this force, the chief directed his march to Emuckfaw river, where he was advised that a large body of the enemy had collected. On the night of the 21st he encamped within three miles of them.

"At daybreak the next morning, the Creek warriors drove in the sentinels, and vigorously charged the left flank. The assault was bravely given, bravely received, and the battle was maintained with great spirit on both sides for half an hour. When light broke, a general charge forced the Muscogees at every point, and as the Indian allies joined in the pursuit, the slaughter was considerable. General Coffee was then dispatched with four hundred men to destroy the Creek encampment, but found it too strong and too well garrisoned to render the attempt prudent. He therefore returned to the camp.

"Half an hour after his return, a party of the enemy attacked the picket guard on the right flank, as a feint to draw the attention of the whites thither, and thus make them expose the left wing. The savages were disappointed. General Jackson ordered General Coffee to defend the right with the assistance of two hundred of the Indian allies, and repaired himself to the left wing. The shock of the enemy here was sudden and violent, but it was sustained with a gallantry not to have been expected in raw recruits. The Creeks maintained the battle after the fashion of their ancestors, availing themselves of every cover afforded by the broken ground, lying down to load and rising to fire. After a few vollies, the left wing again charged, the Muscogees again fled, and were again pursued; but in the mean time General Coffee was hard pressed, the Indians directed to aid him, having mistaken their orders. By some misapprehension not explained, only fifty men followed him to repel the first attack, and he found the enemy posted to great advantage. They occupied a grove of pines intermingled with brushwood, forming as good a cover as an Indian warrior could desire. He ordered his men to dismount and charge them, and they were driven to the bank of a stream, where they concealed themselves among the reeds, whence he could not dislodge them. He then retired, and the Indians again emerged from their cover, and engaged him on more equal terms. Happily for him, their number was not great, and he was able to stand his ground till General Jackson ordered Jem Fife, the chief of the friendly Creeks, to go to his assistance with a hundred and fifty warriors. It was promptly done. General Coffee and the Creek chief charged in concert, and the enemy broke, losing forty-five men in the charge and pursuit.

"Having buried the dead and attended to the wounded, the camp was fortified; for the Muscogee operations had been so well planned, and they had fought with so much determination, that there was reason to believe they would not let the matter rest thus. No attack occurred during the night, and in the morning the army commenced its retreat to Fort Strother. Through the day they were not molested, but the spies

reported that the enemy hovered on the flanks and rear. This induced the chief to believe he should be attacked in the night, or that an ambush would be prepared for him. Nevertheless, this night also passed without alarm.

"There was a defile in front between two hills, where a small stream was to be crossed, a place every way fit for an ambuscade, and admirably adapted to the peculiar warfare of the Indians. To avoid being taken here at a disadvantage, the General resolved to pass the stream at another ford, where there was nothing to obstruct the evolutions or fire of his troops. Before the enemy was aware of this change of route, the advanced guard, the wounded, and a part of the centre division had crossed the stream. The single piece of artillery had just entered the ford when the battle cry of the Muscogees was heard behind, and the rear guard was charged. The General had taken his measures to repel such an assault wisely. The rear column had received orders to stand fast, while the right and left column should wheel on their pivot, recross the stream above and below, and fall upon the flanks and rear of the enemy. For once, he had overrated the firmness of his men, and this had like to have been the last of his battles. The rear guard gave way, on receiving the attack, and retired upon the rear division, the right and left columns of which broke in confusion, drawing with them a part of the centre column. Twenty-five men only maintained their ground, while an appalling confusion and consternation pervaded the rest of the army. In such circumstances, it is indeed wonderful that the whole army was not utterly destroyed.

"The enemy's balls fell thick and fast on the American ranks. Captain Hamilton had fallen, Captains Bradford and McGavock were down, Lieutenant Armstrong of the artillery had but life left to beg his men to save his cannon, and many more of inferior degree gave up their lives here. The Muscogees were swarming like bees to the attack, and there were none to withstand them but the left wing, the artillery men, a company of spies, and a few that remained of the rear guard. The artillerists ascended the bank with the most determined obstinacy, loaded their gun under a shower of lead, and sent repeated charges of grape among the savages. The company of spies turned the left flank of the enemy, and frustrated a charge they were about to make on the cannon. Many instances of individual bravery occurred in this close and desperate conflict, in which the spies and artillerists earned all praise. They kept the enemy at bay, while the General, by dint of strenuous exertion, restored order in his broken ranks. The Muscogees at last fled, throwing off all incumbrances that could retard their flight.

"In these three several battles, the Muscogees fought with a courage worthy of a better fate, and their loss was accordingly severe. One hundred and ninety dead were found on the fields they abandoned; and if we consider that no thorough search was made, and that it is the practice of Indians to carry off and conceal their slain, we must believe the number of their killed was double what it appeared. Their spirits were depressed by the success of this sanguinary onslaught, and they did not further harass the army on its return to Fort Strother. Shortly

after, they attacked General Floyd, but were repulsed with considerable loss."*

The army encamped, on the night of the 26th, within three miles of Fort Strother. General Jackson having now terminated this triumphant campaign, and hearing that fresh troops might be expected from Tennessee, where the news of his success had much effect, determined to discharge his troops. After detaining his late volunteers, therefore, a short time, to complete boats for the transportation of his camp equipage and provisions down the Coosa, he directed them to be marched home, and there to be honorably dismissed.

The thirty-ninth regiment of Tennessee militia, about six hundred strong, arrived on the 6th of February. The troops from the second division, under Brigadier General Johnson, arrived on the 14th; which, added to the other forces, constituted about five thousand efficient men. The execution of a private, named John Woods, who had been sentenced by a court martial, on the charge of mutiny, took place about this time. The guilt of the man has since been disputed, and the necessity of the punishment is very questionable.

Insubordination and discontent were again prevailing among the troops in consequence of a deficiency of provisions. Every thing seemed to move in opposition to the wishes of Jackson. The East Tennessee brigade had already manifested symptoms of revolt, and it was ascertained that this mutinous spirit had been inflamed by General Cocke, who, it appears, was jealous of the increasing fame of Jackson, and wished nothing so much as to arrest the intended campaign. General Jackson, at length, by constant and unremitted exertions, obtained such supplies as he believed would be necessary to enable him to proceed. At the mouth of Cedar Creek he established Fort Williams. On the 24th of March, 1814, leaving a sufficient force for the protection of the fort, under Brigadier General Johnson, he set out for the Tallapoosa, by the way of Emuckfaw. His whole effective force was something less than three thousand men. At ten in the morning of the 27th, after a march of fifty-two miles, he reached the village of Tohopeka. The enemy had collected here, in considerable numbers, to give him battle. The warriors from Oakfusky, Hillabee, Eufalee, and New Youcka, amounting to nearly one thousand two hundred, were at this place awaiting his approach. They had chosen an admirable spot for defence. Situated in a bend of the river, which almost surrounded it, it was accessible only by a narrow neck of land. This they had strove to render impregnable, by placing large timbers and trunks of trees horizontally on each other, leaving but a single place for entrance. From a double row of port-holes, they were enabled to fire in perfect security behind it. General Coffee, with mounted infantry and friendly Indians, had been dispatched, early in the morning, to encircle the bend, and manoeuvre in such a way, as to divert the savages from the real point of attack. He was particularly directed to prevent their escape to the opposite shore in their canoes, with which, it was represented, the whole shore was lined.

* Memoir of Jackson, by a Freeman.

The General posted the rest of his army in front of the breastwork. He began to batter their breastworks with his cannon. Muskets and rifles were used, as the Indians occasionally showed themselves. The signals, which were to announce that General Coffee had gained his destination, were given. The soldiers hailed it with acclamations, and advanced with the intrepidity of veterans. The thirty-ninth regiment, led on by their skilful commander, Colonel Williams, and the brave, but ill-fated, Major Montgomery, and the militia, amidst a sheet of fire that poured upon them, rushed forward to the rampart. Here an obstinate and destructive conflict ensued. In firing through the port-holes on either side, many of the enemy's balls were welded between the muskets and bayonets of our soldiers. At this moment, Major Montgomery leaping on the rampart, called to his men to follow him. Scarcely had he spoken, when he was shot through the head, and fell.

Our troops had now scaled the ramparts, and the savages fled before them, concealing themselves under the brush and timber, which abounded in the peninsula, whence they still continued a galling fire. Here they were charged and dislodged. Their next alternative was their canoes; but they perceived that a part of the army lined the opposite shore, and precluded escape in that quarter. They, that still survived the conflict, leaped down the banks, and took shelter behind the trees, which had been felled from their margin. An interpreter with a flag here approached them, to propose a surrender; but he was fired upon and severely wounded in the breast. Orders were now given to dislodge them. The brush and trees about them were set on fire by lighted torches, thrown down among them, and the blaze drove them from their hiding places, and exposed them to view. The slaughter continued until night concealed the combatants from one another. A few of the savages, who had avoided the havoc of the day, escaped under the shelter of night. The friendly Indians contributed much to the completeness of the victory. Several of the Cherokees and Russell's spies swam across the river in the heat of the action, and fired the Indian town in the rear of the foe.

This battle gave a death-blow to the hopes of the hostile Indians, and they did not afterwards venture to make any decided stand. Their best and their bravest fell. Few escaped the carnage. Many were thrown into the river while the battle raged. Many were destroyed by Coffee's brigade in endeavoring to cross it; and five hundred and fifty-seven were found dead on the field. Among the slain were three of the prophets. These impostors inflamed the delusive confidence of the savages to the last. Monohoe, one of the chief of them, fell with a cannon shot in his mouth, at the very moment when uttering his incantations, and urging them to stand to the fight. Four men only, and three hundred women and children, were taken prisoners. The small number of men who surrendered proves, in an impressive manner, the desperation with which they fought. The assault by the troops from East Tennessee upon the Hillabee clans, after they had sued for peace on our own terms, had caused them to relinquish all dependence upon our humanity, and to rely solely upon their own bravery and despair. Our loss, including the friendly Indians, was fifty-five killed, and one hundred and forty-six wounded.

The General sunk his dead in the river; for he had found by experience, that when they were buried, the savages exhumed the bodies, stripped and scalped them, and exhibited the scalps to their own people, as trophies of victory, thus encouraging them to prolong the war. Having made the necessary arrangements for the transportation of the wounded, he returned safely to Fort Williams.

Learning that the enemy were collected in considerable numbers at Hoithlewalee, a town not far from the Hickory ground, Jackson was desirous to recommence operations as soon as possible. On the 7th, with all his disposable force, he commenced his march, with the double view of effecting an union with some troops from North Carolina and Georgia, who were south of Tallapoosa, and not far distant, and of attacking the enemy at Hoithlewalee, on his route. It was some time before he could procure confidential messengers, to convey to the expected troops information of his proposed movements. He wrote by expresses, sent on two different routes, that on the 7th, he should march with eight days' provisions for Hoithlewalee, which he intended to attack on the 11th; and he urged the necessity of proper concert on their part, to meet this movement. High waters prevented his reaching his destination until the 13th, before which the enemy had fled. The rear, however, of the retreating savages were overtaken, and twenty-five of them made prisoners.

The next day, the long desired junction with the southern army was effected. The Tennessee troops were sorely pressed for food. Colonel Milton, who commanded the southern army, proposed to lend General Jackson a temporary supply, but felt himself under no obligation to furnish any. To this the General replied, by ordering him to send immediately five thousand rations, and to join him by ten the next day at Hoithlewalee. The junction was accordingly made. The necessary steps were taken to bring down provisions from Fort Decatur, and no further inconvenience was experienced from want of supplies.

The principal chiefs of the Hickory ground tribes, and the Creek chiefs generally, came in with protestations of friendship, and sued for peace. The answer was, that those of the war party, who wished to put an end to the contest, and become friendly, must manifest it by retiring in the rear of the army, and settling themselves to the north of Fort Williams. Fourteen chiefs were willing to furnish still further evidence of their desire for peace. They assured the General, that their aged king, Toushatchee, would have come with them in person, but was on his way with his followers, to settle north of Fort Williams, according to the information which he had received from the General by a flag.

It was expected that the Indians would make a desperate stand at the Hickory grounds, in the forks near where the Coosa and Tallapoosa unite. The army were about to proceed on its march to this place, when it was announced to the General, that Colonel Milton's brigade, which had lately united with him, was not in a situation to move. During the previous night some of his wagon horses having strayed off, persons had been sent in pursuit, and were expected shortly to return with them; when, it was reported, he would be ready to take up the line of march. To Jackson, this was a reason for delaying the operations of an army,

which as yet he had never learned, and by which he had never been influenced. He had, indeed, been frequently made to halt, though from very different causes; from murmurs, discontents, and starvation in his camp. He replied to the Colonel's want of preparation, by telling him, that, in the progress of his own difficulties, he had discovered a very excellent mode of expediting wagons, even without horses; and that, if he would detail him twenty men from his brigade, for every wagon deficient in horses, he would guaranty their safe arrival at their place of destination. Rather than subject his men to such drudgery, the Colonel preferred to dismount some of his dragoons, and thus avoided the necessity of halting the army until his lost teams should arrive.

The army continued its march without meeting any thing to impede it. At the old Toulosse fort on the Coosa, a fort was directed to be raised, to be named after the commanding General. Here the hostile chiefs arrived daily, with proffers of submission. They concurred in their statements, that those of the hostile chiefs, who were still opposed to peace, had fled to the gulf coast and Pensacola. To these applications, an answer was returned similar to the former.

To put their friendly professions, which he distrusted, at once to the test, Jackson directed them to bring Weatherford to his camp, confined, that he might be dealt with as he deserved. This man was one of the first chiefs of the nation, and had been a principal actor in the butchery at Fort Mimms. Learning from the chiefs what had been required of them by Jackson, he determined to proceed to his camp, and make a voluntary surrender of himself. Having reached it, without being known, and obtained admission to the General's quarters, he fearlessly stood in his presence, and told him he was Weatherford, the chief who had commanded at Fort Mimms, and that, desiring peace for himself and for his people, he had come to ask it. Somewhat surprised that one who so richly merited punishment should so sternly demand the protection which had been extended to others, Jackson replied to him, that he was astonished he should venture to appear in his presence; that he was not ignorant of his having been at Fort Mimms, nor of his inhuman conduct there, for which he well deserved to die. "I had directed," continued he, "that you should be brought to me confined; and had you appeared in that way, I should have known how to have treated you."

Weatherford replied, "I am in your power—do with me as you please. I am a soldier; I have done the white people all the harm I could; I have fought them, and fought them bravely; if I had an army, I would yet fight, and contend to the last: but I have none; my people are all gone. I can now do no more than weep over the misfortunes of my nation." Moved at the firm and high toned manner of this child of the forest, Jackson informed him, that he did not solicit him to lay down his arms, or to become peaceable: "The terms on which your nation can be saved, and peace restored, have already been disclosed: in this way, and none other, can you obtain safety." If, however, he desired still to continue the war, and felt himself prepared to meet the consequences, although he was then completely in his power, no advantage should be taken of that circumstance; he was at perfect liberty to retire, and unite himself

with the war party, if he pleased; but, when taken, his life should pay the forfeit of his deeds; if this were not desired, he might remain where he was, and should be protected.

Nothing dismayed, Weatherford answered, that he desired peace, that his nation might, in some measure, be relieved from their sufferings; that, independent of other misfortunes, growing out of a state of war, their cattle and grain were all wasted and destroyed, and their women and children left destitute of provisions. "But," continued he, "I may be well addressed in such language now. There was a time when I had a choice, and could have answered you: I have none now—even hope has ended. Once I could animate my warriors to battle; but I cannot animate the dead. My warriors can no longer hear my voice: their bones are at Talladega, Tallushatchee, Emuckfaw, and Tohopeka. I have not surrendered myself thoughtlessly. Whilst there were chances of success, I never left my post, nor supplicated peace. But my people are gone, and I now ask it for my nation, and for myself. On the miseries and misfortunes brought upon my country, I look back with deepest sorrow, and wish to avert still greater calamities. If I had been left to contend with the Georgia army, I would have raised my corn on one bank of the river, and fought them on the other; but your people have destroyed my nation. You are a brave man: I rely upon your generosity. You will exact no terms of a conquered people but such as they should accede to: whatever they may be, it would now be madness and folly to oppose. If they are opposed, you shall find me amongst the sternest enforcers of obedience. Those who would still hold out can be influenced only by a mean spirit of revenge; and to this they must not, and shall not, sacrifice the last remnant of their country. You have told our nation where we might go, and be safe. This is a good talk, and my nation ought to listen to it. They shall listen to it."

Such were the words of Weatherford. The independent and lofty course which he afterwards pursued, left no doubt of the sincerity of his intentions. Parties were now sent out to enforce submission, but they were useless. The few Creeks who still remained hostile, had indeed retired into Florida. Such of the Muscogees as had joined the Americans against their brethren were now disposed to wreak their fury on the vanquished party, especially those who had been present at the massacre of Fort Mimms. On one occasion they destroyed a small party who were on their way to the camp, with the intention of submitting. General Jackson took measures to remedy these disorders, and having established a line of posts from Tennessee to the Alabama river, he marched his troops home and discharged them.

In reviewing the Creek war, humanity must often recoil from the contemplation of the misery and ruin inflicted upon the deluded savages. That long forbearance, however, had been extended towards them on our side, cannot be disputed. For more than twenty years, the Creeks had been perpetrating cruelties and murders along our frontiers. In the war between the United States and Great Britain, they believed themselves to be allied with an invincible power. Successive defeats at last dispelled this illusion. Their courage was broken down, along with their power,

and it may confidently be hoped, that they will never again, as a nation, raise the tomahawk against us, within the limits of our country.

On the 22d of May, 1814, General Jackson received the appointment of U. S. Major General. He was also associated with the commissioners, for forming a treaty of peace and of limits with the Creek Indians. In defining the extent of territory to be conceded to the Creeks, there was no inconsiderable difficulty. It was increased by the intrigues of the Cherokee nation, who seemed to expect, as the price of their friendship during the war, a considerable portion of country, never before attached to their claim. The demands of our government were stated by General Jackson. They were canvassed by the Creeks in council, and the nation decided against them. The Big Warrior, one of their leading orators during the war, had been friendly to the United States. He replied to General Jackson in the following manner:

"The President, our father, advises us to honesty and fairness, and promises that justice shall be done: I hope and trust it will be! I made this war, which has proved so fatal to my country, that the treaty entered into a long time ago, with father Washington, might not be broken. To his friendly arm I hold fast. I will never break that bright chain of friendship we made together, and which bound us to stand to the United States. He was a father to the Muscoga people; and not only to them, but to all the people beneath the sun. His talk I now hold in my hand. There sits the agent he sent among us. Never has he broken the treaty. He has lived with us a long time. He has seen our children born, who now have children. By his direction cloth was wove, and clothes were made, and spread through our country; but the *Red Sticks* came, and destroyed all,—we have none now. Hard is our situation, and you ought to consider it. I state what all the nation knows: nothing will I keep secret.

"There stands the Little Warrior. While we were seeking to give satisfaction for the murders that had been committed, he proved a mischief-maker; he went to the British on the Lakes; he came back, and brought a package to the frontiers, which increased the murders here. This conduct has already made the war party to suffer greatly: but, although almost destroyed, they will not yet open their eyes, but are still led away by the British at Pensacola. Not so with us: we were rational, and had our senses—we yet are so. In the war of the revolution, our father beyond the waters encouraged us to join him, and we did so. We had no sense then. The promises he made were never kept. We were young and foolish, and fought with him. The British can no more persuade us to do wrong: they have deceived us once, and can deceive us no more. You are two great people. If you go to war, we will have no concern in it; for we are not able to fight. We wish to be at peace with every nation. If they offer me arms, I will say to them, You put me in danger, to war against a people born in our own land. They shall never force us into danger. You shall never see that our chiefs are boys in council, who will be forced to do any thing. I talk thus, knowing that father Washington advised us never to interfere in wars. He told us that those in peace were the happiest people. He told us that, if an enemy attacked

him, he had warriors enough, and did not wish his red children to help him. If the British advise us to any thing, I will tell you—not hide it from you. If they say we must fight, I will tell them, No!"

"You know," said Jackson in reply, "that the portion of country, which you desire to retain, is that through which the intruders and mischief-makers from the lakes reached you, and urged your nation to those acts of violence, that have involved your people in wretchedness, and your country in ruin. Through it leads the path Tecumseh trod, when he came to visit you: that path must be stopped. Until this be done, your nation cannot expect happiness, nor mine security. I have already told you the reasons for demanding it: they are such as ought not—cannot be departed from. This evening must determine whether or not you are disposed to become friendly. By rejecting the treaty, you will show that you are the enemies of the United States—enemies even to yourselves." He admitted it to be true, that the war was not ended, yet that this was an additional reason why the cession should be made; that then a line would be drawn, by which his soldiers would be enabled to know their friends. "When our armies," continued he, "came here, the hostile party had even stripped you of your country: we retook it, and now offer to restore it—theirs we propose to retain. Those who are disposed to give effect to the treaty will sign it. They will be within our territory; will be protected and fed; and no enemy of theirs, or ours, shall molest them. Those who are opposed to it shall have permission to retire to Pensacola. Here is the paper: take it, and show the President who are his friends. Consult, and this evening let me know who will assent to it, and who will not. I do not wish, nor will I attempt, to force any of you—act as you think proper."

The Indians deliberated, and at last signed the treaty. The line of cession began, where the Cherokee boundary crossed the Coosa, to run down that river to the Big Falls, and thence eastwardly to Georgia. The country remaining to the Indians, was east and north of this line, and contained one hundred and fifty thousand square miles. The country ceded to the United States was west and north of these limits. A large and valuable body of lands was included, known in the west by the name of "Jackson's Purchase." It immediately began to be settled with great rapidity. But as soon as the treaty was signed, the Chickasaws, Choctaws, and Cherokees set up claims, each to their particular share of the ceded lands. The government at length purchased the title of these people, at the expense of about three hundred and fifty thousand dollars.

General Jackson had now leisure to extend his thoughts to Florida. It had always been his aim, at the termination of the Creek war, to push through their country, to the last den of retreat, and destroy every source of contention. It was clearly understood, that the Spanish Governor of the Floridas had forfeited all claim to his professed neutral character, by the supplies of munitions and aid, so liberally furnished to the hostile Indians.

During his journey to Alabama, General Jackson received information that about three hundred British troops had landed, and were fortifying themselves at the mouth of the Apalachicola, and were endeavoring to

excite the Indians to war. He immediately acquainted the government of the fact, and requested permission to make a descent upon Pensacola, and reduce it. He received an answer, but not until long after he had acted, on his own responsibility, in the case.

Jackson next wrote to the Spanish Governor. His letter was stern and decided: it demanded the giving up the hostile Indians in his country. The reply to this letter was received after much delay. The Governor denied some of the charges, and endeavored to palliate others, by accusing our government of having harbored traitors from the Mexican provinces, and of countenancing pirates who plundered Spanish commerce. The General answered this letter by another, from which we select the following passages:

"Your excellency has been candid enough to admit your having supplied the Indians with arms. In addition to this, I have learned that a British flag has been seen flying on one of your forts. All this is done whilst you are pretending to be neutral. You cannot be surprised, then, but on the contrary will provide a fort in your town for my soldiers and Indians, should I take it in my head to pay you a visit.

"In future I beg you to withhold your insulting charges against my government for one more inclined to listen to slander than I am; nor consider me any more as a diplomatic character, unless so proclaimed to you from the mouths of my cannon."

Captain Gordon, who had been sent to Pensacola, reported on his return, that he had seen from one hundred and fifty to two hundred officers and soldiers, a park of artillery, and about five hundred Indians, under the drill of British officers, armed with new muskets, and dressed in the English uniform.

Jackson directly laid before government the information he had received, and again urged his favorite scheme, the reduction of Pensacola. Many difficulties were presented; but in order to have every thing in readiness, when the time for action should arrive, he addressed the Governors of Tennessee, Louisiana, and the Mississippi Territory, and urged them to lend all the aid in their power. He ordered the warriors of the different tribes of Indians to be marshalled, and taken into the pay of the government.

The day after completing his business at Fort Jackson, he departed for Mobile, to place the country in a state of defence. He dispatched Colonel Butler to Tennessee to raise volunteers, and ordered General Coffee to advance, with such mounted troops as he could collect. Every preparation was soon completed, and the troops set out for their place of destination.

General Jackson had not yet received permission from government to march against Pensacola; and his design was a secret, which was locked up in his own bosom. Events soon transpired which confirmed him in his determination. Colonel Nicholls, with a small squadron of British ships, arrived at Pensacola, and took up his quarters with Governor Manrequez. He issued a proclamation for the purpose of drawing deserters from the American side to his standard; but we are not aware that he succeeded in his attempt. He facetiously stated, that the people had been deprived

of their rights and liberties "by a contemptible foe," and that he was at the head of a force, sufficient to reinstate them in their ancient possessions. He denounced us as in alliance with Napoleon, of whom he drew a very melancholy picture.

He waited two weeks to give time for this proclamation to ferment in the minds of his readers, but, to his mortification, it finally went off like a cork from a bottle of very flat beer. His first visit was to Fort Bowyer, commanding the entrance of Mobile Bay. In an attack on this fort the Colonel lost one of his ships, and was deprived of an eye. He found that he had been addressing a stubborn and stiff-necked people, and repented, too late, of his mistake.

Fort Bowyer had been put into a state of defence by General Jackson, who early saw its importance. Major Lawrence commanded this spot. His whole force was but one hundred and thirty men. The fort was attacked from the sea by six hundred men, and ninety heavy guns. The attack from the rear was with a force of four hundred Indians and other troops. The enemy retired with the loss of their best ship, and two hundred and thirty men killed and wounded. The loss of the Americans did not exceed ten men.

The British retired to Pensacola, to refit, and prepare for a descent on some less guarded point. Jackson now determined to undertake, on his own responsibility, the capture of this town; and waited only for the arrival of General Coffee with volunteers, to carry his determination into effect. It was at this time very generally understood that a considerable force was shortly to sail from England, destined to act against some part of the United States, most probably New Orleans. It was the key to all the western country, and a place of immense importance, in every point of view. It was presumptuously supposed by the English, that the French inhabitants of Louisiana would hail them as restorers of the legitimate French monarchy.

General Coffee arrived with the expected reinforcements, and on the 2d day of November, the line of march was taken up for Pensacola. On the 6th, the American army, consisting in all of about three thousand men, arrived there. The British and Spaniards had been apprised of their approach, and had made preparations for resistance. The forts were garrisoned; batteries formed in the principal streets; and the British vessels, moored within the bay, were so disposed as to command the main entrances which led into Pensacola.

Previous to commencing the attack, Jackson made a further attempt at negociation. Major Piere was dispatched with a flag, to make known the required conditions, but he was fired on, and compelled to return. This outrage was committed under the Spanish flag, although the British flag had been associated with it until the day before. Jackson did not give up his hopes of a reconciliation. A Spanish officer had been taken the day before, and by him he dispatched another letter to the Governor. An answer was received, stating that the above outrage was properly chargeable on the English, and that the Governor was ready to listen to whatever overtures the American General might make. On the reception of this answer, Major Piere was dispatched, at a late hour of the

night, to the Governor, with another letter, containing the overtures of peace. In this communication, Jackson remarks: "I come not as the enemy of Spain: not to make war, but to ask for peace; to demand security for my country, and that respect to which she is entitled, and must receive. My force is sufficient, and my determination taken, to prevent a future repetition of the injuries she has received. I demand, therefore, the possession of the Barrancas, and other fortifications, with all your munitions of war. If delivered peaceably, the whole will be receipted for, and become the subject of future arrangement by our respective governments; while the property, laws, and religion of your citizens shall be respected. But if taken by an appeal to arms, let the blood of your subjects be upon your own head. I will not hold myself responsible for the conduct of my enraged soldiers. One hour is given you for deliberation, when your determination must be had."

The propositions contained in this letter were rejected. Jackson immediately resolved to urge his army forward. Early on the morning of the 7th, the troops were in motion. To favor the idea, that he would reach the town by the road along which he had been encamped, the General sent a detachment of five hundred men, with orders to show themselves in this direction, that they might deceive the enemy; while with the strength of his army, he rapidly approached Pensacola on a different quarter. The stratagem succeeded. The British looked for his appearance from the point where the detachment was seen. They had formed their vessels across the bay, and were waiting his approach with the most praiseworthy patience. Suddenly our troops were descried upon the beach, on the east side, where it was impossible for the flotilla to annoy them.

They pushed forward, and were soon in the streets, and sheltered by the houses. One company formed the advance, led by Captain Laval, who fell, severely wounded, while charging a Spanish battery, formed in the street. The other divisions advanced rapidly upon the town. Captain Laval's party, although deprived of their leader, forced the battery at the point of the bayonet. The Spaniards had been able to make but three fires, before they were compelled to abandon their position. They still discharged, however, volleys of musketry from behind the houses and fences, until they were dispersed by the arrival of the regulars.

The Governor, bearing a flag, now hastened panic-struck in search of the commander. He was met by Colonels Williamson and Smith, at the head of dismounted troops, and entreated that mercy might be extended to the city.

General Jackson hastened to the intendant house, and obtained a promise of an immediate surrender of the town, the arsenals, and the munitions of war. No time was lost in procuring a surrender of the forts. Barrancas, the most important, was fourteen miles west of Pensacola. Notwithstanding the assurances which had been given, Fort St. Michael was still withheld; nor was it until a battery was raised against it, that the commandant ordered his flag to be taken down. Previously to striking his colors, the commandant had asked leave to discharge his guns. This request was complied with; but the treacherous Spaniard coolly

fired his pieces, charged with grape, at a party of dragoons and Choctaw Indians, who were at a short distance. By this act of perfidy, three horses were killed, and two men wounded. It was a commendable piece of forbearance on the part of General Jackson, and somewhat at variance with his usual excitability, that he did not punish the commandant with a halter.

Every thing was in readiness, the next day, to take possession of Barrancas. Our troops were approaching the place, when a tremendous explosion gave notice that all was destroyed. It was found that the fort had been blown up, and that the British shipping had retired from the bay. On their retreat from Pensacola, the British carried off with them three or four hundred slaves, in spite of the remonstrances of the owners. Our loss in the expedition was trifling. None were killed. About twenty were wounded, among whom were Captain Laval, and Lieutenant Flournoy.

The General was now anxious to depart for New Orleans. His health was much impaired, but his fear that a large fleet would soon appear on the coast, impelled him to action. Colonel Havne was sent to the mouth of the Mississippi on a tour of examination. General Coffee and Colonel Hinds were ordered to occupy a position in the vicinity of New Orleans. Every thing being finally arranged, Jackson left Mobile on the 22d of November, and on the 1st of December established his head-quarters at New Orleans.

A correspondence had for some time been carried on between General Jackson and the Governor of Louisiana, in relation to the existing circumstances of the State. It was believed that little reliance could be placed on the great body of the citizens. Many of the inhabitants felt not the attachment of birth to the country; while others were indifferent as to what power they surrendered. The requisition for troops had been poorly answered, and many refused, after being drafted, to enter the ranks. In one of his letters to Governor Claiborne, the General remarked: "I regret to hear of the discontents of your people: they must not exist. Whoever is not for us, is against us. Those who are drafted must be *compelled* to the ranks, or punished: *it is no time to balance:* the country must be defended; and he who refuses to aid, when called on, must be treated with severity. To repel the danger with which we are assailed, requires all our energies, and all our exertions. With union on our side, we shall be able to drive our invaders back to the ocean. Summon all your energy, and guard every avenue with confidential patroles, for spies and traitors are swarming around. Numbers will be flocking to your city, to gain information, and corrupt your citizens. Every aid in your power must be given to prevent vessels sailing with provisions. By us the enemy must not be fed. Let none pass; for on this will depend our safety, until we can get a competent force in the field, to oppose attack, or become the assailants. We have more to dread from intestine, than open and avowed enemies: but vigilance on our side, and all will be safe. Remember our watchword is victory or death. Our country must and shall be defended. We will enjoy our liberty, or perish in the last ditch."

He forwarded an address to the people of Louisiana, in which he pointed out the course which the present crisis required them to adopt, and entreated them not to be lured from their fidelity.

"Your government, Louisianians, is engaged in a just and honorable contest, for the security of your individual, and her national rights. The only country on earth, where man enjoys freedom, where its blessings are alike extended to the poor and rich, calls on you to protect her from the grasping usurpation of Britain:—she will not call in vain. I know that every man whose bosom beats high at the proud title of freeman, will promptly obey her voice, and rally round the eagles of his country, resolved to rescue her from impending danger, or nobly to die in her defence. He who refuses to defend his rights, when called on by his government, deserves to be a slave—deserves to be punished as an enemy to his country—a friend to her foes."

In the mean time, orders were issued by the Secretary of War to the Governors of the adjoining States to hasten forward their quotas of men and supplies. Governor Shelby of Kentucky displayed his zeal by the most efficient exertions. The troops from his State were immediately organized, placed under the command of Major-General Thomas, and dispatched down the Ohio. Major-General William Carroll commanded the detachment from Tennessee. On the 19th of November, the day appointed for their rendezvous, twenty-five hundred of the yeomanry of the State appeared at Nashville, and, in eight days, embarked on board their boats for New Orleans.

Although General Jackson had heretofore been mainly dependent on the militia for his successes, yet he had but little faith in their ability to contend in an open field, against troops experienced in all the manœuvres and stratagems of war. In a letter to the Secretary of War, of the 20th of November, 1814, he observes, "Permit me to suggest a plan, which, on a fair experiment, will do away or lessen the expenses, under the existing mode of calling militia forces into the field. Whenever there happens to be a deficiency in the regular force, in any particular quarter, let the government determine on the necessary number: this should be apportioned among the different States, agreeably to their respective representations, and called into service for, and during the war. The quota wanted will, in my opinion, be soon raised from premiums offered by those who are subject to militia duty, rather than be harassed by repeated drafts. In the mean time, let the present bounty, given by the government, be also continued. If this be done, I will insure that an effective force shall soon appear in every quarter, amply sufficient for the reduction of Canada, and to drive all our enemies from our shores."

The Legislature of Louisiana had been for some weeks in session, but had not yet arrived at any definite decision. The arrival of Jackson infused new vigor into the public measures. He reviewed the volunteer corps of the city, visited the different forts, and inspected the avenues to the city. The old fort at the Balize was abandoned, and Fort St. Philip was put in the best possible state of defence. Various alterations and improvements were ordered to be made in the other forts along the

river. Negroes were the only laborers, that in this swampy and insalubrious clime, could be expected to perform these labors. The planters were appealed to, to furnish their slaves.

The measures of defence on Lakes Borgne and Ponchartrain were promptly carried into effect by Commodore Patterson. Lieutenant Jones with his gun-boats was sent to defend the passes, and the communication between the two lakes was protected by a fort, under Captain Norman. Guards and videttes were also posted in different directions to convey early intelligence of every thing that passed. Notwithstanding these precautions, treachery at last pointed out to the enemy a narrow pass, through which they effected a landing, and reached undiscovered the banks of the Mississippi.

As soon as information was received, that the English fleet were approaching, Lieutenant Jones, with his gun-boats, was ordered to reconnoitre, and ascertain their disposition and force. On the 13th of December, he discovered the enemy moving off in barges towards Pass Christian. He had explicit orders to fight the enemy only at the Rigolets, which a violent wind prevented him from reaching. His situation became dangerous; but, at a moment of extreme peril, the tide, which is there very irregular, came suddenly in, and lifting the boats off the shoal, bore them away from the attack. At the bay of St. Louis was a small depot of public stores, which Lieutenant Jones had been ordered to bring away. Mr. Johnson, on board the Seahorse, proceeded to execute this order. The enemy, on the retreat of Lieutenant Jones, dispatched three barges to capture him. They were driven back. An additional force was sent against him, when a smart action commenced, and the assailants were again compelled to retire with loss. But, aware that it was out of his power to defend himself against so large a force as the British could bring against him, he blew up his vessel, burned the stores, and effected a retreat by land.

Early on the morning of the 14th, the enemy's barges, lying nine miles to the east, suddenly weighed their anchors, and proceeded westwardly to the pass, where our gun-boats still lay. The same difficulty experienced before was encountered. A perfect calm prevailed, while a strong current rendered every effort to retire unavailing. No alternative remained but to meet and fight the enemy; whose force consisted of forty-three boats, mounting as many cannon, and 1200 chosen men. The action soon commenced. A strong current unfortunately drifted two of our boats a hundred yards in advance of the line. The enemy bore down on the gun-boats in advance, and attempted to board them. They were repulsed with great slaughter, and two of their boats were sunk. One of them with one hundred and eighty men, went down immediately under the stern of one of the two gun-boats. A second attempt to board them proved unsuccessful. Lieutenant Jones received a severe wound, and was obliged to yield the command to George Parker, who soon after was also compelled to retire on the same account. After a conflict of nearly an hour's duration, the Americans yielded to superiority of force. Midshipmen Cauly and Reynolds, young men of promise, fell victims to the wounds received in this contest. The American loss was ten killed and

thirty-five wounded. That of the assailants could not have been less than three hundred. The British returned, with their shipping, to Cat Island.

General Jackson received the news of this disaster with concern. Active and energetic measures were requisite to meet the exigencies of the occasion. Major Lacoste, commanding a battalion of colored troops, with two pieces of cannon, and a sufficient force, was ordered to defend the Chef Menteur road, that leads from the head of lake Borgne to New Orleans. The Rigolots presented the most probable route for the advance of the enemy. This important point was reinforced, and confided to Captain Newman, of the artillery. On the 16th, the militia were reviewed by Jackson, who addressed them in a tone suited to the occasion.

The day after the contest on the lakes, Mr. Shields, purser in the navy, was dispatched with a flag to Cat Island, accompanied by Dr. Murrell. The object of the mission was to alleviate the situation of our wounded, and to effect their liberation on parole. The British commander tried various methods of obtaining from these gentlemen, information of the strength and disposition of our army; but nothing could be elicited from them. They were placed at night in a room, where their conversation might be overheard. Suspecting something of the kind, they resolved to turn the circumstance to their advantage. They talked of the circumstance of their detention, and of the prudent caution with which they had withheld all information from the British commander. "But," continued Shields, "how greatly these gentlemen will be disappointed in their expectations! For Jackson, with the twenty thousand troops he now has, and the reinforcements from Kentucky, which must speedily reach him, will be able to destroy any force that can be landed from these ships." These words were eagerly listened to and treasured, and the belief was adopted that our force was as large as the wily prisoner represented.

Early on the 15th, expresses were sent in quest of General Coffee, who, it was hoped, was not far distant with the troops from Tennessee and Kentucky. The express met Coffee a little above Baton Rouge, where he had halted, with three hundred men on his sick list. He immediately hastened forward with his force reduced to eight hundred men, and early on the morning of the 20th arrived within four miles of New Orleans. The advance of Colonel Hinds, with the Mississippi dragoons, was no less expeditious. Having received his orders, he effected, in four days, a march of two hundred and thirty miles. On the 21st, General Carroll appeared with the rest of the Tennesseans.

When it was announced in New Orleans, that the British had disembarked, all was panic among the citizens, notwithstanding the preparations of the General. On the night of the 22d, the enemy effected a landing at Bayou Bienvenue, a lagune of considerable extent, stretching from lake Borgne, to within fifteen miles of New Orleans. Jackson resolved to advance and give them battle that night. He arrived in sight of the enemy a little before dark. The schooner Caroline was ordered to drop down opposite the enemy's position, where she was to anchor

and deliver her fire. This was to be the signal for a general attack. General Coffee had cautiously advanced beyond the enemy's pickets, and nearly reached an advantageous position, when a broadside from the Caroline announced the battle begun. The British were so much annoyed by her guns, that they were compelled to retire three hundred yards in rear of their first position. Their compelled change of place brought their right in contact with General Coffee, sooner than that officer had expected. His men opened a fire so destructive, that the enemy gave way, but soon rallied again.

Thus the battle raged on the left wing, until the British reached the bank of the river. The conflict here was severe on both sides, for half an hour. Neither force could be made to yield their ground. But at length the British, having suffered greatly, took refuge behind the levee, which afforded them a breastwork adequate to shield them from the fatal fire of our riflemen. General Coffee, unacquainted from the darkness of the night with the strength of their position, proposed to charge them again; but he was finally induced to retire, and await the orders of his General.

While the left wing was thus engaged, General Jackson attacked the enemy's left flank. The British troops had gained a favorable position between two levees, or embankments, which had been raised to resist the encroachments of the Mississippi. Here they were partly sheltered from the fire of the American riflemen and the guns of the Caroline. They resisted bravely for half an hour, giving ground, however; when a dense fog arising, and his troops getting into disorder, Jackson judged it prudent to discontinue the contest.

From prisoners and deserters it was ascertained, that the enemy was now not much short of six thousand strong. This number greatly exceeded any force which the American General could bring against them; and Jackson resolved to forbear all farther efforts, until he should discover the ultimate views of the enemy, and be reinforced by the Kentucky troops that were expected. He fell back, and formed his line behind a deep ditch, that run at right angles from the river, and was defended on the left by an almost impervious swamp. He exerted himself strenuously to put this position in a proper state of defence. Bales of cotton in vast numbers were drawn from the city, and placed so as to form an almost impenetrable bulwark.

The British in the mean time were not idle. Early on the morning of the 27th, a battery, which had been thrown up the preceding night, was discovered on the bank of the river. Ineffectual efforts had been made to float the schooner up the stream. Bombs and red-hot shot were thrown on her from the battery, and she was finally in flames. There being no chance of saving her, and one of the crew being killed, and six wounded, she was abandoned, and shortly after blew up.

On the 28th, the British columns advanced on our works, apparently with the object of storming them. Sir Edward Packenham commanded in person. At the distance of half a mile, they opened their heavy artillery upon us. Showers of bombs, balls, and congreve rockets were discharged, but excited no sensation in the minds of the Americans, save

that of curiosity. After persevering in their attack for seven hours, the British abandoned the unavailing contest. The armed sloop Louisiana had also opened a fire upon them, and withstood all their efforts to silence her.

While these proceedings were going on, Jackson received an intimation, that it was the design of the Legislature, in case he should be defeated, to offer the enemy terms of capitulation. He was greatly incensed at this intelligence, and sent orders to Governor Claiborne to watch narrowly the conduct of the Legislature, and the moment the project of offering a capitulation to the enemy should be fully disclosed, to place a guard at the door, and confine the representatives to their chamber. On receiving this order, the Governor coolly marched an armed force into the hall of the Legislature, and unceremoniously expelled the members at the point of the bayonet.

Before this, Jackson had been called on by a special committee of the Legislature to know what his course would be, should necessity drive him from his position. "If," replied the General, "I thought the hair of my head could divine what I should do, I would cut it off: go back with this answer; say to your honorable body, that, if disaster does overtake me, and the fate of war drives me from my line to the city, they may expect to have a very warm session." "And what did you design to do," one inquired, "provided you had been forced to retreat?" "I should," he replied, "have retreated to the city, fired it, and fought the enemy amidst the surrounding flames. There were with me men of wealth, owners of considerable property, who, in such an event, would have been amongst the foremost to have applied the torch to their own buildings; and what they had left undone, I should have completed.—Nothing for the comfortable maintenance of the enemy would have been left in the rear. I would have destroyed New Orleans, occupied a position above on the river, cut off all supplies, and in this way compelled them to depart from the country."

From this time to the 8th of January, no important military operations took place. There were some trifling skirmishes, and an occasional cannonade, but nothing to change the relative position of the two armies. To repair the damage caused by the enemy's cannon, General Jackson seized a considerable quantity of cotton, and filled up the breaches with it. The man to whom the bales belonged complained to him, and demanded their restoration. Finding that he was not enrolled in any corps, the General put a musket into his hand and ordered him into the ranks; remarking, that as he was a man of property, none could be more proper to defend it.

The 8th of January dawned, and with the dawn the enemy's signals for movement were descried. These were two skyrockets, the one thrown up on the left, the other on the right of the enemy's camp. The charge that followed was so rapid, that the troops at the outposts fled in with difficulty. Showers of bombs and balls were poured upon our line, while the air blazed with congreve rockets. The two divisions, commanded by Sir Edward Packenham in person, and supported by Generals Keane and Gibbs, pressed forward the right against the centre of

General Carroll's division,—the left against our redoubt on the levee. A thick fog enabled them to approach near our entrenchment, before they were discovered. Our troops, on descrying them, gave three cheers, and poured upon them from the whole line a sheet of fire. It was accompanied by a burst of artillery, which swept down their front. From the musketry there was a continued volley. Some of the enemy moved through this murderous fire, and gained the ditch in front of our works, where they remained during the action, and were afterwards made prisoners.—Nothing could surpass the horror of the scene before them. These trained veterans were seen first to waver, and then retire. Sir Edward Packenham hastened to their front, and endeavored to rally them. He fell mortally wounded, in the arms of his aid-de-camp, not far from our line. It is said that Packenham had appealed to the worst passions of his troops to stimulate them to the assault. "Beauty and Booty" were the words given by him as the order of the day.

Scarcely had Packenham received his death-wound, when the next officer in command was borne from the field dangerously wounded. The British then retreated, in less confusion than might have been expected, till they gained the shelter of a ditch, where they halted and dressed their ranks. Their officers, having restored order, led them steadily on once more over the thick strewn bodies of their comrades, and met the same reception as before. So dreadful was the destruction, that they could hardly close the gaps in their ranks as fast as they were made.—They were endeavoring to deploy into the line, when they at once lost heart, broke, and fled, in spite of their leaders, the points of whose swords had now less terror for them than the American rifles. General Lambert, who had succeeded to the command, led them back to their former position.

Meanwhile, a simultaneous attack by Colonel Thornton, with three hundred chosen men, had been made upon General Morgan's position on the left bank of the river. Some troops, that were stationed in advance to act as spies, retreated on the landing of the enemy, and were met on their return by the Kentucky force, who joined them. The two detachments, now acting together, formed behind a saw-mill race, the plank and scantling of which made a tolerable breastwork. A spirited resistance was maintained towards the advancing foe for some time, and for a moment the enemy were checked. They rallied, advanced, and again received a heavy fire. The General's aid, perceiving the steady advance of the British, and fearing for the safety of his troops, ordered a retreat. The consequence was, that the whole force fled in haste, creating confusion in General Morgan's line. Here they were halted, and formed in a line that reached quite to the swamp. Colonel Thornton, having arrived in an orange grove, seven hundred yards distant from our line, halted and surveyed it. He immediately advanced to attack it in two divisions. It was defended by about fifteen hundred men. A severe discharge from the ordnance along our works caused their right division to oblique, and to unite with their left. They pressed upon the point occupied by the Kentucky troops. From some inexplicable cause, the whole force became panic struck, and fled. Through the exertions of the

officers, a momentary halt was effected; but a burst of congreve rockets falling thickly around them, and setting fire to the sugar-cane and other combustibles, renewed their flight. Commodore Patterson had been firing on the enemy from the opposite shore. But seeing the confusion of this retreat, and aware that he could not maintain his ground, he spiked his guns, and retired from his post.

General Jackson hastened to throw detachments across the river, with orders to regain the position at all hazards. Fortunately his object was obtained without the effusion of blood.

The British commander sent a flag of truce with a proposal that hostilities should cease for twenty-four hours, that the dead might be buried. General Jackson assented, but stipulated that the truce should not extend to the troops on the right bank, and that no reinforcement should be sent across by either party. Whether General Lambert had already determined to abandon the post gained and retreat, or whether he inferred from this answer, that a large American force had already been sent over, cannot now be known. At any rate, Colonel Thornton did not wait to be attacked, but recrossed the river and joined the main body in the night. The Americans joyfully took possession of the post he had abandoned, and thus both armies were again in the same relative positions as before the battle.

The loss of the British in the main attack on the left has been variously stated. The killed, wounded and prisoners, as ascertained by Colonel Hayne, our inspector general, the day after the battle, amounted to two thousand six hundred. The American loss, in killed and wounded, was but thirteen. Our effective force on the line was short of four thousand. That of the enemy engaged was at least nine thousand.

The conflict ended, and each army occupied its former position. A powerful effort was made by the enemy to bring their fleet up the river, and change the character of the campaign. A long and violent attack was made on Fort St. Philip, by two bomb vessels, a brig, sloop, and schooner. The assault was continued, until the night of the 17th, during which time an immense quantity of bombs and balls were thrown upon the fort by the enemy. It was commanded by Major Overton, who managed the defence with much skill and bravery. The efforts of the British were in vain, and the British finally forsook their camp, and took refuge on board their shipping. Our loss in the defence was nine killed or wounded. On the 10th of February, news of peace was received at New Orleans.

Thus ended the much talked of battle of New Orleans. At the close of the contest, General Jackson delivered an address in the following strain:

"Citizens, and fellow-soldiers! The enemy has retreated, and your General has now leisure to proclaim to the world what he has noticed with admiration and pride—your undaunted courage, your patriotism, and patience under hardships and fatigues. Natives of different States, acting together for the first time in this camp; differing in habits and in language, instead of viewing in these circumstances the germ of distrust and division, you have made them the source of honorable emulation, and

from the seeds of discord itself have reaped the fruits of an honorable union. This day completes the fourth week, since fifteen hundred of you attacked treble your number of men, who had boasted of their discipline and their services under a celebrated leader, in a long and eventful war—attacked them in their camp, the moment they had profaned the soil of freedom with their hostile tread, and inflicted a blow which was a prelude to the final result of their attempt to conquer, or their poor contrivances to divide us. A few hours was sufficient to unite the gallant band, though, at the moment they received the welcome order to march, they were separated many leagues, in different directions from the city. The gay rapidity of the march, and the cheerful countenances of the officers and men, would have induced a belief that some festive entertainment, not the strife of battle, was the scene to which they hastened with so much eagerness and hilarity. In the conflict that ensued, the same spirit was supported, and my communications to the executive of the United States, have testified the sense I entertained of the merits of the corps and officers that were engaged. Resting on the field of battle, they retired in perfect order on the next morning to these lines, destined to become the scene of future victories, which they were to share with the rest of you, my brave companions in arms. Scarcely were your lines a protection against musket shot, when, on the 28th, a disposition was made to attack them with all the pomp and parade of military tactics, as improved by those veterans of the Spanish war.

"Their batteries of heavy cannon kept up an incessant fire; their rockets illuminated the air; and, under their cover, two strong columns threatened our flanks. The foe insolently thought that this spectacle was too imposing to be resisted, and in the intoxication of this pride, he already saw our lines abandoned without a contest. How were these menacing appearances met? By shouts of defiance, by a manly countenance, not to be shaken by the roar of his cannon, or by the glare of his firework rockets; by an artillery served with superior skill, and with deadly effect. Never, my brave friends, can your General forget the testimonials of attachment to our glorious cause, of indignant hatred to our foe, of affectionate confidence in your chief, that resounded from every rank, as he passed along your line. This animating scene damped the courage of the enemy; he dropped his scaling ladders and fascines, and the threatened attack dwindled into a *demonstration*, which served only to show the emptiness of his parade, and to inspire you with a just confidence in yourselves.

"The new year was ushered in with the most tremendous fire his whole artillery could produce: a few hours only, however, were necessary for the brave and skilful men, who directed our own, to dismount his cannon, destroy his batteries, and effectually silence his fire. Hitherto, my brave friends, in the contest on our lines, your courage had been passive only; you stood with calmness a fire that would have tried the firmness of a veteran, and you anticipated a nearer contest with an eagerness which was soon to be gratified.

"On the 8th of January, the final effort was made. At the dawn of day the batteries opened, and the columns advanced. Knowing that the

volunteers from Tennessee and the militia from Kentucky were stationed on your left, it was there they directed their chief attack.

"Reasoning always from false principles, they expected little opposition from men whose officers even were not in uniform, who were ignorant of the rules of dress, and who had never been *caned into discipline.* Fatal mistake! a fire incessantly kept up, directed with a calmness and unerring aim, strewed the field with the bravest officers and men of the column, which slowly advanced, according to the most approved rules of European tactics, and was cut down by the untutored courage of American militia. Unable to sustain this galling and unceasing fire, some hundreds nearest the intrenchment called for quarter, which was granted; the rest retreating, were rallied at some distance, but only to make them a surer mark for the grape and canister shot of our artillery, which, without exaggeration, mowed down whole ranks at every discharge; and at length they precipitately retired from the field.

"Our right had only a short contest to sustain with a few rash men, who, fatally for themselves, forced their entrance into the unfinished redoubt on the river. They were quickly dispossessed, and this glorious day terminated with the loss to the enemy, of their Commander-in-chief and one Major-General killed, another Major-General wounded, the most experienced and bravest of their officers, and more than three thousand men killed, wounded and missing, while our ranks, my friends, were thinned only by the loss of seven of our brave companions killed, and six disabled by wounds. Wonderful interposition of Heaven! unexampled event in the history of war!

"Let us be grateful to the God of battles, who has directed the arrows of indignation against our invaders, while he covered with his protecting shield the brave defenders of their country.

"After this unsuccessful and disastrous attempt, their spirits were broken, their force was destroyed, and their whole attention was employed in providing the means of escape. This they have effected; leaving their heavy artillery in our power, and many of their wounded to our clemency. The consequences of this short but decisive campaign are incalculably important. The pride of our arrogant enemy humbled, his forces broken, his leaders killed, his insolent hopes of our disunion frustrated—his expectation of rioting in our spoils and wasting our country, changed into ignominious defeat, shameful flight, and a reluctant acknowledgment of the humanity and kindness of those, whom he had doomed to all the horrors and humiliation of a conquered state.

"On the other side, unanimity established, disaffection crushed, confidence restored, your country saved from conquest, your property from pillage, your wives and daughters from insult and violation—the union preserved from dismemberment, and perhaps a period put, by this decisive stroke, to a bloody and savage war. These, my brave friends, are the consequences of the efforts you have made, and the success with which they have been crowned by Heaven.

"These important results have been effected by the united courage and perseverance of the army; but which the different corps, as well as the individuals that compose it, have vied with each other in their exertions

to produce. The gratitude, the admiration of their country, offers a fairer reward than that which any praises of the General can bestow; and the best is that of which they can never be deprived, the consciousness of having done their duty, and of meriting the applause they will receive."

On the 22d of the month, Jackson signed a warrant which condemned six militia men to death, and nearly two hundred more to a disgraceful punishment. During the party excitement of 1828, various statements of this affair appeared in the newspapers. An investigation of the General's conduct was instituted by Congress, and to the proceedings on the occasion, we refer our readers.

General Jackson was enthusiastically received at New Orleans, on his return. The 23d of January was appointed a day of Thanksgiving. Jackson repaired to the cathedral, which was crowded to excess. Children robed in white, and representing the different States, strewed his way with flowers, and an ode was recited as he passed. A *Te Deum* was sung, and bishop Dubourg delivered an address, which he concluded by presenting the General with a wreath of laurel.

During the prevalence of martial law in New Orleans, Jackson had arrested a member of the Legislature named Louallier, on a charge of exciting mutiny among his troops, by a publication in a newspaper.—Louallier applied to Judge Hall for a writ of habeas corpus, which was immediately issued. Instead, however, of acting in obedience to the writ, and surrendering M. Louallier, Jackson arrested the Judge and turned him out of the city. On being restored to the exercise of his functions, Judge Hall granted a rule of court for General Jackson to appear, and show cause why an attachment for contempt should not be awarded, on the ground that he had refused to obey a writ issued to him, detained an original paper belonging to the court, and imprisoned the Judge. Jackson endeavored to justify his conduct in a long defence, but by the decision of the court he was fined a thousand dollars.

The popular feeling seems to have run strongly in his favor. No sooner was the judgment pronounced, than the crowds who filled the court-house, hurried forth with loud cries of "Huzza for Jackson."—They presently met a carriage in which a lady was riding, and taking her from it with more enthusiasm than civility, they compelled the object of their acclamations to occupy her place. The horses being removed, the carriage was drawn on, and stopped at the coffee-house, into which he was carried, and thither the crowd followed, huzzaing for Jackson, and uttering menaces against the Judge. A sum was soon raised sufficient to relieve Jackson of the payment of the fine; but he is said to have preferred the satisfaction of refusing the proffered indemnification.

General Jackson arrived in Nashville on the 18th of May, 1815, and was received in a flattering manner by the citizens of that place. He was soon after appointed Commander-in-chief of the southern division. The Legislature of Tennessee passed a vote of thanks, and presented him with a gold medal. Towards the close of the autumn of 1815, he repaired to the seat of government. On his way, he met with continued

demonstrations of respect from the people. A public dinner was given him at Lynchburg, in Virginia, at which Thomas Jefferson gave the following toast: 'Honor and gratitude to the man who has filled the measure of his country's glory.' In the spring of 1816, Jackson again visited New Orleans. After stationing the army in the southern section of his division, he concluded a treaty with the Indians, the object of which was to obtain from them the absolute relinquishment of all the claim they pretended to have to lands within the limits of the United States, and which had been previously ceded by them. Shortly afterwards he entered into a correspondence with President Monroe, on the subject of the War Department. It was his wish that the officers of his division should obey no order from the War Department, which did not pass through the office of his Adjutant General; and he had issued a notice to this effect. The affair ended in the Secretary of War issuing a declaration, that, for the future, orders of the War Department should be first communicated to the commanding Generals of divisions, excepting on extraordinary occasions.

The Seminole Indians had committed many troublesome depredations on our southern frontiers. General Gaines had been ordered by the President on the 30th of October, 1817, to take measures for the defence of the frontier. In obedience to his orders, he built three forts, and proceeded to expel the Indians. He met with considerable opposition. At the mouth of Flint river, a party of forty men, under Lieutenant Scott, fell into an ambuscade of the savages, and were all slain but six, who escaped by swimming. On hearing the news of this massacre, General Jackson raised an army of two thousand five hundred volunteers, mustered them as in the service of the United States, and appointed two hundred and thirty officers. On the first of April, he arrived with his army at the Mickasucky villages, which were deserted on his approach. He burned the villages, and marched to St. Marks, a Spanish post on Apalachy bay.

Alexander Arbuthnot, a Scot, and an Indian trader, was taken near St. Marks and confined. Shortly afterwards, a British Lieutenant of marines, named Ambrister, was also seized. These men were accused of exciting the Indians to hostility against the United States, and supplying them with the means of war. They were tried by a court martial, consisting of officers of militia, by whom the case seems to have been fully investigated. The unhappy prisoners were found guilty, and sentenced to be hung.

General Jackson arrived about the middle of May at the Escambia, near Pensacola. Here, he received a remonstrance from the Governor of West Florida, who complained of the violation of a Spanish territory. But Jackson having heard that a party of fugitive Indians had passed through the town, resolved to follow them. He took possession of the place on the 24th; and the Governor fled to Fort Barrancas for protection. The next day, Jackson commenced offensive operations against the fort, which was finally surrendered. In a letter to the Secretary of War, dated June 2d, 1818, Jackson closes as follows. As usual, he does not omit to mention, in terms of praise, his officers and men.

"The Seminole war may now be considered as at a close, tranquillity again restored to the southern frontier of the United States, and as long as a cordon of military posts is maintained along the Gulf of Mexico, America has nothing to apprehend from either foreign or Indian hostilities. Indeed Sir, to attempt to fortify, or protect an imaginary line, or to suppose that a frontier on the 31st degree of latitude, in a wilderness, can be secured by a cordon of military posts, while the Floridas lie open to an enemy, is visionary in the extreme.

"Under this firm belief, I have bottomed all my operations. Spain had disregarded the treaties existing with the American Government, or had not power to enforce them. The Indian tribes within her territory, and which she was bound to keep at peace, had visited our citizens with all the horrors of savage war; negro brigands were establishing themselves, when and where they pleased; and foreign agents were openly and knowingly practising their intrigues in this neutral territory.

"The immutable principles, therefore, of self defence, justified the occupancy of the Floridas, and the same principles will warrant the American government in holding it, until such time as Spain can guaranty, by an adequate military force, the maintaining her authority within the colony.

"At the close of a campaign which has terminated so honorably and happily, it gives me pleasure to express my approbation, generally, of the officers and soldiers of every species of corps, which I have had the honor to command. The patience with which they endured fatigue, and submitted to privations, and the determination with which they encountered, and vanquished every difficulty, is the strongest indication of the existence of that patriotic feeling, which no circumstances can change, and of that irresistible ardor in the defence of his country, which will prove her strength and bulwark under any experience. I should do violence to my feelings, if I did not particularly notice the exertions of my quartermaster general, Colonel George Gibson, who, under the most embarrassing circumstances, relieved the necessities of my army, and to whose exertions was I indebted for the supplies received. His zeal and integrity, in this campaign, as well as in the uniform discharge of his duties since his connexion with my staff, merits the approbation and gratitude of his country."

At the close of the Seminole campaign, General Jackson returned to Nashville. From this period till the summer of 1821, nothing particularly worthy of remark occurred to him. Florida was, by the treaty, to be ceded in August, and in June he was appointed Governor of the whole Territory, with powers equal to those which had been previously exercised by the Spanish Governors. The Spanish officers yielded their several commands on the day appointed by the treaty. The new Governor, however, did not assume his command in perfect harmony and serenity. There were certain documents of importance, which the Spanish Governor, Callava, retained in his possession. These, Jackson ordered him to surrender. Callava refused, and was taken into custody by an armed guard. He was carried before Governor Jackson, and was, by his order, committed to prison, until the papers should be delivered to the alcaide On the next day, a search-warrant for the papers was issued

by the Governor, upon which they were obtained, and directed to be delivered to the alcaide; whereupon, Callava was immediately released.

In assuming the command in Florida, General Jackson had said: "I am clothed with powers, that no one, under a republic, ought to possess, and which I trust will never again be given to any man." Becoming weary of his situation as Governor, he resigned his office, and returned to Nashville. In May, 1822, he was nominated, by the Legislature of Tennessee, a candidate for the Presidency of the United States. He was elected in the autumn of the same year to the United States Senate. The new tariff bill, which was enacted the next session, received his support.

Mr. Monroe's second term of office as President of the United States was near expiring, and the question, who should be his successor, was an exciting one throughout the Union. The candidates were John Quincy Adams of the north, Andrew Jackson and Henry Clay of the west, and Messrs. Crawford and Calhoun of the south. Mr. Calhoun withdrew from the canvass of 1824, and the contest was maintained between the other candidates. General Jackson received ninety-nine electoral votes; J. Q. Adams, eighty-four; W. H. Crawford, forty-one; and Henry Clay, thirty-seven. By a constitutional provision, the election consequently devolved upon the House of Representatives. It was evident, that Mr. Clay's chance of election was small, but having received the entire votes of three States, he was able to exercise a powerful influence on the election. He avowed himself in favor of Mr. Adams; his friends followed his example, and Mr. Adams was consequently elected.

During the political excitement in relation to the Presidency, General La Fayette, who had been making his memorable tour through the United States, arrived at Nashville. His visit to General Jackson is thus described by Levasseur, the secretary of our country's guest:

"At one o'clock, we embarked with a numerous company, to proceed to dine with General Jackson, whose residence is a few miles up the river. We there found numbers of ladies and farmers from the neighborhood, whom Mrs. Jackson had invited to partake of the entertainment she had prepared for General La Fayette. The first thing that struck me on arriving at the General's, was the simplicity of his house. Still somewhat influenced by my European habits, I asked myself if this could really be the dwelling of the most popular man in the United States, of him whom the country proclaimed one of her most illustrious defenders; of him, finally, who by the will of the people was on the point of becoming her chief magistrate. One of our fellow-passengers, a citizen of Nashville, witnessing my astonishment, asked me, whether in France, our public men, that is to say, the servants of the public, lived very differently from other citizens? 'Certainly,' said I; 'thus, for example, the majority of our generals, all our ministers, and even the greater part of our subaltern administrators, would think themselves dishonored, and would not dare to receive any one at their houses, if they only possessed such a residence as this of Jackson's; and the modest dwellings of your illustrious chiefs of the revolution, Washington, John Adams, Jefferson,

&c., would only inspire them with contempt and disgust. They must first have in the city an immense and vast edifice, called a hotel, in which two large families could live with ease, but which they fill with a crowd of servants strangely and ridiculously dressed, and whose only employment, for the most part, is to insult those honest citizens who come on foot to visit their master. They must also have another large establishment in the country, which they call a chateau, and in which they accumulate all the luxuries of furniture, decorations, entertainments, and dress—in fact, every thing that can make them forget the country.—Then they must have, to enable them to go from one to the other of these habitations, a great number of carriages, horses, and servants.' 'Very well,' interrupted the Tennessean, shaking his head as if in doubt, 'but who provides these public officers with all the money thus swallowed up in luxury, and how do the affairs of the people go on?' 'If you ask them, they will tell you that it is the king who pays them, although I can assure you that it is the nation, which is borne down by taxes for the purpose; as to business, it is both well and badly attended to, but generally the latter.' 'And why do you submit to such a state of things?'—'Because we cannot remedy it.' 'What! you cannot remedy it? A nation so great, so enlightened as the French, cannot prevent its officers, magistrates, and servants, from enjoying, at their expense, a scandalous and immoral luxuriousness, and at the same time not attending to their duties! whilst we, who have just assumed our name among nations, are enjoying the immense advantage of only having for magistrates, men who are plain, honest, laborious, and more jealous of our esteem than solicitous for wealth. Permit me to believe that what you have told is only pleasantry, and that you wished to amuse yourself for a moment with a poor Tennessean who has never visited Europe. But rest assured, that, however ignorant we may be of what passes on the other side of the water, it is not easy to make us credit things which militate so strongly against good sense and the dignity of man.' Do what I could, I could never make this good citizen of Nashville believe that I was not jesting, and was obliged to leave him in the belief that we were not worse governed in France than in the United States.

"General Jackson successively showed us his garden and farm, which appeared to be well cultivated. We every where remarked the greatest order, and most perfect neatness; and we might have believed ourselves on the property of one of the richest and most skilful of the German farmers, if, at every step, our eyes had not been afflicted by the sad spectacle of slavery. Every body told us that General Jackson's slaves were treated with the greatest humanity, and several persons assured us, that it would not surprise them, if, in a short time, their master, who already had so many claims on the gratitude of his fellow-citizens, should attempt to augment it still more, by giving an example of gradual emancipation to Tennessee, which would be the more easily accomplished, as there are in this State but seventy-nine thousand slaves in a population of four hundred and twenty-three thousand, and from the public mind becoming more inclined than formerly to the abolition of slavery.

"On returning to the house, some friends of General Jackson, who

probably had not seen him for some time, begged him to show them the arms presented to him in honor of his achievements during the last war; he acceded to their request with great politeness, and placed on a table, a sword, a sabre, and a pair of pistols. The sword was presented to him by Congress; the sabre, I believe, by the army which fought under his command at New Orleans. These two weapons, of American manufacture, were remarkable for their finish, and still more so for the honorable inscriptions with which they were covered. But it was to the pistols, that General Jackson wished more particularly to draw our attention; he handed them to General La Fayette, and asked him if he recognized them. The latter, after examining them attentively for a few minutes, replied, that he fully recollected them, to be a pair he had presented in 1778 to his paternal friend Washington, and that he experienced a real satisfaction in finding them in the hands of one so worthy of possessing them. At these words the face of old Hickory was covered with a modest blush, and his eye sparkled as in a day of victory. 'Yes! I believe myself worthy of them,' exclaimed he, in pressing the pistols and La-Fayette's hands to his breast; 'if not from what I have done, at least for what I wished to do for my country.' All the bystanders applauded this noble confidence of the patriot hero, and were convinced that the weapons of Washington could not be in better hands than those of Jackson."

In October, 1825, General Jackson was nominated by the Legislature of Tennessee, a candidate for the Presidency. He soon after resigned his seat in the United States Senate, and retired to private life. In May, 1826, he was nominated for the Presidency, by a meeting of citizens in Philadelphia. Active measures were taken by his friends to insure his success, and it was not forgotten to place his military talents in a dazzling light before the people. At an anniversary of our independence, which was celebrated at Fayetteville in Tennessee, he addressed an assembly, as follows:

"Your cordial welcome is grateful to my feelings. It recalls to my recollection the urbanity and hospitality which were extended to me and my troops by the citizens of this town and country, in 1813, while encamped in its vicinity, on their march to protect our southern frontier from the ruthless savage. Sir, the orderly conduct of the brave men I had the happiness then to command, was honorable to them, to me, and to their country. Those high-minded men, whom patriotism alone had led to the tented field, to defend their country and their country's rights, could not trespass on, or infringe the rights and privileges of their fellow citizens of Fayetteville and of Lincoln county. These were the wealth and sinew of your country—they were the citizen soldiers, who appreciated, above all earthly blessings, their liberties achieved by their forefathers, and had sworn to hand them down, unimpaired, to their children, or die in the attempt. With such an army your rights could not be infringed, nor your property molested. In the ranks of such men, order, discipline, and strict subordination, were easily introduced and maintained. It was the prowess of those citizen soldiers that enabled me so promptly and effectually to terminate a savage war—to meet and van-

quish their more savage allies, the British, at New Orleans, which gave security to your borders, and peace to the nation. I, Sir, was only a humble instrument in the hands of a wise and superintending Providence, for the accomplishment of those important and beneficial objects.

"My humble efforts in the service of my country, whether in the field or cabinet, I am fearful, are too highly appreciated by you. I can with candor, however, declare, that in every situation, to which I have been called by my fellow citizens, my best judgment has been exercised, and unceasing exertions been employed, to promote the best interests of my country. How far I have succeeded, is evidenced by your approbation.

"You, Sir, have been pleased to pass in review my conduct in the late presidential contest. I trust you will believe me candid, when I assure you, that I have too long practised the pure principles of republicanism to abandon them at this late period of my life. I have always been taught to believe that ours is a government based upon the will of the people, and established for their prosperity and happiness exclusively.—In the adoption of our Constitution, the people secured to themselves the right of choosing their own agents to administer the government agreeably to their own will, as expressed by the voice of a majority. Surely, then, in the exercise of these important rights, they ought to be left to the dictates of their own unbiassed judgments. Acting, Sir, in accordance to these fundamental principles of our government, and having laid it down as a rule from which I have never departed, 'neither to seek, nor decline office, when freely offered by the people,' I could not interfere, in any manner whatever, in that contest, while either before the people, or the people's representatives. Your approbation of my course is, therefore, truly gratifying, and particularly so, as my conduct on that occasion was dictated by my best judgment.

"For the kind solicitude you have expressed for my promotion in the estimation of my fellow-citizens, I tender you my sincere thanks."

In 1828, General Jackson was present at New Orleans, at the celebration of the eighth of January; the anniversary of the victory, to which his energy and decision had contributed so much. He was hospitably welcomed by the city authorities, and the enthusiasm of the day was greatly augmented by his presence.

As the period, which was to decide the new Presidential election approached, the excitement of the contending parties increased. In the autumn of 1828, the election took place, and the result was the choice of General Jackson as President of the United States. Before departing for the seat of government, he met with a severe affliction in the death of Mrs. Jackson. The loss bore heavily upon him for some time.

Towards the close of January, 1829, General Jackson and suite left the Hermitage for the seat of Government. He reached Washington early in February, in a plain carriage, and escorted by ten or twelve horsemen. On the 4th of March, the ceremony of his inauguration took place in the Senate chamber. His address upon the occasion was short, but appropriate and sufficient.

President Jackson organized his Cabinet by appointing Martin Van Buren, of New York, Secretary of State; Samuel D. Ingham, of Pennsylvania, Secretary of the Treasury; John H. Eaton, of Tennessee, Secretary of War; John Branch, of North Carolina, Secretary of the Navy; and John M. Berrien, of Georgia, Attorney General.

One of the first acts of the new administration was a sweeping removal from office of all those who had been actively opposed to his election. For this he was much censured by many, and there is no doubt but that a good deal of private calamity was occasioned by the act. His friends, however, have asserted, though without the shadow of truth, that such persons only were removed, as the public good required.

On the opening of Congress in December, 1829, the first message of the President was delivered. In this document, he recommended the amendment of that part of our Constitution, which relates to the election of President and Vice President, so that all intermediate agency in the election might be removed.

He believed, that the purity of our government would be promoted by the exclusion of members of Congress, from all appointments in the gift of the President.

He advised, that the attention of Congress should be directed to the modification of the Tariff.

He recommended that no more first-rate ships should be built, but that the materials of marine architecture should rather be collected and placed in situations where they might readily be put to use.

On the 27th of May, the President rejected the bill, which originated in the House of Representatives, and passed that House, and also the Senate, authorizing a subscription of stock in the Maysville and Washington Turnpike Road Company, in Kentucky. This bill was returned to the House of Representatives, with the President's objections thereto.

In December, 1830, Congress again assembled, and President Jackson presented his second message to the Representatives of the nation. Previous to the close of this Congressional session, a rupture took place between the President and Mr. Calhoun, Vice-President of the United States, which gave rise to a voluminous correspondence between the parties concerned.

The correspondence was published at the adjournment of Congress. This decisive step plainly indicated a division among the friends of the administration; and as the influence of the Vice President predominated in the Southern, and he was not without friends in the Middle States, his appeal began to affect injuriously the administration itself, from a conviction that its head was operated upon by improper feelings and prejudices.

* "In this posture of affairs, the country was astonished by the information promulgated through the official journal at the seat of Government, April 20th, 1831, that the Cabinet Ministers of the President had resigned, and the most lively curiosity was manifested to learn the causes of this unexpected and unprecedented movement. This curiosity

*American Annual Register.

was not speedily gratified. The letters of the several members of the Cabinet were published, but they served to inflame rather than to gratify the public feeling.

"The mystery was finally developed by a communication of the Attorney General to the public, in which the cause of the want of harmony in the adminstration was attributed to a determination to compel the families of the dismissed members to associate with the wife of the Secretary of War.

"By this statement it appeared that these ladies had, in accordance with the general understanding of the female part of society at Washington, declined to visit the family of the Secretary of War, and that this neglect, being resented by that gentleman, had produced a coolness between him and the heads of those families. As the President warmly espoused the feelings of the Secretary of War, as of an old and confidential friend, it was rumored, early in the year, that their removal would be a consequence of this resentment; and the Attorney General stated, that about that time a confidential friend of the President (Richard M. Johnson) called upon him and the other refractory members, as from the President, and intimated to them, that unless they would consent to at least a formal intercourse between their families and that of the Secretary of War, he had determined to remove them from office. They replied, that while they felt bound to maintain a frank and harmonious intercourse with their colleagues, they would not permit any interference with the social relations of their families, and wholly refused to comply with the request. Other friends, however, interfered, and the President was induced to waive any further prosecution of the subject at that time.

"To that refusal, however, he attributed the want of harmony of the Cabinet, and its consequent dissolution.

"This charge, from a high and unquestioned source, imputing so discreditable and undignified an interference with the private and domestic relations of the members of his Cabinet, produced a strong impression upon the public mind; and, with the view of obviating that unfavorable impression, a different version was soon furnished of these transactions, by the friends of the administration. According to this version, it seemed that the President, believing that a combination had been entered into by the Vice-President and a portion of his Cabinet, to drive the Secretary of War from the administration, by excluding his family from society, had determined on re-organizing his Cabinet, unless its members would consent to meet upon terms of harmonious intercourse. With the view of averting that result, Mr. Johnson called upon the members of the Cabinet, and suggested to them the propriety of associating with the family of the Secretary of War, or at least of assenting to a formal intercourse, which would be all that the President could desire. In making this proposition, Colonel Johnson asserted, that he was actuated solely by a desire to prevent a dissolution of the Cabinet; that it was upon his own authority; and that he was in no shape authorized by the President to make any such requisition.

"This version was sustained by an authorized publication on the part

of the President, while that of the Attorney General was supported by the testimony of the Secretaries of the Navy and of the Treasury. It was however, impossible to avoid the conclusion, that, to the influence of these domestic dissensions, the dissolution of the Cabinet was to be solely attributed, and that the cause assigned in the letter of the Secretary of State, was merely ostensible, and with the design of diverting the public attention from these discreditable occurrences. The satisfaction that was felt by the community at large at the breaking up of the most incompetent Cabinet, that was ever called to the administration of the Government of the United States, in some measure compensated for the manner in which it was dissolved. This satisfaction was increased by the character of the gentlemen invited to act as their successors."

The new Cabinet, which was not completely organized until late in the summer of 1831, was constituted as follows:

EDWARD LIVINGSTON, of Louisiana, Secretary of State.
LOUIS MCLANE, of Delaware, Secretary of the Treasury.
LEWIS CASS, of Ohio, Secretary of War.
LEVI WOODBURY, of New-Hampshire, Secretary of the Navy.
ROGER B. TANEY, of Maryland, Attorney General.

This Cabinet was not only, in every particular, superior to that which preceded it, but might fairly compare, in point of talent and ability, with that of any previous administration, and its character furnished strong testimony of the tribute paid to public opinion in the selection of his public advisers by a Chief Magistrate of great personal popularity.

The determination adopted by General Jackson, upon his accession to the Presidency, not to enforce the Indian intercourse act, whenever its provisions should bring the Government of a State into collision with that of the United States, now began to produce the most unhappy consequences. Encouraged by the conviction, that they could proceed without molestation, the Government of Georgia commenced the execution of what it had only threatened, under the preceding administration. Shortly after the period designated for the extension of the jurisdiction of the State, over the Cherokee territory, the writs of the State Courts were issued against residents in the Indian territory, and the Cherokees were tried before the State tribunals, without any regard being paid to their pleas to the jurisdiction of the Court before which they were summoned.

"In the case of George Tassel, a Cherokee, charged with the murder of another Cherokee upon the Indian Territory, an effort was made to procure the decision of the Supreme Court, upon the constitutionality of the State laws. After his trial and condemnation, by the Superior Court for Hall County, a writ of error was issued from the Supreme Court of the United States, and a citation was served upon Governor Gilmer, on the 22d of December, 1830, requiring the State of Georgia, to appear before the Supreme Court, at Washington, on the second Monday of January, to shew cause why the judgment in that case should not be reversed. As the question in this cause was simply concerning the validity of the treaties between the United States and the Cherokee tribe, it was obviously within the jurisdiction of the Federal Judiciary

which, by the second section of the third article of the Constitution, is declared to extend 'to all cases in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States and treaties made or which shall be made, under their authority.'"

"Governor Gilmer, however, regarding it as an usurpation of authority, immediately transmitted the citation to the Legislature, with a message exhorting that body to take measures to resist any interference on the part of the Federal Judiciary, with the jurisdiction of the criminal Courts of the State.

Upon the reception of this message, the following resolutions were proposed by the committee to which the subject was referred, and were passed by the Legislature.

"Resolved, That the State of Georgia will never so far compromit her sovereignty as an independent State, as to become a party to the case sought to be made before the Supreme Court of the United States, by the writ in question.

"Resolved, That his Excellency the Governor, be, and he is hereby authorized, to communicate to the Sheriff of Hall County, by express, so much of the foregoing resolutions, and such orders as are necessary to insure the full execution of the laws, in the case of George Tassel, convicted of murder in Hall County.'"

"Orders were accordingly given to the Court and the Sheriff, to disregard any process from the United States' Courts, and the execution of the unfortunate Indian took place on the 28th of December, pursuant to his sentence.

The subsequent arrest and treatment of the missionaries are well remembered. These acts apparently received the countenance and support of the General Government.

The twenty-second Congress of the United States convened in December, 1831. The customary message of the President at this time was received with considerable favor by the people.

One of the most prominent acts of this session of Congress, was the rejection by the Senate, of the nomination of Martin Van Buren, by the President, as Minister to England. This rejection is said to have been a subject of much irritation to General Jackson.

Another and more important question which agitated Congress, was that of renewing the charter of the present Bank of the United States. After much discussion, this bill passed the House and Senate, and was submitted to the President, by whom it was rejected, and returned with his objections. These objections have been too recently before the reader to be acceptable in this place. A great sensation was produced throughout the Union by the promulgation of the veto message; and the result of the excitement was perhaps favorable to the man, who had possessed the independence to pursue such a course. On the 13th of July, the Senate resumed the bank subject, and, after some debate, the question was put, "whether the bill should become a law, the President's objections to the contrary notwithstanding," and was decided in the negative.

The next public paper of moment, which proceeded from the President, was the proclamation issued against the ordinance of the South

Carolina Convention, assembled at Columbia. The proceedings of this Convention had been watched with intense interest by the people of the United States, and when the deliberations resulted in the plainly avowed threat of Nullification, conjecture was busy in imagining the course which would be pursued by the President, at so alarming a crisis. No sooner was his proclamation issued, denouncing the measures of the Convention, than it was met by the most cheering responses from all parts of the Union. This document may be ranked among the ablest and most popular state papers ever promulgated. Few, perhaps, have been more read and applauded. A counter proclamation from Governor Hayne soon followed, warning the good people of South Carolina against "the insidious attempts of the President of the United States to seduce them from their allegiance." Fortunately the excitement has been allayed without bloodshed, by the removal of the most prominent causes for complaint.

On the 13th of February, 1833, the two Houses of Congress met in the Representatives' chamber, to count the votes for a President and Vice-President of the United States for four years from the 4th of March ensuing. The ballots were opened by the President of the Senate, when they were examined, and the certificate of the vote read by the tellers. The official result was as follows:

For President,	Jackson,	219	Clay,	49
For Vice-President,	Van Buren,	189	Sergeant,	49

The majority for General Jackson was declared to be 145. His inauguration took place with the usual ceremonies on the 4th of March.

On the 6th of May, General Jackson, with the members of his Cabinet, and his private secretary, left Washington in compliance with the invitation of the "Monumental Committee" at Fredericksburg, to lay the corner-stone of the pillar, to be erected in honor of the mother of Washington. The President and his party embarked in the large and commodious steamer Cygnet. "The day," says a correspondent of the N. Y. Mirror, "was mild, and the air soft and refreshing. After the company had assembled on board, they paid their respects to the Executive, which that venerable patriot received with the ease and grace of the most finished gentleman of the old school. They then separated; some of the party went upon the upper deck, to admire the picturesque and beautiful scenery of the surrounding country, whence, from the north round to the south, lay a line of high grounds, forming within their interior an extensive amphitheatre. On the south, the broad and peaceful Potomac, stretching as far as the eye could reach. On the eastern branch of the river was to be seen the navy yard, and several of the public armed vessels lying in the stream, with our flag floating on the breeze; and, on the western branch, we had a distant but beautiful view of Georgetown, as it slopes from the high grounds to the river; and between that and the navy yard, was to be seen the city of Washington, whence we had just taken our departure; and from our situation we had, at one glance, a view of the bridge crossing the river, which exceeds a mile in extent, the Chief Magistrate's house, and the capitol, with its splendid dome, rearing its head over every other object Among

those who went upon the upper deck were the heads of department. A group of ladies, with their attendants, were seated in the after part of the boat; and an excellent band of music was playing several national airs, as the steamer glided on her way, and shortly arrived at the city of Alexandria. General Jackson had, just previous to the boat's reaching the wharf, retired to the cabin, and had taken his seat at a long table, which had been set preparatory for dinner; he was seated on the west side, and next to the berths, there being barely room enough left between the berths and table for a person to pass, by moving sideways. Upon his left sat Mrs. Thruston, the wife of Judge Thruston, of Washington; and on the opposite side of the table sat Major Donaldson, the General's private secretary; Mr. Potter, a clerk in one of the departments at Washington; and Captain Broome, of the marine corps. The President was reading a newspaper. While in this situation, (there being no other person in the cabin or near him,) a large number of citizens came on board, as it was supposed, to pay their respects to him. Among the number was Randolph, late a lieutenant in the navy. He made his way into the cabin, and after speaking to Captain Broome, who had long been acquainted with him, he immediately advanced between the table and the berths toward the President, as if to address him. The President did not know him, and it seems that Captain Broome did not mention his name, because, he said, he believed that the object of his visit was to present a petition, praying to be restored to the navy again; still, as the captain did not know that that was the object of his visit, and fearing, as he said, that he might intend to commit some act of violence, he stepped quickly to the same side of the table, and advanced up to and near Randolph, who had by this time come so near General Jackson as to be observed by him, who, supposing it was some person about to salute him, said that he was afflicted with a severe pain in his side, and begged to be excused for not rising; and, seeing that Randolph had some difficulty in pulling off his glove, he stretched out his hand toward him, saying, at the same time, "Never mind your glove, sir." Upon this, Randolph thrust one hand violently into the President's face; but, before he could make use of the other, or repeat his blow, Captain Broome seized and drew him off toward the door. A part of the table was broken down in the scuffle. Mr. Potter thrust his umbrella at Randolph across the table, at the moment Captain Broome seized him; whereupon Randolph's friends clenched him, hurried him out of the cabin, and off from the boat, leaving his hat behind. This was done so quickly, that the few persons who were near the President were not aware of it, as they had all turned around after pushing Randolph away, to inquire whether or not the Chief Magistrate was much hurt. He was so confined behind the table, that he could not rise with ease, nor could he seize his cane in time to defend himself. The news of this outrage was soon circulated around the boat, and at first it seemed so incredible that no one could be found to believe it; all, however, immediately repaired to the cabin, and heard the President relate the story himself.

"Had I been apprised," said he, "that Randolph stood before me, I should have been prepared for him, and I could have defended myself.

No villain," said he, "has ever escaped me before; and he would not, had it not been for my confined situation."

Some blood was seen on his face, and he was asked whether he had been much injured?

"No," said he, "I am not much hurt; but, in endeavoring to rise, I have wounded my side, which now pains me more than it did."

About this time, one of the citizens of Alexandria, who had heard of the outrage, addressed the General, and said: "Sir, if you will pardon me, in case I am tried and convicted, I will kill Randolph, for this insult to you, in fifteen minutes?"*

"No, Sir," said the President, "I cannot do that. I want no man to stand between me and my assailants, and none to take revenge on my account. Had I been prepared for this *cowardly villain's* approach, I can assure you all, that he would never have the temerity to undertake such a thing again."

"The spirits of the whole party had been much affected by this outrage; no one could think or talk of any thing else; and it seemed that the sacred errand which the President was proceeding upon would be defeated. But, after the steamer had got under way from the fort, and after the report of the last cannon, fired as a salute in honor of the Chief Magistrate, had died away, some one exclaimed, "We are approaching, and shall soon be at Mount Vernon." Upon this the pulse of every heart on board was quickened, and every eye was turned toward the beautiful promontory, which projects into the river; and upon the sacred mansion (which is situated upon the highest part of it) where once dwelt the father of his country. The band played a funeral dirge as we passed his tomb, and then the steamer lay to for some time, and a small boat was seen gliding to the shore, bearing two gentlemen of the party, who landed on the plantation, and ascended the hill to the mansion. But few on board knew the object of the delay. In a few moments, however, they returned to the boat with three ladies, the descendants of *Washington*, and the residents of Mount Vernon, who had agreed to honor the occasion with their company. Upon reaching the deck of the steamer, they were introduced to General Jackson, when each presented him with a bunch of flowers culled from the garden which had been cultivated by the hands of the immortal *Washington*. This incident dispelled the gloom occasioned by the outrage already related, and the remainder of the passage was pleasant and agreeable.

"The President was met at Potomac creek, nine miles from Fredericksburgh, by the Monument committee, and a long concourse of gentlemen on horseback, who escorted him to the heights north of Fredericksburgh, from whence was an extensive view of the beautiful and fertile valley of the Rappahannock, of the city itself, which is delightfully situated upon the south bank of the river, and likewise of the numerous and splendid country seats in the vicinity of the city. The view from this spot was grand and imposing beyond description. Here the President was met by several companies in uniform, under the command of Major Patten,

* It has been well remarked, that this proposal was more insulting than the assault.

and conducted in an elegant open carriage, through the principal streets in the city, to Doctor Wallace's, whose hospitable mansion was thrown open to him, as were the dwellings of all the members of the committee, and of the citizens, to the invited guests and numerous strangers then assembled. The kind, hospitable manner in which the citizens received and entertained their guests and friends, made an indelible impression upon all, and will long be remembered with gratitude."

On Tuesday the seventh, the day fixed upon for the ceremony, the city, at an early hour, was crowded to overflowing. At 10 o'clock, a procession was formed by the marshals of the day, and moved to the site of the monument. On the arrival of the column on the ground where repose the remains of the mother of Washington, a detachment of cavalry wheeled to the left and formed outside of the green. The infantry were formed in line on the left, and the strangers and citizens formed a square, within which the President and heads of department, the Masonic societies, and the ladies and relatives of the Washington family, the architect, the committee, marshals, mayor and common council, occupied the space about the monument. The spectacle was grand and imposing; all seemed desirous of approaching as near as possible, in order to witness the ceremony. After an appropriate prayer from the Rev. E. C. M'Guire, an eloquent address was delivered by Mr. Bassett, one of the members of the monumental committee.

To this address, the President made a reply, distinguished for its chaste and appropriate character; a specimen of finished and touching eloquence that would have done honor to any statesman or orator that our country has produced. It was delivered with deep feeling, and listened to by all with proud attention. Upon concluding it, the President deposited a plate, with a suitable inscription, in the place intended for it, and then the stone was laid, and the procession returned in the same order to the town-hall.

"The day was concluded with a ball in the evening. The attention shown the venerable guest of Virginia by the citizens of the old dominion, furnished a striking illustration of the proverbial hospitality and generosity of that people. The deepest abhorrence was manifested and expressed by all at the attempt made at Alexandria to deprive them of the President's promised visit, to perform the patriotic and sacred rite which he had been invited to pay to the mother of Washington.

"On the day following, at noon, the procession was again formed, and the President was escorted to the high grounds north of the city, where he was first met by the procession. A line was formed by the military, and he reviewed the troops. From thence he was attended by the committee and marshals to the Potomac creek, where he embarked for Washington. On his return, and before the boat arrived at Mount Vernon, the ladies from that place gave a pressing and earnest invitation to him, and the heads of department, and the others in his company, to land and pay a visit to the tomb of Washington, which he reluctantly declined for want of time, it being then near sundown. After landing the ladies, the boat soon reached Alexandria, where a national salute

was fired, and the citizens having assembled on the piers, welcomed the President's return by loud and repeated cheering.

"On reaching the city of Washington, a large concourse of citizens had assembled on the wharf. The mayor and common council waited upon the President in the cabin; and the mayor, General Van Ness, delivered a spirited and feeling address to the President, expressing his regret, as also that of the citizens of Washington generally, at the wanton and dastardly attack made on the person of the Chief Magistrate; to which, and to the resolutions of the citizens of Washington on the same subject, which had been read by Colonel Gardner, the President made a reply in his peculiarly happy style, and then left the boat with the mayor and common council; and on landing he was cheered by the citizens until he reached his house."

The war, which had long been waged along our western frontiers, having ended in the capture of many of the hostile Indians, it was thought advisable to retain the Chief Black Hawk and his son, together with the Prophet and his son, as hostages. On their arrival at Washington, they waited on the President to receive his orders. The interview was friendly and satisfactory.

The judicious plan, which has been recently carried into execution, of conveying to these sons of the forest an idea of the resources and population of our country, by means of showing to them some of the principal cities of the Union, has been justly commended.

On Thursday, the 6th day of June, 1833, President Jackson set out on his journey to New England. accompanied by the Hon. Martin Van Buren, the Vice-President; Mr. McLane, Secretary of State; Governor Cass, Secretary of War; and Major Donaldson, Private Secretary. The President was welcomed at Baltimore with every demonstration of respect, by a large concourse of citizens. He left Baltimore on Saturday in the steam-boat Kentucky. On his passage, he stopped about twenty minutes at Chesapeake city, while the barges were preparing to proceed through the canal. At Delaware city, the President and suite were received into the Ohio, and at New-Castle they disembarked with military salutes, where the President was received by Governor Bennett of the State, and committees and delegates from Wilmington and all the towns in the vicinity. Again they embarked amid the salutes of the guns, "the streamers waving in the wind," and the shouts of the applauding multitudes. Long before his arrival, every convenient spot in and around the navy yard was densely thronged with anxious spectators. About five o'clock the President landed under a national salute, and was cheered with the oft repeated plaudits of the people. His onward progress was marked by the repeated congratulations of the citizens. When he had reached the hotel, he showed himself from one of the windows, and was again received with enthusiasm.

The public reception of the President at Philadelphia, took place on Monday. At an early hour the city was alive with the bustle of extensive preparation, and the streets through which the procession was to pass grew populous as he approached. From nine until twelve o'clock, the President remained at the State House to receive the compliments of

his fellow-citizens. At the latter hour he proceeded on horseback to Arch-street, where he reviewed the military. The President was dressed in a suit of deep black, and passed along a great portion of the route with his hat off. The appearance of the military who assembled to an immense number was imposing and effective. Towards five o'clock the procession reached the City Hotel, and the President alighted, evidently gratified with a reception at once so respectful and so general.

The next day the President embarked on board the People's Line steam-boat Philadelphia; she moved off from the wharf, and a salute of twenty-one guns announced the departure of the President on his northern tour. He stopped for about twenty minutes at Burlington, and thence crossed over to Bristol, whence he proceeded to Bordentown. After a short delay in this place, he next proceeded to Lamberton, where he took carriage for Trenton. Here he dined, and soon after passed on to Princeton, where he spent the night. The next morning he proceeded in a carriage to New Brunswick, and thence to Perth Amboy.

Having spent half an hour at Amboy, he went on board the North America, and was received with proper honors by the company, with whom he dined. On passing the Narrows, salutes were fired from forts Hamilton and La Fayette. The General took his station on the upper quarter deck, where he appeared to be highly delighted with the beautiful appearance of the bay, harbor, and fortifications. Salutes were fired by vessels of various nations; three steamers, elegantly decorated, and crowded with passengers, attended the North America all the way, and, on approaching the city, numerous steam and sail boats were plying about the river, which, with the crowds of men and women in the Castle and Battery, and on the housetops in the neighborhood, gave to the whole scene a singular brilliancy of effect.

On Saturday, the President and his suite embarked from New York, and arrived at New Haven, at about three in the afternoon. Having passed through Newport, Providence and Dedham, the President arrived on the 21st of June, at Roxbury, where he was very handsomely received. He arrived in Boston the same afternoon, and was greeted by an immense concourse of citizens. On Wednesday, he visited Cambridge, where the degree of LL. D. was conferred on him by the President of Harvard University. From Cambridge he passed with his suite to Charlestown, accompanied by the Governor and other officers of State.

On Thursday, June 27, the President passed through Lynn, Salem, Marblehead, and Andover, to Lowell. He had intended to proceed as far north as Portland, but on reaching Concord, N. H., he found that his strength would not enable him to undergo a repetition of the labors which the various engagements he had made would require of him. He was therefore under the necessity of giving up his journey, and returning to Washington. He would have found it impossible to have borne up so long under the fatigue of exchanging salutations and greetings with so many thousands of his fellow-citizens, but for the animation inspired by their enthusiastic kindness.

It was during his absence on this journey that the order was given for the removal of the deposites from the Bank of the United States, which led

to the expulsion of Mr. Duane from the cabinet, and the temporary elevation of Mr. Taney to the office of Secretary of the Treasury. This act rendered the last years of his administration a scene of continued agitation and disorder. By one party it was sustained as a bold and patriotic movement, necessary to arrest the political action of a dangerous moneyed institution. By the other it was denounced with equal ardor, as an act equally contrary to the good faith of the Republic, the spirit of our institutions, and the letter of the law. Sufficient time has not yet elapsed for the calm and reflective discussion of this exciting topic. The question was duly brought before both Houses of Congress. In the Representative branch, where the administration held a firm majority, no definite action was ever held on the precise point at issue; the debate turned and resolutions were adopted on topics merely collateral and not involving the main subject of controversy.

In the Senate the following resolution was adopted: "*Resolved*, that the President, in the late executive proceedings in relation to the revenue, has assumed upon himself authority and power not conferred by the Constitution and laws, but in derogation of both." This was passed on the 28th of March, 1834, by the following vote: YEAS. Messrs. Bibb, Black, Calhoun, Clay, Clayton, Ewing, Frelinghuysen, Kent, Knight, Leigh, Mangum, Naudain, Poindexter, Porter, Prentiss, Preston, Robbins, Silsbee, Smith, Southard, Sprague, Swift, Tomlinson, Tyler, Waggaman, Webster—26. NAYS. Messrs. Benton, Brown, Forsyth, Grundy, Hendricks, Hill, Kane, King of Alabama, King of Georgia, Linn, McKean, Moore, Morris, Robinson, Shepley, Tallmadge, Tipton, White, Wilkins, Wright—20.

In the session of 1836–37, on motion of Mr. Benton of Missouri, the following resolution was adopted by the Senate: "*Resolved*, that the said resolve (above given) be expunged from the journal; and for that purpose, that the secretary of the Senate, at such time as the Senate may appoint, shall bring the manuscript journal of the session 1833–34 into the Senate, and, in the presence of the Senate, draw black lines round the said resolve, and write across the face thereof, in strong letters, the following words: 'Expunged, by order of the Senate, this 16th day of January, in the year of our Lord 1837.'"

On agreeing to this resolution the vote was as follows: YEAS. Messrs. Benton, Brown, Buchanan, Dana, Ewing of Illinois, Fulton, Grundy, Hubbard, King of Alabama, Linn, Morris, Nicholas, Niles, Page, Rives, Robinson, Ruggles, Sevier, Strange, Tallmadge, Tipton, Walker, Wall, Wright—24. NAYS. Messrs. Bayard, Black, Calhoun, Clay, Crittenden, Davis, Ewing of Ohio, Hendricks, Kent, Knight, Moore, Prentiss, Preston, Robbins, Southard, Swift, Tomlinson, Webster, White—19.

The resolution having been agreed to, Mr. Benton observed that nothing now remained but for the secretary to carry it into effect, and moved that it be executed upon the spot. The secretary thereupon produced the record, and expunged the obnoxious resolution. No sooner had this been done, than loud and repeated hisses were heard from various parts of the gallery. The chair immediately ordered the galleries to be cleared. Mr. Benton hoped that the galleries would not be cleared, but that the

bank ruffians who had created the disturbance would be arrested. The order to clear the galleries was revoked, and the sergeant-at-arms proceeded to arrest one of the supposed culprits. Mr. Benton moved that he be brought to the bar of the Senate; the motion was carried. It was afterward suggested by the same Senator that he should go to the clerk's table and there purge himself of the contempt by oath. A motion was here made for his discharge; much confusion prevailed, but the motion was pressed and carried. On being discharged from custody, the individual referred to advanced and addressed the chair. "Mr. President, am I not to be permitted to speak in my own defence?" *Chair to the sergeant-at-arms.* "Take him out." The occupant of the chair was Mr. Senator King of Alabama.

The question of the removal of the deposites, and the important questions connected with their subsequent disposition, and the regulation of the currency, were the engrossing and exciting topics during the last three years of President Jackson's administration. These topics are too near, too familiar, and too much involved in the partisan discussions of the day, to form legitimate subjects of historical comment. The end of General Jackson's policy is not yet wrought out. It began in the veto of the United States Bank, and has resulted in the universal suspension of specie payments. His first objection to the bank was on the ground that it had failed to furnish "a sound and uniform currency." It is for the historian to tell us how much his measures have improved it.

General Jackson went into retirement at the Hermitage immediately on quitting the Presidential chair. He still continues to take an active interest in public affairs. We can only hope that the venerable Ex-President may live long enough to witness the restoration of his beloved country to her old prosperity.

On the 3d of March, 1837, his administration closed; and having published a farewell address, he retired to the "Hermitage," in Tennessee, where he passed the remainder of his days. For the last two years of his life he was physically quite infirm, but his mind lost but little of its energy. On the 8th of June, 1845, he expired, in the seventy-ninth year of his age. Public funeral obsequies were performed throughout the country,* for it might be truly said, a "great man has fallen in Israel." His estate was left to the Donelson family, who were relatives of Mrs. Jackson, he having no blood-relations in this country.

In person, General Jackson was six feet one inch high, remarkably straight, and thin, never weighing over one hundred and fifty pounds. His sharp, intelligent eye was a dark blue. His manners were pleasing, his address commanding, and the most remarkable feature of his character was firmness. Honest and conscientious, no obstacle could prevent his doing what he judged to be right. Benevolence was in him a leading virtue, and his moral character was ever above reproach.

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* A colossal equestrian statue is to be erected upon an arch to span Pennsylvania avenue, near the capitol, at Washington. It is to be erected by private subscription.

MARTIN VAN BUREN.

Martin Van Buren, eighth president of the United States, was born at Kinderhook, in the State of New York, on the 5th day of December, 1782. His parents were of Dutch descent, and in humble circumstances. He received the elements of his education in an academy of his native village, which he left at the age of fourteen years, to commence the study of the law, in the office of Francis Sylvester, Esq. a respectable practitioner of Kinderhook. The term of study required of candidates not educated in college was then seven years. Six of them young Van Buren passed in his native village, the last in the city of York, in the office and under the direction of Mr. William P. Van Ness, a distinguished member of the bar, and a prominent leader of the Democratic party. By this gentleman he was introduced to the celebrated Aaron Burr, who manifested an unusual interest in his welfare, and is said by one of his biographers to have treated him "with marked attention, and to have made every reasonable effort to secure his favorable regard."

In November, 1803, in the twenty-first year of his age, Mr. Van Buren was admitted as an attorney at law to the bar of the Supreme Court, in the State of New York, and immediately commenced the practice of his profession at Kinderhook. At the first succeeding session of the Columbia County Court, he was enrolled in the list of its attorneys and counsellors. He took an early interest in local politics, and professed the principles of the Democratic party. When this party, therefore, obtained a temporary ascendency in the appointing department of the State, Mr. Van Buren was appointed Surrogate of Columbia county. In 1809, he removed from the village of Kinderhook to the city of Hudson, for the improvement of his professional prospects. Thus established in the capital of his native county, he may be considered to have entered on the most successful period of his professional life.

The bar of Columbia county numbered several members of distinguished ability. Among them the most eminent, perhaps, was the celebrated Elisha Williams, who was a resident of Hudson at the time of Mr. Van Buren's removal there. The first jury lawyer of his State, if not of the country, Mr. Williams was at the same time an active and zealous politician of the Federal school, and a prominent leader of the party in his section. Mr. Van Buren occupied a corresponding position in the Democratic ranks; and aspired to a distant competition with Mr. Williams in his efforts at the bar. Of Mr. Van Buren's speeches at the bar hardly a fragment has been preserved, and it is therefore impossible to form any estimate of his powers from printed reports. Of his appearance at the bar, in contrast with Mr. Williams, we have the following sketch from the pen of Mr. Attorney General Butler. It is to be taken with some degree

of allowance, as the tribute of a pupil to his patron is too apt to be the language of panegyric; and as the natural relations of Mr. Butler and Mr. Van Buren render neither of them a disinterested witness to the claims and merits of the other.

"Never," says Mr. Butler, "were two men more dissimilar. Both were eloquent; but the eloquence of Williams was declamatory and exciting; that of Van Buren insinuating and delightful. Williams had the livelier imagination; Van Buren the sounder judgment. The former presented the strong points of his case in bolder relief, invested them in a more brilliant coloring, indulged a more unlicensed and magnificent invective, and gave more life and variety to his arguments by his peculiar wit and inimitable humor: but Van Buren was his superior in analyzing, arranging, and combining the insulated materials, in comparing and weighing testimony, in unravelling the web of intricate affairs, in eviscerating truth from the mass of diversified and conflicting evidence, in softening the heart and moulding it to his purpose, and in working into the judgments of his hearers the conclusions of his own perspicuous and persuasive reasonings." We think this picture altogether too highly charged. That Mr. Williams was much the superior of Mr. Van Buren in a commanding and attractive eloquence there is no doubt; and it is equally true that he excelled him in vivacity, wit, humor, and invective. Mr. Van Buren was never distinguished for any of these qualities, and though he undoubtedly possessed the faculty of arranging, combining, unravelling intricate affairs, eviscerating truth, and insinuating himself into the judgments of his hearers, it is gross injustice to Mr. Williams to intimate that he was inferior in any of these powers.

Mr. Van Buren resided for seven years in Hudson, engaged in the active practice of his profession; and managed with no little address as a party leader. His legal and partisan merits were so well appreciated, that on the accession of the Republican party, in 1815, he was appointed Attorney General of the State.

In 1812, he had been elected a member of the State Senate from the then middle district; by which election he became a member of the Court for the revision of Errors. This simultaneous occupancy for a considerable period of the attorney generalship, and of a seat in the State Senate, accounts for the infrequency of his opinions in the Court of Errors. In 1816, in consequence of his official duties and his professional engagements, he removed from Hudson to Albany, where his practice became extensive and lucrative. In 1819, his party had lost their ascendency in the council of appointment, and Mr. Van Buren was removed from the office of Attorney General. In the following year the tables were turned, and a re-appointment was offered and declined. His last professional effort before a jury is said to have been in the trials of the celebrated Astor case, and the case of the Sailors' Snug Harbor, in the city of New York, in the fall of 1827. It was during the trial of the latter case that the celebrated Mr. Emmet fell in an apoplectic fit which terminated his life. In the spring of 1828, Mr. Van Buren appeared in the case of *Varick* vs. *Jackson*, before the Court of Errors at Albany.

Of Mr. Van Buren's legal efforts, his biographer presents but a single

specimen; which is extracted from his argument in the case of *Wilkes* vs. *Lion*, before the Court of Errors at Albany, in December, 1823, reported at length in the second of Cowen. From this argument we present a single passage, which illustrates the variation in Mr. Van Buren's opinions, at different periods, on the binding obligation of legal and constitutional precedents.

"The parties came here," said Mr. Van Buren, "to litigate a principle so fully and plainly established, in the Supreme Court, that the decision of the cause, there, though involving a large amount of property, was not deemed worth reporting. You saw that principle concurred in by Kent, Chief Justice, Thompson, Chief Justice, and Spencer, Van Ness, Yates, and Platt, Justices; after a series of discussions almost unparalleled in the history of any principle in our law. You saw the same question arising and the same principle established in neighboring States. From every source, opposition was hushed; not only with men of books, but in the common walks of life. You knew that thousands of wills had been made upon that very principle, and that if you unsettled the rule, you opened Pandora's box. You knew it to be more important that the law should *be settled*, than *how* it should be settled. You secured to us a principle which had been established in the mind of every man for a long time; and you were right, for the contrary would have been incalculably mischievous. You have not the moral power to change your ground, because it is not right. Who can know what the law of this State is, unless your decision is final? Shall we look into your decisions under the idea that they are to be overturned by a new set of men who shall come here tomorrow? A change of decision with a change of men would be a less evil in the Supreme Court of this State, or of the United States, because, from the tenure of the Judges' office, frequent changes are not to be looked for. This Court may change once in four years.* Are we barely enabled to say, 'these words meant a definite failure of issue yesterday, but whether this will be the law next year, I will tell you after election?' The law of discretion, with the best of men and the best of judges, is, more or less, the creature of prejudice or passion. *Your decisions should be as stable as the Constitution;* they should be so, in order that the suitor may, at least, see one spot where there is an end of uncertainty."

The comparison of these opinions with those subsequently advanced by Mr. Van Buren in his letter to Sherrod Williams, indicates a very material change in his opinions on the points here involved.

In the thirtieth year of his age Mr. Van Buren was elected to the State Senate, where his legal term of service commenced on the fourth of July, 1812; his actual entrance on the duties of the office, however, was in the November following. The opposing candidate was Edward P. Livingston, then of the Federal party, though subsequently recognised as a *Jackson* Democrat. It was by the friends of De Witt Clinton that Mr. Van Buren's success was compassed. The question of "war or no

* The Senators of the State of New York, eligible every four years, together with the Lieutenant Governor, Chancellor and Justices of the Supreme Court, constitute the Court for the correction of Errors.

war" then agitated the whole country. On the 29th of May, 1812, a few days before the declaration of war, a caucus was held at Albany, in which Mr. Van Buren took an active part. At that caucus De Witt Clinton was nominated to the presidency, in opposition to James Madison. Mr. Clinton was opposed to the war. It may be reasonably inferred, then, that in its early stages, Mr. Van Buren was also opposed to the war; though the question is one of no great interest, involving only a matter of opinion, and reflecting, in any event, no discredit upon Van Buren. There is no doubt that at the period to which we refer, the test of Democracy was the policy of the Democratic Congressional Caucus. It was by the nomination of this body that Mr. Jefferson had been twice elected, and Mr. Madison already once. By the nomination of this caucus, Mr. Van Buren was unwilling to abide; and by the Democratic party was regarded as politically heterodox.

During the autumn of 1812, Mr. James A. Hamilton, subsequently district attorney of New York, under the administration of General Jackson, resided at Hudson, and formed an intimate connection with Mr. Van Buren. At this period these gentlemen rallied, nominally, under different standards; but they were aiming at the same objects, to bring the war into disrepute, and through the agency of Mr. Clinton defeat the re-election of Madison. They both labored zealously in behalf of Mr. Clinton; they were both loud and strong in their denunciations of his opponent. The journals, which were sustained by them and their friends, used the most decided and violent language in condemnation of the war and its promoters.

On the third of November, 1812, the Legislature met in Albany for the purpose of choosing electors. Mr. Van Buren took his seat as a member of the Senate. Governor Tompkins announced in his message that war had been declared. A committee, consisting of Messrs. Wilkins, Van Buren and Platt, was appointed to draft a respectful answer. This document breathes any thing but approbation of the war. It is cold, brief, and studied. The following is the language of Mr. Van Buren: "The Senate fully concur with your excellency in the sentiment, that, at a period like the present, when our country is engaged in a war with one of the most powerful nations of Europe, difference of opinion on abstract points should not be suffered to impede or prevent our united and vigorous support of the constituted authority of the nation."

On the evening of the fourth of November, the Democratic members of the Legislature met in the Senate chamber to nominate candidates for presidential electors. The proposition before the caucus was "Madison and war" or "Clinton and peace." Mr. Van Buren spoke strongly for Clinton and peace. He was severe on Southern men and policy, and indulged in bitter sneers and sarcasms at the expense of the Old Dominion. In comparing Madison with Clinton, he rated the former infinitely below the latter. He denounced the policy of the general government in plunging the nation, unprepared, into a war; and denounced the entire cabinet as unworthy the confidence and support of the people. Mr. Van Buren carried his point, and the caucus decided that they would support no man who would vote for James Madison.

Thus it appears that from 1811 to 1813, Mr. Van Buren was the asso-

ciate and friend of that class of politicians opposed to the war; that he was the opponent of Madison, and the adherent of Clinton. It is not our purpose to discuss the merits of the respective parties or candidates; to assail or eulogize either the one or the other. Our only object is to make an impartial record of facts. When Mr. Madison was re-elected, December, 1812, Mr. Van Buren was disinclined to continue his opposition, and made arrangements to transfer his influence to the Madison party. Having ingratiated himself with Governor Tompkins, who possessed the confidence of the administration, and had sustained the war from its commencement, he was introduced to the attention of the General Government. The trials of Hall and Wilkinson offered an opportunity to the war department for bestowing considerable largesses upon a new supporter; and Mr. Van Buren was suddenly converted into an advocate of the war, a supporter of Mr. Madison, and a professor of the current Virginia politics. In this complexion he continued during the war.

In 1816, the gubernatorial term of Mr. Tompkins expired. During the same year Mr. Madison was to retire from the presidency. Promises had been made to the friends of Mr. Tompkins that he should receive the nomination to the successorship; but it soon became apparent that Mr. Monroe and Mr. Crawford would be the prominent candidates. The friends of either of these gentlemen were willing to take Mr. Tompkins as Vice-President; and he was accordingly designated as the candidate at Washington. While it was well understood that he would receive this nomination, a legislative caucus at Albany again put him before the people for Governor. In April he was re-elected to the office. In the following December he was elected to the vice-presidency, but did not resign the former station till the 24th of February, 1817.

During the summer and autumn of 1816, it had become apparent to Mr. Van Buren that Mr. Clinton, as the head of the canal party, would be the next candidate for the gubernatorial chair. The canal policy was evidently in the ascendant. Till the convening of the Legislature in January, 1817, Mr. Van Buren had been entirely non-committal on the subject of internal improvements, and since his original rupture had been engaged in violent denunciations of Mr. Clinton. When the legislative nominating caucus was to be held, delegates were admitted from the Federal counties. Previous to the convention several preliminary meetings were held by the anti-Clintonians, among whom Mr. Van Buren was then numbered, and one of them at his own house. It was then determined that as soon as Mr. Clinton was nominated, the minority should withdraw. At length the grand caucus was held, on the 27th of March, 1817, and, as had been expected, Mr. Clinton received the nomination. As soon as the result was declared, Mr. Van Buren rose and moved that the nomination should be unanimous. This movement was utterly unexpected, and produced great confusion and consternation in the ranks of the anti-Clintonians. Some withdrew, others acquiesced in the measure, because they were too much surprised to think of opposition. Mr. Van Buren found himself once more safely landed among the friends of Mr. Clinton, and three weeks afterwards gave his first vote in favor of appropriations for the canal.

After the election of Governor Clinton, Mr. Van Buren ascertained that he could not obtain his confidence, and was soon found in an opposition. The course pursued in appointments to office was not approved by the Democratic party; and an open rupture was soon the consequence. Mr. Van Buren and his friends withdrew their support from Mr. Clinton's measures, and prepared to oppose his re-election.

In 1819, Rufus King's term of service in the Senate of the United States expired. The New York Legislature convened in January. The Democratic members, Clintonian, and anti-Clintonian, united, were as three to one of the Federalists. Through Mr. Van Buren's influence, the election of Senator was postponed; no nomination being made by either branch of the Legislature. This body then adjourned, leaving the State in part unrepresented in the Senate. At this period the Federal newspapers were assailing Mr. Clinton and his friends for not supporting Mr. King. The newspapers under Mr. Van Buren's influence were making the most solemn declarations "that the Republicans would not move to the right or to the left. They would support their candidate and no other."

During the summer of 1819, Mr. Van Buren's intercourse with Mr. King was of a very familiar, if not confidential character; and an arrangement was effected with the Federalists to elect Mr. King to the Senate. With the anti-Clintonian party, an impression was created that the Clintonians would elect Mr. King if they did not; and the ensuing session of the Legislature, Mr. King was elected by the unanimous vote of the Senate, and with but three dissenting votes in the House of Representatives. In the summer previous a pamphlet had been prepared, entitled "Considerations in favor of the appointment of Rufus King to the Senate of the United States," addressed to the Republican members of the New York Legislature, by one of their colleagues. This pamphlet was said to be the joint production of Mr. Van Buren and Mr. Benjamin F. Butler. In the autumn of the same year, Mr. Van Buren addressed a letter to one of his friends, in which a passage occurs which has been the subject of a good deal of comment, and which we therefore copy:

"I should sorely regret to find any flagging on the subject of Mr. King. We are committed to his support. It is both wise and honest; and we must have no fluttering in our course. Mr. King's views towards us are honorable and correct. The Missouri question conceals, so far as he is concerned, no plot, and we shall give it a true direction. You know what the feelings and views of our friends were, when I saw you; and you know what we then concluded to do. My 'considerations,' &c., and the aspect of the Albany Argus, will show you that we have entered on the work in earnest. We cannot, therefore, look back. Let us not, then, have any halting. I will put my head on its propriety."

In the winter of 1819–20, a public meeting was held at Albany to express the feelings of its citizens on the extension of slavery beyond the Mississippi. Mr. Van Buren did not attend the primary meeting; at which his name was placed on the committee without his knowledge, but subsequently retained there by his own consent. When the large meeting was held Mr. Van Buren was absent from Albany on professional business. Resolutions were adopted, and a committee appointed to me-

morialize Congress. On this committee Mr. Van Buren's name was placed during his absence. Their memorial was reported and adopted. On the return of Mr. Van Buren, he declined signing the memorial or co-operating with its friends, as he disapproved the sentiments contained in the resolutions.*

At the meeting of the Legislature, Governor Clinton directed their attention to the question of admitting Missouri into the Union, with the right to hold slaves. The House of Representatives accordingly adopted a resolution, instructing their Senators, and requesting the Representatives of the State in Congress, "to oppose the admission as a State in the Union of any territory not comprised in the original boundary of the United States, without making the prohibition of slavery therein an indispensable condition of admission." In this resolution the Senate, and Mr. Van Buren as one of the number, concurred. It was adopted without division or debate.

On the sixth day of February, 1821, Mr. Van Buren was appointed, by the Legislature of New York, a member of the Senate of the United States. In the August following, he was returned a member of the convention to revise the Constitution of the State. In this convention he took an active part. Several of his speeches on the important questions which came before it have been preserved. Some extracts from them we copy as favorable specimens of his style and political opinions. Of the legislative power, and the executive veto, he speaks in the following manner:

"Sir, such is the superior force and influence of legislative power—such is the reverence and regard with which it is looked up to, that no man in the community will have the temerity, on ordinary occasions, to resist its acts, or check its proceedings. I cannot illustrate this position more strongly than by a reference to the Constitution of England. There the executive is a branch of the Legislature, and has an absolute negative. Surrounded as he is with prerogative, and placed far beyond the reach of the people, yet, since the year 1692, no objection has been made by the king of Great Britain to any bill presented for his approbation. Rather than produce the excitement and irritation which, even there, would result from the rejection of a bill passed by the Parliament, he has resorted to means which have degraded the government, and dishonored the nation, to prevent the passage of bills which he should feel it his duty to reject. In the declaration of independence, in the catalogue of wrongs under which our fathers had been suffering, one of the most prominent was, that the king had exercised his prerogative, and had refused his sanction to salutary laws. Gentlemen may therefore rest satisfied, that very little danger is to be apprehended on this subject."

On the question of universal and unrestricted suffrage, we find the following record of his opinion. He would only say, that among the many evils which would flow from a wholly unrestricted suffrage, the following would be the most injurious, viz:—

"First. It would give to the city of New York about twenty-five thousand votes; whilst, under the liberal extension of the right on the choice of delegates to this convention, she had but about thirteen or fourteen thousand. That the character of the increased number of votes would be

such as would render their elections rather a curse than a blessing: which would drive from the polls all sober-minded people; and such, he was happy to find, was the united opinion, or nearly so, of the delegation from that city.

"Secondly. It would not only be injurious to them, but that injury would work an equally great one to the western and northern parts of the State. It was the present consolation of our hardy sons of the west, that, for their toils and their sufferings in reducing the wilderness to cultivation, they were cheered by the conviction, not only that they would be secure in the enjoyment of their dear-bought improvements, in consequence of their representation in the Legislature, but that any increase of that representation gave them a still greater influence there. That as far as it respected this State, their march and the march of empire kept pace. This arose from the circumstance of the representation in the State being founded on the number of electors; and because almost every man in a new country was an elector, under the existing and contemplated qualifications: whilst in the old counties, and especially in cities, there were great numbers who would not be embraced by them. So great was this effect, that the city of New York alone would, under the vote of the other day, have become entitled to additional voters, over those who voted at the election of delegates, equal, or nearly so, to the whole number of votes of Ontario or Genesee. The direct consequence of which would be, that the additional representation of fourteen members, which are next year to be distributed among the counties, would, instead of going principally to the west, be surrendered to the worst population of the old counties and cities.

"And thirdly. The door would have been entirely closed against retreat, whatever might be our after conviction, founded on experience, as to the evil tendency of this extended suffrage.

"The just equilibrium between the rights of those who have, and those who have no interest in the government, could, when once thus surrendered, never be regained, except by the sword."

In December, 1821, Mr. Van Buren took his seat as a Senator of the United States; at this time he was just entering on the thirty-ninth year of his age. Of Mr. Van Buren's service in this capacity, we must content ourself with a very rapid summary. On his first appearance in that body he was elected a member of the committee on finance, and of the committee on the judiciary. His first speech in the Senate was on the claim of the Marquis de Maison Rouge; involving a title to about half a million acres of the public lands. He spoke about two hours, but the subject was one of little interest, embracing no general principles, and affording no opportunity for display. Early in his senatorial career he united with Colonel Johnson in his labors for the abolition of imprisonment for debt. Another of his favorite topics was a proposition to amend the Constitution, to keep the choice of President and Vice-President from devolving on the House of Representatives. He proposed also amendments of the judiciary system of the United States; and advocated the establishment of a uniform system of bankruptcy. In reference to the public lands, he was in favor of a proposition to vest the lands in the States in which

they were situated, on "some just and equitable terms." In the winter of 1827, he took an active part in the discussion relative to our intercourse with the British West India Colonies; but his opinions on this subject may be more properly considered at another point of his life.

In February, 1824, the congressional caucus at Washington nominated Mr. Crawford for the presidency, and Mr. Van Buren was zealous in his support. At this election the aggregate vote of the colleges was 261; of which Mr. Crawford received 41, Mr. Clay 37, Mr. Adams 84, General Jackson 99. The number of primary votes in favor of the Adams electoral tickets was 166,112; in favor of the Jackson electoral tickets, 153,733; making a majority in favor of the former of 12,739 votes. The election devolved on the House of Representatives, and Mr. Adams was elected on the first ballot. In the State of New York, the influence of Mr. Van Buren had given five of her electoral votes to Mr. Crawford. In the ultimate decision between Mr. Adams and General Jackson, Mr. Van Buren took no active part. He reserved himself for ulterior exigencies. It was not anticipated that Mr. Adams would be elected on the first ballot. The unexpected result prevented Mr. Van Buren from signalizing himself in his service.

In the active and ardent opposition that was immediately organized against the administration of Mr. Adams, Mr. Van Buren soon became noted for his zeal and activity. He opposed the mission to Panama. He opposed the appropriation of money by the General Government for internal improvements, on the grounds both of unconstitutionality and inexpediency. He had expressed himself in opposition to a high tariff policy; but voted in favor of the tariffs of 1824 and 1828, in the latter instance in compliance with express instructions from the New York Legislature. He also took an active part in the reform of the press, by advocating the judicious bestowal of the patronage of the Senate. "He had long been of opinion," he said, "that the public interest might be promoted, the condition of the press, as well here (at Washington) as *throughout the country*, *improved*, and respect for the Senate, and economy in the publication of the proceedings of the Senate, better secured, by a judicious revision of the laws relating to the public printing at large. At a more convenient season, he hoped the subject would be revised; and he promised himself the best results from such revision as the nature of the subject was susceptible of."

De Witt Clinton died in February, 1828, and in the November following Mr. Van Buren was elected to succeed him in the gubernatorial chair. He was a minority Governor, however, as he was subsequently elected a minority President. The votes were for Van Buren 136,794; for Thompson, 106,444; and for Southwick, 33,345. Mr. Van Buren's good fortune here stood him in its usual stead. The division of his opponents gained him his election. He accordingly resigned his seat in the Senate, and entered upon the office of Governor in January, 1829.

His message to the Legislature was remarkable; in so far as it first broached the scheme of the safety fund; and as it gives Mr. Van Buren's opinions at length on the subject of State banking, it deserves a particular notice. In this message he says the *most important* business of the session is the question of renewing the charters of the several banks in the

State; thirty-one charters would expire in the course of four years, with a capital of fifteen millions of dollars, and debts amounting to thirty millions. He alludes to the difference between their situation, at that time, and the laying of the foundation of the banking system anew; and says, in view of the extent of these institutions and their close connection with the affairs of the community, that "*to dispense with banks, altogether, is an idea which seems to have no advocate; to make ourselves dependent on those established by federal authority, deserves none.*" He says that experience is against banks owned wholly by the State, and that to make stockholders liable, in their private capacity, throws the stock into the hands of irresponsible persons; he reprobates the practice of "bonusses" for bank charters, and says that, compared with the community, the stockholders are few, and hence that all legislative measures should refer exclusively to the safety and stability of the institutions. He finally concludes that the present, solvent banks cannot be so suddenly closed, without a violent disturbance of the interests of the public; and alludes to "a sensible and apparently well-considered plan" which had been submitted to him, and which proposed "to make all the banks responsible for any loss the public may sustain by the failure of any one or more of them." He then presents a brief epitome of the "safety fund system," and concludes this part of his message with the remark, that "the interest which attaches itself to the representative character can never be greater, than when the fulfilment of the trust committed to the representative, may bring him in conflict with the claims of the great monied interests of the country."

On the 20th of January, 1829, Mr. Van Buren, in a brief message, introduced the safety fund to the favorable notice of the Legislature. This plan originated with the Hon. Joshua Forman, and was by him submitted to the Governor. By his suggestions it was somewhat modified, and as amended it was finally adopted by the Legislature. Thus, though his gubernatorial career was brief, it was signalized by the adoption of a system which combined the monied interests of the empire State in an indissoluble league of mutual dependence. The system was a showy system, and by Mr. Van Buren's agency was afterwards introduced into the national policy. In both instances it has proved a stupendous failure.

On the 12th of March, 1829, Mr. Van Buren resigned the office of Governor, in consequence of his appointment as Secretary of State of the United States. He had thus reached an important point in the career of his ambition. His eye immediately rested on the presidency as a prize within his grasp. Mr. Calhoun, however, the Vice-President, was at that time a formidable rival. It was necessary to supplant him in his hold upon General Jackson. Through the agency of Mr. James A. Hamilton, a verbal statement had been obtained from Mr. Crawford, that at a meeting of Mr. Monroe's cabinet, to discuss the course to be pursued towards Spain, in consequence of General Jackson's proceedings in Florida during the Seminole war, Mr. Calhoun, then secretary of the war department, had urged upon the President the necessity of arresting and trying General Jackson. This information had been acquired in 1827–28. In the winter of 1829–30, it was employed by Mr. Van Buren's friends to bring

about a rupture between Mr. Calhoun and General Jackson. The scheme was successful. In February, 1831, the correspondence that had passed on the subject was published by Mr. Calhoun, in consequence of a partial communication of the affair to the public. On the 25th of that month, Mr. Van Buren published a card, averring "that every assertion or insinuation which has for its object to impute to him any participation in attempts supposed to have been made, in the years 1827 and 1828, to prejudice the Vice-President in the good opinion of General Jackson, or at any time, is alike unfounded and unjust. He had no motive or *desire* to create such an impression, and neither took, advised, nor countenanced, directly or indirectly, any steps to effect that object." Mr. Van Buren is entitled to the benefit of this statement. He has always been fortunate in compassing his ends through the convenient instrumentality of others.

Soon after the rupture with Mr. Calhoun, the public mind was disturbed by the explosion of the cabinet. This body was composed of one Van Buren man, one Calhoun man, and four Jackson men. Mr. Van Buren, in April, 1831, addressed a letter to the President, declaring that he felt it to be a duty to retire from the office to which his confidence and partiality had called him. The reasons assigned were that his name had been mentioned as a candidate for the presidency; that as opinions were abroad unfavorable to the order of succession by the office of Secretary of State, he was not disposed to disfranchise himself by continuing in office; that different views as to the succession were unavoidable among the friends of an administration; and that where a member of the cabinet looked to the succession, an injurious effect must result to public affairs. To this he added, that as the President would be re-elected, and as he had been among the most urgent of his advisers to stand a second poll, he could not consent, by continuance in office, to embarrass the future measures of the administration. This step was followed by the immediate dissolution of the cabinet. The General declared that its members had come together as an unit, and he was determined to reconstruct it of entirely new materials.

General Jackson's confidence in Mr. Van Buren remained unimpaired, and in the summer of 1831 he was despatched as minister to St. James's, to succeed Mr. McLane. On the meeting of Congress in December, he was nominated to the Senate of the United States for their approbation. He was rejected by that body, in consequence of their disapproval of the instructions which he issued, while Secretary of State, to our minister in England, in reference to our West India trade. As this question is one of very considerable historical interest, we copy from the instructions in question the offensive passages:

"If," says the secretary, "the omission of this Government to accept of the terms proposed, when, heretofore, offered, be urged as an objection to their adoption now, it will be your duty to make the British Government sensible of the *injustice and inexpediency* of such a course.

"The opportunities which you have derived from a participation in our councils, as well as other sources of information, will enable you to speak with confidence (as far as you may deem it proper and useful so to do) of the respective parts taken *by those to whom the administration of this Gov-*

*ernment is now committed, in relation to the course heretofore pursued upon the subject of the colonial trade. Their views of the point have been submitted to the people of the United States; and the councils by which your conduct is now directed, are the result of the judgment expressed by the only earthly tribunal to which the late administration was amenable for its acts. It should be sufficient, that the claims set up by them, and which caused the interruption of the trade in question, have been explicitly abandoned by those who first asserted them, and are not revived by their successors.** If Great Britain deems it adverse to her interests to allow us to participate in the trade with her colonies, and finds nothing in the extension of it to others to induce her to apply the same rule to us, she will, we hope, be sensible of the propriety of placing her refusal on these grounds. *To set up the acts of the late administration, as the cause of forfeiture of privileges which would otherwise be extended to the* PEOPLE *of the United States*, would, under existing circumstances, be unjust in itself, and could not fail to excite their deepest sensibility. The tone of feeling, which a course so unwise and untenable is calculated to produce, would, doubtless, be greatly aggravated by the consciousness, that Great Britain has, by order in council, opened her colonial ports to Russia and France, notwithstanding a similar omission, on their part, to accept the terms offered by the act of July, 1825."

"You cannot press this view of the subject too earnestly upon the consideration of the British ministry. It has bearings and relations that reach beyond the immediate question under discussion."

In his letter to Mr. McLane of the fifth of October, 1830, he assured the minister, that the construction of Lord Aberdeen and himself, by which the reciprocity in the export of foreign goods required by our act of 1830 was abandoned, "was adopted without reserve;" and adds, "The President has derived great satisfaction from the candor and liberality which has characterized his majesty's ministers throughout the negotiation, and particularly in not suffering the INADVERTENCIES *of our legislation, attributable to the haste and confusion of the closing scenes of the session*, to defeat or delay the adjustment."

On the character of these instructions we do not propose to comment. It was upon this point that his rejection by the Senate rested. His friends however condemned the rejection, and vindicated the propriety of Mr. Van Buren's course. The Republican members of the New York Legislature addressed a letter to the President, expressing in strong language their indignation at what they termed a "proscriptive act" of the Senate, and their high respect for the public and private character of Mr. Van Buren. The President in reply assumed the entire responsibility of the instructions condemned by the Senate; declaring that they were the result of his own deliberate investigation and reflection, and still appearing to him altogether proper, and consonant to his public duty.

On the 22d of May, 1832, Mr. Van Buren was nominated as a candidate for the vice-presidency, by a convention of the Jackson party holden at Baltimore. He received one hundred and eighty-nine of two hundred and eighty-six electoral votes, and was accordingly elected. On the fourth

* This was a mistake.

of March, 1833, he was inaugurated as Vice-President. In this position of course he seldom obtained the opportunity of taking an active part in public affairs. The most remarkable instance that occurred during his four years was in reference to the incendiary publication bill of Mr. Calhoun. This bill contemplated the suppression of incendiary doctrine on the subject of slavery, through the agency of the postoffice. It was sustained by many Senators from the south and south-west. On its passage to a second reading there was a tie. The casting vote of the Vice-President was called for, and was given in favor of the bill. At its next stage it was defeated by the votes of Senators from the slave-holding States.

During his occupancy of the office, however, Mr. Van Buren was frequently called upon for his opinion on public affairs. To all such questions he replied without hesitation or reserve, declaring his hostility to the United States Bank, to a system of internal improvements; and a complete acquiescence in all the views, feelings, and opinions of General Jackson. On the right of interference by the General Government, or the people of the non-slave-holding States, in the subject of slavery, he has expressed himself in the very strongest language. The following letter, addressed to a gentleman of Augusta, Georgia, at a time when great excitement prevailed in the Southern States, in consequence of the proceedings of the anti-slavery association at the North, exhibits Mr. Van Buren's sentiments on this very interesting question:

"Owasco, Sept. 10. 1835.

"My Dear Sir: Your letter of the 22d ult. met me at this place, on my return from the Falls; and I lose no time in replying to that part of it which relates to the continued attempts to prejudice my friends, as well as myself, in the estimation of the South in respect to the slave question.

"It is deeply to be regretted that there should be found, on the part of any, inducements sufficiently strong to increase an excitement, already so alarming, by a resort to imputations, in the truth of which no ingenuous mind can place the slightest confidence. The allegations which attribute to me views and opinions that are so justly obnoxious to the slave-holding States, are made in the face of the most explicit declarations on my part, denying all authority on the part of the Federal Government to interfere in the matter—against the propriety of agitating the question in the District of Columbia, and in the absence of a single fact, giving the least countenance to the unfounded imputations. I should poorly requite the candor with which I have hitherto been treated by the great mass of my fellow-citizens at the South, were I to allow myself to apprehend that those who would otherwise be disposed to give me their confidence, could, under such circumstances, suffer me to be prejudiced in their opinion, by the unsupported assertions of my enemies, however reckless or vehemently persisted in. Were these fabrications, therefore, designed to affect me only, I should not hesitate to leave the matter as it stands, to the spontaneous action of my countrymen. But when it is intended to reach, in this way, those who honor me with their friendship, I do not feel myself at liberty to withhold any correction that may, by possibility, be useful to them. With this view I send you the enclosed proceedings of the citizens of Albany upon the subject, and authorize you to say, that I concur fully

in the sentiments they advance. I was absent from the city at the time the meeting was held, but took an early occasion to advise its call, and to encourage the attempt to make it, what it has been, a meeting of the people, without reference to their sentiments on any other subject than that which was discussed before it. Connected with its proceedings are to be found the names of our principal State officers, executive and judicial, including the Governor of our State, with an array of private citizens which, for personal worth and weight of character, has never, to my knowledge, been excelled at any previous meeting.

"It would be presumption in me to add any assurances of my own, as to the sincerity with which the sentiments they express are entertained, or of their disposition to make them effectual upon the important subject to which they relate.

"May we not, then, hope that the proofs of an affectionate and just spirit towards the rights and interests of the South, which have been brought out by this hitherto threatening excitement, will have the effect, in future, to remove all unfounded impressions, and to put an end to every feeling and prejudice inconsistent with the principles upon which the Union was founded?

"Earnestly cherishing this pleasing anticipation,

"I am, dear sir, very truly, your friend and ob't serv't,

M. VAN BUREN."

The leading resolutions adopted by the meeting alluded to in the above letter are as follows:

"*Therefore, Resolved*, That we regard the Constitution of the United States as carrying with it an adjustment of all questions involved in the deliberations which led to its adoption: and that the compromise of interests in which it was founded, is, in our opinion, binding in honor and good faith, independently of the force of agreement, on all who live under its protection, and participate in the benefits of which it is the source.

"*Resolved*, That under the Constitution of the United States, the relation of master and slave is a matter belonging exclusively to the people of each State within its own boundary; that the General Government has no control over it; that it is subject only to the respective arrangements of the several States within which it exists; and that any attempt by the government or people of any other State, or by the General Government, to interfere with or disturb it, would violate the spirit of that compromise which lies at the basis of the federal compact."

On the 20th of May, 1835, the Jackson convention for the nomination of a candidate for the presidency was holden at Baltimore. About six hundred delegates were in attendance. On the first ballot, Mr. Van Buren received the unanimous vote of the convention for the candidacy; and Richard M. Johnson, of Kentucky, was subsequently nominated for the office of Vice-President. These nominations, it was well understood, received the express approbation of General Jackson. So ardent, indeed, was his approval, that, to carry out the principles of his administration in a successor on whom he could place the most implicit reliance, he openly and warmly advocated Mr. Van Buren's election. To the letter of the

nominating committee, Mr. Van Buren replied at some length. We extract the most pregnant and important paragraph:

"I content myself, on this occasion, with saying, that I consider myself the honored instrument, selected by the friends of the present administration, to carry out its principles and policy; and that, as well from inclination as from duty, I shall, if honored with the choice of the American people, endeavor to tread generally in the footsteps of President Jackson—happy, if I shall be able to perfect the work which he has so gloriously begun."

We have alluded to the calls that had been made at various periods upon Mr. Van Buren for his opinions on important political subjects. His letters in reply have been frequently reprinted. One of the most remarkable of these was his letter to Sherrod Williams, an opposition member of Congress, who desired an exposition of his views on several agitating topics. Mr. Van Buren replied with his usual prudence and adroitness, expressing a perfect coincidence on all points with the opinions of General Jackson. This document is too long to copy entire, but it has been so frequently published in our public journals as to be accessible to all our readers.

On canvassing the returns of electoral votes for President, it was ascertained that Martin Van Buren had received 167, Daniel Webster 14, General William H. Harrison 93, Hugh L. White 26, and Willie P. Mangum 11 votes. The vote of Michigan, if counted, would make Mr. Van Buren's elective number 170. A careful canvass of the primary votes shows that a small majority of the people cast their votes for the opposition tickets; but the fortunate location of his forces gave Mr. Van Buren a handsome triumph in the electoral colleges. There was no choice of Vice-President by the people. The two highest candidates that went before the Senate were Colonel Johnson of Kentucky, and Francis Granger of New York. Forty-nine Senators were present at the time of balloting; 16 ballots were thrown for Mr. Granger, and 33 for Colonel Johnson, who was accordingly declared to be elected.

Mr. Van Buren was inaugurated on Saturday, the fourth of March. Before proceeding to take the oath of office, the President elect delivered the following address:

FELLOW-CITIZENS:

The practice of all my predecessors imposes on me an obligation I cheerfully fulfil, to accompany the first and solemn act of my public trust with an avowal of the principles that will guide me in performing it, and an expression of my feelings on assuming a charge so responsible and vast. In imitating their example I tread in the footsteps of illustrious men, whose superiors, it is our happiness to believe, are not found on the executive calendar of any country. Among them we recognise the earliest and firmest pillars of the Republic; those by whom our national independence was first declared; him who, above all others, contributed to establish it on the field of battle; and those whose expanded intellect and patriotism constructed, improved, and perfected the inestimable institutions under which we live. If such men, in the position I now occupy, felt themselves overwhelmed by a sense of gratitude for this, the highest of all marks of their country's confidence, and by a consciousness of their inability adequately to discharge the duties of an office so difficult and exalted, how much more must these considerations affect one who can rely on no such claims for favor or forbearance. Unlike all who have preceded me, the Revolution, that gave us existence as one people, was achieved at the period of my birth; and, whilst I contemplate with grateful reverence that memorable event, I feel that I belong to a later age, and that I may not expect my countrymen to weigh my actions with the same kind and partial hand.

So sensibly, fellow-citizens, do these circumstances press themselves upon me, that I should not dare to enter upon my path of duty, did I not look for the generous aid of those who will be associated with me in the various and co-ordinate branches of the Government; did I not repose, with unwavering reliance, on the patriotism, the intelligence, and the kindness of a people who never yet deserted a public servant honestly laboring in their cause; and, above all, did I not permit myself humbly to hope for the sustaining support of an ever-watchful and beneficent Providence.

To the confidence and consolation derived from these sources, it would be ungrateful not to add those which spring from our present fortunate condition. Though not altogether exempt from embarrassments that disturb our tranquillity at home and threaten it abroad, yet, in all the attributes of a great, happy, and flourishing people, we stand without a parallel in the world. Abroad, we enjoy the respect, and, with scarcely an exception, the friendship of every nation. At home, while our Government quietly, but efficiently, performs the sole legitimate end of political institutions, in doing the greatest good to the greatest number, we present an aggregate of human prosperity surely not elsewhere to be found.

How imperious, then, is the obligation imposed upon every citizen, in his own sphere of action, whether limited or extended, to exert himself in perpetuating a condition of things so singularly happy. All the lessons of history and experience must be lost upon us, if we are content to trust alone to the peculiar advantages we happen to possess. Position and climate, and the bounteous resources that Nature has scattered with so liberal a hand, even the diffused intelligence and elevated character of our people, will avail us nothing, if we fail sacredly to uphold those political institutions that were wisely and deliberately formed with reference to every circumstance that could preserve, or might endanger, the blessings we enjoy. The thoughtful framers of our Constitution legislated for our country as they found it. Looking upon it with the eyes of statesmen and of patriots, they saw all the sources of rapid and wonderful prosperity; but they saw also that various habits, opinions, and institutions, peculiar to the various portions of so vast a region, were deeply fixed. Distinct sovereignties were in actual existence, whose cordial union was essential to the welfare and happiness of all. Between many of them there was, at least to some extent, a real diversity of interests, liable to be exaggerated through sinister designs; they differed in size, in population, in wealth, and in actual and prospective resources and power; they varied in the character of their industry and staple productions; and in some existed domestic institutions which, unwisely disturbed, might endanger the harmony of the whole. Most carefully were all these circumstances weighed; and the foundations of the new Government laid upon principles of reciprocal concession and equitable compromise. The jealousies which the smaller States might entertain of the power of the rest were allayed by a rule of representation, confessedly unequal at the time, and designed forever to remain so. A natural fear that the broad scope of general legislation might bear upon, and unwisely control, particular interests, was counteracted by limits strictly drawn around the action of the federal authority; and to the people and the States was left unimpaired their sovereign power over the innumerable subjects embraced in the internal government of a just Republic, excepting such only as necessarily appertain to the concerns of the whole confederacy, or its intercourse, as a united community, with the other nations of the world.

This provident forecast has been verified by time. Half a century, teeming with extraordinary events, and elsewhere producing astonishing results, has passed along; but on our institutions it has left no injurious mark. From a small community we have risen to a people powerful in numbers and in strength; but with our increase has gone, hand in hand, the progress of just principles; the privileges, civil and religious, of the humblest individual are still sacredly protected at home; and, while the valor and fortitude of our people have removed far from us the slightest apprehension of foreign power, they have not yet induced us, in a single instance, to forget what is right. Our commerce has been extended to the remotest nations; the value, and even nature, of our productions has been greatly changed; a wide difference has arisen in the relative wealth and resources of every portion of our country; yet the spirit of mutual regard and of faithful adherence to existing compacts has continued to prevail in our councils, and never long been absent from our conduct. We have learned by experience a fruitful lesson: that an implicit and undeviating adherence to the principles on which we set out can carry us prosperously onward, through all the conflicts of circumstances and the vicissitudes inseparable from the lapse of years.

The success that has thus attended our great experiment is, in itself, a sufficient cause for gratitude, on account of the happiness it has actually conferred, and the example it has unanswerably given. But to me, my fellow-citizens, looking forward to the far-distant future, with ardent prayers and confiding hopes, this retrospect presents a ground for still deeper delight. It impresses on my mind a firm belief that the perpetuity of our institutions depends upon ourselves; that, if we maintain the principles on which they were established, they are destined to confer their benefits on countless generations yet to come; and that America will present to every friend of mankind the cheering proof that a popular Government, wisely formed, is wanting in no element of endurance or strength. Fifty years ago, its rapid failure was boldly predicted. Latent and uncontrollable causes of dissolution were

supposed to exist, even by the wise and good; and not only did unfriendly or speculative theorists anticipate for us the fate of past republics, but the fears of many an honest patriot overbalanced his sanguine hopes. Look back on these forebodings, not hastily, but reluctantly made, and see how, in every instance, they have completely failed.

An imperfect experience, during the struggles of the Revolution, was supposed to warrant the belief that the people would not bear the taxation requisite to discharge an immense public debt already incurred, and to defray the necessary expenses of the Government. The cost of two wars has been paid, not only without a murmur, but with unequalled alacrity. No one is now left to doubt that every burden will be cheerfully borne that may be necessary to sustain our civil institutions, or guard our honor or our welfare. Indeed, all experience has shown that the willingness of the people to contribute to these ends, in cases of emergency, has uniformly outrun the confidence of their representatives.

In the early stages of the new Government, when all felt the imposing influence as they recognised the unequalled services of the first President, it was a common sentiment, that the great weight of his character could alone bind the discordant materials of our Government together, and save us from the violence of contending factions. Since his death nearly forty years are gone. Party exasperation has been often carried to its highest point; the virtue and the fortitude of the people have sometimes been greatly tried; yet our system, purified and enhanced in value by all it has encountered, still preserves its spirit of free and fearless discussion, blended with unimpaired fraternal feeling.

The capacity of the people for self-government, and their willingness, from a high sense of duty, and without those exhibitions of coercive power so generally employed in other countries, to submit to all needful restraints and exactions of the municipal law, have also been favorably exemplified in the history of the American States. Occasionally, it is true, the ardor of public sentiment, outrunning the regular progress of the judicial tribunals, or seeking to reach cases not denounced as criminal by the existing law, has displayed itself in a manner calculated to give pain to the friends of free government, and to encourage the hopes of those who wish for its overthrow. These occurrences, however, have been far less frequent in our country than in any other of equal population on the globe; and with the diffusion of intelligence, it may well be hoped that they will constantly diminish in frequency and violence. The generous patriotism and sound common sense of the great mass of our fellow-citizens will assuredly, in time, produce this result; for as every assumption of illegal power not only wounds the majesty of the law, but furnishes a pretext for abridging the liberties of the people, the latter have the most direct and permanent interest in preserving the landmarks of social order, and maintaining, on all occasions, the inviolability of those constitutional and legal provisions which they themselves have made.

In a supposed unfitness of our institutions for those hostile emergencies which no country can always avoid, their friends found a fruitful source of apprehension, their enemies of hope. While they foresaw less promptness of action than in Governments differently formed, they overlooked the far more important consideration, that, with us, war could never be the result of individual or irresponsible will, but must be a measure of redress for injuries sustained, voluntarily resorted to by those who were to bear the necessary sacrifice, who would consequently feel an individual interest in the contest, and whose energy would be commensurate with the difficulties to be encountered. Actual events have proved their error; the last war, far from impairing, gave new confidence to our Government; and amid recent apprehensions of a similar conflict, we saw that the energies of our country would not be wanting in ample season to vindicate its rights. We may not possess, as we should not desire to possess, the extended and ever-ready military organization of other nations; we may occasionally suffer in the outset for the want of it; but, among ourselves, all doubt upon this great point has ceased, while a salutary experience will prevent a contrary opinion from inviting aggression from abroad.

Certain danger was foretold from the extension of our territory, the multiplication of States, and the increase of population. Our system was supposed to be adapted only to boundaries comparatively narrow. These have been widened beyond conjecture; the members of our confederacy are already doubled; and the numbers of our people are incredibly augmented. The alleged causes of danger have long surpassed anticipation, but none of the consequences have followed. The power and influence of the Republic have risen to a height obvious to all mankind; respect for its authority was not more apparent at its ancient than it is at its present limits; new and inexhaustible sources of general prosperity have been opened; the effects of distance have been averted by the inventive genius of our people, developed and fostered by the spirit of our institutions, and the enlarged variety and amount of interests, productions, and pursuits have strengthened the chain of mutual dependence, and formed a circle of mutual benefits too apparent ever to be overlooked.

In justly balancing the powers of the Federal and State authorities, difficulties nearly insurmountable arose at the outset, and subsequent collisions were deemed inevitable. Amid these, it was scarcely believed possible that a scheme of government, so complex in construction, could remain uninjured. From time to time embarrassments have certainly occurred; but how just is the confidence of future safety imparted by the knowledge that each

in succession has been happily removed. Overlooking partial and temporary evils, as inseparable from the practical operation of all human institutions, and looking only to the general result, every patriot has reason to be satisfied. While the Federal Government has successfully performed its appropriate functions in relation to foreign affairs and concerns evidently national, that of every State has remarkably improved in protecting and developing local interests and individual welfare; and if the vibrations of authority have occasionally tended too much towards one or the other, it is unquestionably certain that the ultimate operation of the entire system has been to strengthen all the existing institutions, and to elevate our whole country in prosperity and renown.

The last, perhaps the greatest, of the prominent sources of discord and disaster supposed to lurk in our political condition, was the institution of domestic slavery. Our forefathers were deeply impressed with the delicacy of this subject, and they treated it with a forbearance so evidently wise, that, in spite of every sinister foreboding, it never, until the present period, disturbed the tranquillity of our common country. Such a result is sufficient evidence of the justice and the patriotism of their course; it is evidence not to be mistaken, that an adherence to it can prevent all embarrassment from this, as well as from every other anticipated cause of difficulty or danger. Have not recent events made it obvious to the slightest reflection, that the least deviation from this spirit of forbearance is injurious to every interest, that of humanity included? Amidst the violence of excited passions, this generous and fraternal feeling has been sometimes disregarded; and, standing as I now do before my countrymen in this high place of honor and of trust, I cannot refrain from anxiously invoking my fellow-citizens never to be deaf to its dictates. Perceiving, before my election, the deep interest this subject was beginning to excite, I believed it a solemn duty fully to make known my sentiments in regard to it; and now, when every motive for misrepresentation has passed away, I trust that they will be candidly weighed and understood. At least, they will be my standard of conduct in the path before me. I then declared that, if the desire of those of my countrymen who were favorable to my election was gratified, "I must go into the presidential chair the inflexible and uncompromising opponent of every attempt, on the part of Congress, to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, against the wishes of the slave-holding States; and also with a determination equally decided to resist the slightest interference with it in the States where it exists." I submitted also to my fellow-citizens, with fulness and frankness, the reasons which led me to this determination. The result authorizes me to believe that they have been approved, and are confided in, by a majority of the people of the United States, including those whom they most immediately affect. It now only remains to add, that no bill conflicting with these views can ever receive my constitutional sanction. These opinions have been adopted in the firm belief that they are in accordance with the spirit that actuated the venerated fathers of the Republic, and that succeeding experience has proved them to be humane, patriotic, expedient, honorable, and just. If the agitation of this subject was intended to reach the stability of our institutions, enough has occurred to show that it has signally failed; and that in this, as in every other instance, the apprehensions of the timid and the hopes of the wicked for the destruction of our Government, are again destined to be disappointed. Here and there, indeed, scenes of dangerous excitement have occurred; terrifying instances of local violence have been witnessed; and a reckless disregard of the consequences of their conduct has exposed individuals to popular indignation; but neither masses of the people, nor sections of the country, have been swerved from their devotion to the bond of union, and the principles it has made sacred. It will be ever thus. Such attempts at dangerous agitation may periodically return, but with each the object will be better understood. That predominating affection for our political system which prevails throughout our territorial limits; that calm and enlightened judgment which ultimately governs our people as one vast body; will always be at hand to resist and control every effort, foreign or domestic, which aims, or would lead, to overthrow our institutions.

What can be more gratifying than such a retrospect as this? We look back on obstacles avoided, and dangers overcome; on expectations more than realized, and prosperity perfectly secured. To the hopes of the hostile, the fears of the timid, and the doubts of the anxious, actual experience has given the conclusive reply. We have seen time gradually dispel every unfavorable foreboding, and our Constitution surmount every adverse circumstance, dreaded at the outset as beyond control. Present excitement will, at all times, magnify present dangers; but true philosophy must teach us that none more threatening than the past can remain to be overcome; and we ought, for we have just reason, to entertain an abiding confidence in the stability of our institutions, and an entire conviction that, if administered in the true form, character, and spirit in which they were established, they are abundantly adequate to preserve to us and our children the rich blessings already derived from them; to make our beloved land, for a thousand generations, that chosen spot where happiness springs from a perfect equality of political rights.

For myself, therefore, I desire to declare, that the principle that will govern me in the high duty to which my country calls me, is a strict adherence to the letter and spirit of the Constitution, as it was designed by those who framed it. Looking back to it as a sacred

strument carefully and not easily framed; remembering that it was throughout a work of concession and compromise; viewing it as limited to national objects; regarding it as leaving to the people and the States all power not explicitly parted with; I shall endeavor to preserve, protect, and defend it, by anxiously referring to its provision for direction in every action. To matters of domestic concernment which it has intrusted to the Federal Government, and to such as relate to our intercourse with foreign nations, I shall zealously devote myself; beyond those limits I shall never pass.

To enter, on this occasion, into a further or more minute exposition of my views on the various questions of domestic policy, would be as obtrusive as it is probably unexpected. Before the suffrages of my countrymen were conferred upon me, I submitted to them, with great precision, my opinions on all the most prominent of these subjects. Those opinions I shall endeavor to carry out with my utmost ability.

Our course of foreign policy has been so uniform and intelligible, as to constitute a rule of executive conduct which leaves little to my discretion, unless, indeed, I were willing to run counter to the lights of experience, and the known opinions of my constituents. We sedulously cultivate the friendship of all nations, as the condition most compatible with our welfare and the principles of our Government. We decline alliances, as adverse to our peace. We desire commercial relations on equal terms, being ever willing to give a fair equivalent for advantages received. We endeavor to conduct our intercourse with openness and sincerity; promptly avowing our objects, and seeking to establish that mutual frankness which is as beneficial in the dealings of nations as of men. We have no disposition, and we disclaim all right, to meddle in disputes, whether internal or foreign, that may molest other countries; regarding them, in their actual state, as social communities, and preserving a strict neutrality in all their controversies. Well knowing the tried valor of our people, and our exhaustless resources, we neither anticipate nor fear any designed aggression; and, in the consciousness of our own just conduct, we feel a security that we shall never be called upon to exert our determination, never to permit an invasion of our rights without punishment or redress.

In approaching, then, in the presence of my assembled countrymen, to make the solemn promise that yet remains, and to pledge myself that I will faithfully execute the office I am about to fill, I bring with me a settled purpose to maintain the institutions of my country, which, I trust, will atone for the errors I commit.

In receiving from the people the sacred trust twice confided to my illustrious predecessor, and which he has discharged so faithfully and so well, I know that I cannot expect to perform the arduous task with equal ability and success. But, united as I have been in his counsels, a daily witness of his exclusive and unsurpassed devotion to his country's welfare, agreeing with him in sentiments which his countrymen have warmly supported, and permitted to partake largely of his confidence, I may hope that somewhat of the same cheering approbation will be found to attend upon my path. For him, I but express, with my own, the wishes of all—that he may yet long live to enjoy the brilliant evening of his well-spent life; and, for myself, conscious of but one desire, faithfully to serve my country, I throw myself, without fear, on its justice and its kindness. Beyond that, I only look to the gracious protection of the Divine Being, whose strengthening support I humbly solicit, and whom I fervently pray to look down upon us all. May it be among the dispensations of His providence to bless our beloved country with honors and with length of days; may her ways be ways of pleasantness, and all her paths be peace.

The delivery of the address being completed, and the oath prescribed by the Constitution having been administered to the President by the Chief Justice of the United States, national salutes from the military and naval stations within the city were fired in honor of the occasion; after which, the President and Ex-President returned to the executive mansion, attended by the cortége which accompanied them to the capitol, and whither an immense concourse of citizens repaired to offer their salutations to the new President, and take leave of his predecessor. The representatives of foreign Governments also attended, and through Mr. Calderon, the minister of her Catholic majesty, offered their congratulations to the President in an appropriate and impressive address.

The day was uncommonly brilliant for the season, and the fineness of the weather permitted great numbers of citizens to come in from the country, who, with the multitude of strangers who had been flocking into the city for many days from a distance, and the thousands of resident citizens,

lined the avenue, during the forenoon, and formed a larger concourse of both sexes at the capitol during the ceremonies than was ever witnessed on any former occasion. Thronged, however, as the streets and public places were during the day, not an instance of disorder took place; every thing wore a marked appearance of calmness, and the absence of excitement.

In the evening there was a splendid ball at Carusi's, at which the President and Vice-President of the United States attended, with a number of Senators and Representatives, all the heads of departments, many military and naval officers, all the members of foreign legations, in the official costume of their several functions and countries.

Mr. Van Buren succeeded to the arduous post of the chief-magistracy at a period of almost unexampled prosperity. He found the treasury full to repletion; the credit of the federal government and its finances in the most flourishing condition; and the states, and commercial cities of the Union, going on in a career of enterprise and improvement scarcely paralleled. So striking appeared this view of things to General Jackson, on retiring from office, that, in his address to the country, he congratulated the nation that he left this great people prosperous and happy. The measures of the prior administration having determined the line of policy to be pursued by the party in power, Mr. Van Buren had the responsibility of no new acts with which to signalize or endanger the success of his administration. Apparently he had a smooth sea before him.

A few months changed this apparent prosperity into a wide-spread and universal gloom. The credit system, of such vital importance, under a healthy control, to the welfare of the country, had been expanded in anticipation of, and immediately following, the expiration of the charter of the United States Bank, to an extent beyond the power of the resources of the country to sustain. The business of the treasury had been transferred from the agency of the National Bank to the banks of the States, and transacted by them, at first, under the general authority of the act establishing the Treasury Department, and afterwards according to the more specific provisions of the act of Congress, passed the 23d June, 1836, to regulate the deposites of the public money.

Under the system thus organized, the public revenue on hand was deposited in selected banks, to be discounted on by them, with various regulations of security; the public funds were transferred by their agency; their notes were received and paid out in the dealings of the Treasury; and they were relied on to conduct the exchanges of the country, and furnish its paper currency.

At this period, (1836,) the number of banks chartered by the several States had greatly increased, many being created for the alleged purpose of supplying the anticipated vacuum in business by reason of the refusal of a new charter to the United States Bank; the total number of banks in operation in the United States being six hundred and seventy-six, with a capital of upwards of three hundred and twenty-four millions of dollars. This amount of capital was greatly beyond the true wants of the country; much of it was fictitious; the business was altogether overdone; excessive bank issues and overtrading followed hand in hand; and at length, (in

1837,) the whole machinery fell into pieces, and a general suspension of cash payments by all the banks in the United States occurred.

Thereupon, the President, (Mr. Van Buren,) considering the incorporation of a national bank unconstitutional, and if constitutional, yet unwise, and deeming the continued use of the State banks either impracticable or inexpedient, recommended a radical change in the fiscal operations of the Federal Government, which (with some modifications of the original plan) became the law of the land on the 4th of July, 1840, by the passage of the act to provide for the collection, safe-keeping, transfer, and disbursement of the public money.

The principle of this plan was the ultimate total separation of the Federal Government from all dependence on banks and bank paper in the business of the Treasury. The Treasurer of the United States, and various officers of the Government under him, were required to keep the public moneys in the vaults of the Government, and perform all the duties of transfer as well as deposite, and provision was made for exacting immediately one-fourth of all public dues to be paid in gold and silver, and for the addition of one-fourth to that requisition yearly; so that, on and after the expiration of three years, all payments to the Government should be made in gold and silver only, as the sole and exclusive legal currency of the United States.

The system was immediately put in operation, and the Receivers General appointed for the different sections of the Union were placed in charge of the accruing public revenues. Able and responsible agents were selected, and the measure, which was at the outset objected to by many of the friends of the President, now became the favorite object of the party at the head of affairs. They had become hostile, as a political party, to all banks; and the mass of the whole people were daily becoming more and more dissatisfied with the conduct of these institutions. As a remedy for the existing evils, slow, perhaps, but ultimately secure, Mr. Van Buren looked forward with confidence to the success of the Independent Treasury system, because of its entire independence of all agency not the Government's, and especially because independent of banks; because it would hold the public funds for public use only; and because, by the use of coin alone in the dealings of the Treasury, it would tend in the result to bring back the business of the country from the delusive excesses and expansions of the paper system, to the money standard of the Constitution.

The Independent, or Sub-Treasury system, was the great measure of Mr. Van Buren's administration, which, had he been re-elected, would have been carried out to its consummation, either of good or evil. Its adoption was carried during a highly exasperated political contest throughout the country, and it formed one of the rallying points of both the great contending parties; and the general distrust with which it was viewed by the people, contributed not a little to the signal overthrow which soon after visited the administration of Mr. Van Buren.

President Van Buren was nominated for re-election in May, 1840, by a very numerous and intelligent convention of delegates from the different States, assembled at Baltimore. From the address of that convention to the people, drawn up by Ex-Governor HILL, of New-Hampshire, the fol

lowing extracts are taken, as embodying the argument in favor of Mr. Van Buren, on the other branches of his administrative policy, in the language of one of his admirers:

"Notwithstanding the eminent skill with which our foreign affairs were managed by General Jackson throughout his administration, great embarrassments remained to be encountered by his successor. Having succeeded in obtaining indemnity from European powers for the long arrearages of injuries we had suffered during the sanguinary conflicts that succeeded the American Revolution, he turned, towards the close of his second term, his attention to the just demands of our citizens against the Republics of this continent. Beginning with Mexico, he pressed upon her, with his wonted energy and firmness, the prompt arrangement of our claims, daily increasing in numbers, and some of them having their origin in those first and early movements in the Spanish American States, which resulted in their complete emancipation and independence. Although partially supported by Congress, they did not see fit to sustain him in the recommendation made, at a critical moment, to enforce, by competent means, an immediate adjustment upon the dilatory rulers who governed Mexico in rapid succession. The discussions between the two countries became more recriminatory and acrimonious; and at last, at the moment of his departure from the head of the Government, the recognition of the independence of Texas, added to the previous interruption of diplomatic intercourse, had produced a feeling on the part of the Government and people of Mexico so embittered, as seemingly to render hostilities almost inevitable. In the midst of these difficulties, attended, as they were, by the wide-spread domestic embarrassments which a disordered currency had produced, the disturbances in Canada occurred, to awaken the attention of our people, and try the firmness of the Executive. A civil war raged in a neighboring country; the population on each side of the boundary was dangerously excited; angry collisions, constantly anticipated, and more than once occurring, were readily imputed to a want of good faith, or settled purposes of hostility; and a rare union of prudence and firmness, forbearance and resolution, was required to prevent those consequences which, in every aspect, threatened a fierce and prolonged war. While yet this storm of passions on the Northern frontier remained unsubdued, the occurrences on the boundary of Maine suddenly arose, and seemed to render the policy of the administration still more difficult, and to destroy every hope of preserving unbroken tranquillity. Let the history of the dangers thus springing up from the moment Mr. Van Buren entered upon the Executive office—the measures which, for three years, he has adopted in regard to them—the able correspondence in which he has maintained, with unflinching firmness, the rights and honor of the United States—let these speak the merit of his administration of our foreign affairs. The wearied patience of the honest claimants against Mexico is at length rewarded, by the appointment of a just tribunal for the settlement of their claims, and a stipulated mode of paying them. The Canadian border is once more the scene of active and peaceful industry; passion has been subdued by reason and reflection; and every thing assures us, that however strong our sympathies may be with the progress of social and political improvement, they will not be in-

dulged at the expense of international rights. Maine, whose long-suffering patience properly demanded the prompt decision of the pending question, reposes with confidence in the General Administration to obtain that end, and feels satisfied that it will sustain, with unchanging resolution, her territorial claims.

"Nor let us forget that while these great and absorbing questions of foreign policy were depending, all the other duties connected with our foreign intercourse were successfully performed. Indemnities have been obtained by Mr. Van Buren from Mexico, Texas, Great Britain, and Holland; advantageous commercial treaties have been completed with the Peru-Bolivian Confederation, and with Holland, Greece, and Sardinia; and have been agreed upon with Ecuador and Belgium; and our national character, and the principles of maritime law, which we have always maintained, have been recognized and respected in the most distant quarters of the globe."

Such is the estimate placed upon the public merits and policy of Mr. Van Buren, by the great political party which sustained him. It is not our purpose to examine or controvert the accuracy of the estimate, or the wisdom of his policy. Those are matters left to the judgment of the candid reader, and for the sentence of posterity. A few extracts from a public letter of Mr. Van Buren, written in July, 1840, in answer to inquiries from the citizens of Elizabeth-City county, in Virginia, are added, as giving a clear definition of the views entertained by him, on some of the great questions which have hitherto, and still continue to interest his countrymen.

Mr. Van Buren says—"The authority of the elector to call in good faith on the candidate for his favor, for an unreserved avowal of his opinions in regard to all matters of public concern that it may become his official duty to act upon, is not only of inestimable value to the success of political institutions like ours, but may, I think, without exaggeration, be regarded as indispensable to the maintenance of Republican Government. Viewing the subject in this light, and having satisfied myself that in propounding questions to me, you have, as you assure me, been actuated by an unfeigned desire to be able to bestow your suffrages understandingly, and to possess yourself of information which you deem material to that end, I cheerfully comply with your request.

You ask me, first, 'whether, if elected President, I will veto any bill having for its object the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia: or whether I will sanction any bill granting appropriations of the public money to any State, soliciting aid for the emancipation of their slaves?' My attention has been frequently heretofore called to the first branch of your inquiry; and my views in respect to it given. The substance of them was repeated, with additional explanations, in a letter recently addressed by me to a committee composed of citizens of Louisville, Kentucky, in reply to a question embracing, among other things, the particular point now referred to. As my reply to your several questions will, unavoidably, be of considerable length, I have not deemed it advisable to repeat that answer here—but will cause each of you to be supplied with a copy thereof, and cannot doubt your being satisfied that I have at least fairly met the subject. The second branch of your inquiry, though scarcely of less importance, was not brought into view on that occasion. Nearly all

now agree that the Federal Government possesses no power to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States; and the general and undoubtedly the correct principle is, that the Federal Government cannot apply the national funds to objects upon which they are either expressly prohibited from acting, or in respect to which there is an acknowledged absence of delegated authority. Usage, supposed necessity, and apparently uncontrollable considerations of expediency, have, from time to time, led to limited expenditures, for which it was not easy to find a warrant in the Constitution. But these have always been regarded by the sincere friends of a strict construction of that instrument as matters to be regretted, and as far as possible to be prevented. The form of your question presents for consideration the points whether the consent of the slave States could confer on the Federal Government the constitutional power to apply the public funds to the emancipation of their slaves. I unhesitatingly say it could not, and that I never could give my sanction to such a measure. If State consent could confer power where the want of it would otherwise be so manifest, I find it difficult to conceive of any case in which the same result could not, with at least equal propriety, be claimed to follow from the same cause. The establishment of such a principle must, in my best judgment, inevitably lead to the prostration of that partition of powers between the General and the State Governments, which the framers of the Constitution intended to erect, and might well be dreaded as an opening wedge to an early and more extended action by Congress upon the particular subject under consideration. We have seen too much of the progressive character of constitutional encroachments in the early stages of the Government, to feel assured that a continued practice of contributing to the emancipation of slaves by the appropriation of money, might not, in course of time, lead to attempts by the Federal Government to accomplish the same object, without either the consent of the slave-holder, or indemnity for his loss.

"You next ask me, gentlemen, whether I think that, at this time, the safety of the public money requires a rechartering of the United States Bank, or whether I would sign a bill chartering such an institution. My opinions upon the subject of a United States Bank were asked when I was first a candidate for the Presidency in 1836, and were so fully given, as to meet not only your question, but also, I think, every aspect which the subject can be made to assume. They will be found in my letter to the Hon. Sherrod Williams, of Kentucky, which has been extensively published, and are therein thus expressed:

'You next ask whether I will sign and approve (if it becomes necessary to secure and save from depreciation the revenue and finances of the nation, and to afford a sound uniform currency to the people of the United States,) a bill (with proper modifications and restrictions) chartering a Bank of the United States.

'In the published letter of Mr. Butler to Mr. Garland, which has already been referred to, he thus states my opinions upon the subject of the bank: "Mr. Van Buren's opinions in regard to the Bank of the United States were expressed in the Senate of the United States in 1828; repeated in his letter to the Shocco Springs Committee, whilst a candidate for the

Vice Presidency, and have been so freely uttered by him, that there cannot, I think, be occasion to say much upon that subject. But to close the door to cavil, I state, 1st. That he holds that Congress does not possess the power to establish a National Bank in any of the States of the Union, nor to establish in such States the branch of any bank located in the District of Columbia; and 2d. That he is, therefore, decidedly opposed to the establishment of a National Bank in any of the States; and is also opposed to the establishment of any such bank in the District of Columbia, as unnecessary and inexpedient, and as liable to a great proportion of the abuses which have, in his opinion, been practised by the existing bank."

'This declaration, with other uniform, repeated and published avowals of my sentiments in regard to a United States Bank, would, I had supposed, be sufficient to save me from further interrogation on that subject; but as you have thought proper to push the inquiry further, and, to that end, to place the matter before me in a form studiously adapted to present the question in its most favorable contingent aspect, you will, I am sure, be neither surprised nor dissatisfied, if I deem it due to myself as well as to the subject, to give it more particular and enlarged consideration than I have heretofore felt it necessary or proper to do.

'I am induced to embrace for this purpose the opportunity you have presented to me the more readily, from a deep conviction of the incalculable importance to the people of the United States, that this long agitated and distracting subject should be finally settled, and from a hope that what I have to say upon it may, from the situation in which the partiality of my fellow-citizens has placed me, contribute in some degree to so desirable a result.

'I greatly fear that whilst there is in any quarter reason to hope that a charter for a new bank can, in any condition of the country, be obtained from the Federal Government, there will be neither order nor stability in the pecuniary operations of the country. If it can be ascertained that a discredited currency and pecuniary embarrassments will bring a charter, what security have we that such a state of things will not be produced? Is it doing violence to truth and justice, to attribute to expectations of this character, the crusade which we have witnessed for the last two years against the deposite banks, against the efforts of the administration to restore a specie currency, and against all the fiscal arrangements of the Treasury? Will any candid and well-informed man pretend that such things would have been, if it had been considered as settled that the Bank of the United States is not to be revived? I think not. The settlement of the deposite question, by the bill of the last session, will doubtless cause a suspension of this destructive career; but is there not reason to apprehend that it will recommence with the first appearance of any thing like a reasonable chance for the re-establishment of a National Bank? Every thing, therefore, which may serve to arrest or prevent the agitation of this subject, if only for a season, is of great value. In the published opinions to which I have already referred, my opposition to the establishment of the United States Bank, in any of the States, is placed on the want of constitutional power in Congress to establish one. Those who concur in denying this power, nevertheless differ among themselves in regard to the particular views by

which their respective opinions are sustained. Some admit that Congress has a right to create such an institution, whenever its establishment becomes necessary to the collection, disbursement, and preservation of the revenue; but insist that no such necessity existed when the charter of the old bank expired, or has arisen since. With this class, the considerations to which you allude would be essential, and might have a controlling effect—for such persons make the power to establish a bank dependent upon them. My objection, on the contrary, is, that the Constitution does not give Congress power to erect corporations within the States. This was the main point of Mr. Jefferson's celebrated opinion against the establishment of the first National Bank. It is an objection which nothing short of an amendment to the Constitution can remove. We know it to be an historical fact that the convention refused to confer that power on Congress, and I am opposed to its assumption by it upon any pretence whatever. If its possession shall at any time become necessary, the only just way to obtain it is to ask it at the hands of the people, in the form prescribed by the Constitution. Holding this opinion, and sworn to support that instrument as it is, I could not find in the circumstances to which you refer, either warrant or excuse for the exercise of the authority in question; and I am not only willing but desirous that the people of the United States should be fully informed of the precise ground I occupy on this subject. I desire more especially that they should know it now, when an opportunity, the best our form of Government affords, will soon be presented, to express their opinion of its propriety. If they are in favor of a National Bank, as a permanent branch of their institutions, or if they desire a Chief Magistrate who will consider it his duty to watch the course of events, and give or withhold his assent to such an institution according to the degree of necessity for it that may in his opinion arise from the considerations to which your question refers, they will see that my co-operation in the promotion of either of these views cannot be expected. If, on the other hand, with this seasonable, explicit, and published avowal before them, a majority of the people of the United States shall nevertheless bestow upon me their suffrages for the office of President, skepticism itself must cease to doubt, and admit their will to be that there shall not be any Bank of the United States, until the people, in the exercise of their sovereign authority, see fit to give to Congress the right to establish one.

'It is because I cannot doubt that the expression of the popular will, made under such circumstances, must have a tendency to arrest further agitation of this disturbing subject, for four years at least, and most probably, from the great moral influence which the often expressed opinion of the majority of the people in a Republican Government is entitled to, for a much longer period, that I am thus full and explicit upon the point to which you have called my attention. However much we may differ upon the abstract question involved in this controversy, no reflecting man can doubt the healthful and invigorating effects which any thing that looks like a settlement of this question must have upon all the business, as well as political relations of the country. The public mind has been long and painfully agitated by it, and needs repose. The fruits of this agitation have been bitter and abundant. Men of business require to be put in a

situation that they may adapt their affairs to a state of things which promises permanency. That character is alone necessary to give success to the present system. No rational plan for the regulation of the fiscal affairs of the country can fail to succeed, if the mass of our industrious and enterprising population, without regard to local, sectional or political distinctions, are only sincerely desirous for its success. Once satisfy them that things are in this respect to remain stable, and it is not in the nature of things possible that they can refuse their aid and support to that which concerns them so nearly, and upon which their prosperity, private as well as public, is so essentially dependent. If our correspondence shall have the effect to contribute in any degree to bring about a state of things in which we all have so deep an interest, and which should be desired by all, I will rejoice that it has taken place.'

"My convictions of the truth and justice of these views upon this vitally important question, have been confirmed by all my subsequent experience, and will, I doubt not, from the principles upon which they are founded, endure to the end of my life.

"My opinions upon the tariff, which is the subject of your third question, were asked when I was a candidate for the Vice-Presidency, by a portion of my fellow-citizens of North Carolina, and freely given. Their application reached me but a short period before the then approaching election, and to secure in every portion of the Union as general and early a knowledge of my views as was practicable, I caused them to be forthwith published at Albany. They were reiterated in 1836, when a candidate for the Presidency, and contain the general principles by which it is my intention to regulate my official course. I was seriously friendly to the passage of the compromise bill, and have always been, and still am, disposed to carry it into full and fair effect. The opinions of which I have spoken were expressed in the following terms:

'Although my official acts in relation to the protective system might well be regarded as rendering the avowal unnecessary, I think it nevertheless proper to say, that I believe the establishment of commercial regulations, with a view to the encouragement of domestic products, to be within the constitutional power of Congress. Whilst, however, I have entertained this opinion, it has never been my wish to see the power in question exercised with an oppressive inequality upon any portion of our citizens, or for the advantage of one section of the Union at the expense of another. On the contrary, I have at all times believed it to be the sacred duty of those who are intrusted with the administration of the Federal Government to direct its operations in the manner best calculated to distribute, as equally as possible, its burdens and blessings amongst the several States and the people. My views upon this subject were several years ago spread before the people of the State, and have since been widely diffused through the medium of the public press. My object at that time was to invite the attention of my immediate constituents to a dispassionate consideration of the subject in its various bearings, being well assured that such an investigation would bring them to a standard, which, from its moderation and justice, would furnish the best guarantee for the true interests of all. If, as has been supposed, those views have contributed in any degree to produce

a state of feeling so much to be desired, I have reason to be gratified with the result.

'The approaching, and, if the policy of the present Executive is allowed to prevail, the certain and speedy extinguishment of the national debt, has presented an opportunity for a more equitable adjustment of the tariff, which has been already embraced by the adoption of a conciliatory measure, the spirit of which will, I doubt not, continue to be cherished by all who are not desirous of advancing their private interests at the sacrifice of those of the public, and who place a just value upon the peace and harmony of the Union.

'The protective system, and its proper adjustment, became a subject of frequent and necessary consideration, whilst I formed a part of the Cabinet; and the manner in which the President proposed to carry into effect the policy in relation to imposts, recommended in his previous messages, has since been avowed with that frankness which belongs to his character. To this end, he recommended a modification of the tariff, which should produce a reduction of the revenue to the wants of the Government, and an adjustment of the duty upon imports, with a view to equal justice in relation to all our national interests, and to the counteraction of foreign policy, so far as it may be injurious to those interests.'

"In these sentiments I fully concur; and I have been thus explicit in the statement of them, that there may be no room for misapprehension as to my own views upon the subject. A sincere and faithful application of these principles to our legislation, unwarped by private interest or political design—a restriction of the wants of the Government to a simple and economical administration of its affairs—the only administration which is consistent with the purity and stability of the Republican system—a preference in encouragement given to such manufactures as are essential to the national defence, and its extension to others in proportion as they are adapted to our country, and of which the raw material is produced by ourselves, with a proper respect for the rule which demands that all taxes should be imposed in proportion to the ability and condition of the contributors, would, I am convinced, give ultimate satisfaction to a vast majority of the people of the United States, and arrest that spirit of discontent which is now unhappily so prevalent, and which threatens such extensive injury to the institutions of our country.

"You next ask me whether I would sanction any bill granting appropriations of the public money, for the purposes of internal improvement, by means of canals, railroads, &c.

"My views upon the subject of internal improvement by the Federal Government were given at the same time, and upon the same application. They are as follows:

'Internal improvements are so diversified in their nature, and the possible agency of the Federal Government in their construction so variable in its character and degree, as to render it not a little difficult to lay down any precise rule that will embrace the whole subject. The broadest and best defined division is that which distinguishes between the direct construction of works of internal improvement by the General Government, and pecuniary assistance given by it to such as are undertaken by others. In

the former are included the right to make and establish roads and canals within the States, and the assumption of as much jurisdiction over the territory they may occupy, as is necessary to their preservation and use. The latter is restricted to simple grants of money, in aid of such works, when made under State authority.

'The Federal Government does not, in my opinion, possess the power first specified; nor can it derive it from the assent of the State in which such works are to be constructed. The money power, as it is called, is not so free from difficulty. Various rules have from time to time been suggested by those who properly appreciate the importance of precision and certainty in the operations of the Federal power; but they have been so frequently infringed upon by the apparently unavoidable action of the Government, that a final and satisfactory settlement of the question has been prevented. The wide difference between a definition of the power in question upon paper, and its practical application to the operations of Government, has been sensibly felt by all who have been intrusted with the management of public affairs. The whole subject was reviewed in the President's Maysville message. Sincerely believing that the best interests of the whole country, the quiet, not to say the stability, of the Union, and the preservation of that moral force which perhaps, as much as any other, holds it together, imperiously required that the destructive course of legislation upon that subject then prevalent, should, in some proper and constitutional way, be arrested, I throughout gave to the measure, of which that document was an exposition, my active, zealous, and anxious support.

'The opinions declared by the President in the Maysville, and his succeeding annual message, as I understand them, are as follows: 1st. That Congress does not possess the power to make and establish a road or canal within a State, with a right of jurisdiction to the extent I have stated; and that if it is the wish of the people that the construction of such works should be undertaken by the Federal Government, a previous amendment of the Constitution conferring that power, and defining and restricting its exercise, with reference to the sovereignty of the States, is indispensable. 2d. An intimation of his belief that the right to make appropriations in aid of such internal improvements as are of a national character, has been so generally acted upon, and so long acquiesced in by the Federal and State Governments, and the constituents of each, as to justify its exercise; but that it is nevertheless highly expedient that even such appropriations should, with the exception of such as relate to light-houses, beacons, buoys, public piers, and other improvements in the harbors and navigable rivers of the United States, for the security and facility of our foreign commerce, be deferred at least until our national debt is paid. 3d. That if it is the wish of the people that the agency of the Federal Government should be restricted to the appropriation of money, and extended in that form in aid of such undertakings, when carried on by State authority, then the occasion, the manner, and the extent of the appropriation, should be made the subject of constitutional regulation.

'In these views I concurred; and I likewise participated in the difficulties which were encountered, and expressed by the President, in adopting the principle which concedes to the Federal Government the right to make

appropriations in aid of works which might be regarded as of a national character—difficulties which arose as well from the danger of considering mere usage the foundation of the right, as from the extreme uncertainty and consequent insecurity of the best rule that had ever been adopted, or that could, in the absence of positive constitutional provision, be established. The reasons on which these objections were founded, are so fully stated in the document referred to, and have been so extensively promulgated, that it is unnecessary for me to repeat them here. Subsequent reflection and experience have confirmed my apprehension of the injurious consequences which would probably flow from the continuation of appropriations for internal improvements, with no better rule for the government of Congress than that of which I have spoken; and I do not hesitate to express it as my opinion, that the general and true interests of the country would be best consulted by withholding them, with the exceptions which I have already referred to, until some constitutional regulation upon the subject has been made.

'In this avowal I am certainly not influenced by feelings of indifference, much less of hostility to internal improvements. As such, they can have no enemies. I have never omitted to give them all the proper aid in my power, for which, by the way, I claim no particular merit, as I do not believe there is an honest and sane man in the country who does not wish to see them prosper; but their construction, and the manner in which, and the means by which they are to be effected, are quite different questions. Rather than again expose our legislation to all the corrupting influences of those scrambles and combinations in Congress which have been heretofore witnessed, and the other affairs of the country to the injurious effects unavoidably resulting from them, it would, in my opinion, be infinitely preferable to leave works of the character spoken of, and not embraced in the exception which has been pointed out, for the present, to the supports upon which they have reposed with so much success for the last two years, viz: State efforts and private enterprise. If the great body of the people become convinced that the progress of these works should be accelerated by the Federal arm, they will not refuse to come to some proper constitutional arrangement upon the subject. The supposition that an equitable rule, which pays a proper respect to the interests and condition of the different States, could fail to receive ultimately the constitutional sanction, would be doing injustice to the intelligence of the country. By such a settlement of the question, our political system, in addition to the other advantages derived from it, would, in relation to this subject at least, be relieved from those dangerous shocks which spring from diversities of opinion upon constitutional points of deep interest; and, in the mean time, the resources of the country would be best husbanded by being left in the hands of those by whose labor they are produced.'

"To this exposition of my opinions upon the general subject, were added some additional observations, in my letter to Mr. Williams, already referred to. They were chiefly applicable to 'the improvements of our harbors, and the removal of partial and temporary obstructions in our navigable rivers, for the facility of our foreign commerce,' and the best means of checking the tendency to abuses which such appropriations often produced.

To the principles laid down in the two publications referred to, I still adhere; and it has been my endeavor to carry them into full and fair effect in the administration of the Government, since I have been at its head. If they have been departed from, in respect to any works commenced under my administration, I am not advised of it."

General Harrison succeeded Mr. Van Buren on the 4th of March, 1841. The Ex-President soon after left the seat of the General Government for his fine estate at Kinderhook, on the Hudson, where he now resides, in the enjoyment of a competence, and in the exercise of his many attractive social qualities.

On the 9th of August, 1848, a convention of the "Free-Soil Party,"—composed of such as demanded a more uncompromising opposition to slavery than they believed either of the existing parties would manifest,—assembled at Buffalo, New York, and nominated Mr. Van Buren as their candidate for President, and Charles Francis Adams, of Massachusetts, (a son of John Quincy Adams,) for Vice President.

Mr. Van Buren published one or two letters declaratory of his opinions upon the question with reference to which his nomination had been made. But though, in these documents, he took an attitude of greater hostility to the "peculiar institution" of the South, than the nation had been led to expect from the acts of his previous public life, there resulted no very serious diversion from the ranks of the two dominant parties. The popular vote was as follows:—Taylor, 1,360,752; Cass, 1,219,962; Van Buren, 291,342. The vote of the college of electors was, Taylor, 163; Cass, 127; Van Buren, none. So Mr. Van Buren still enjoys his dignified retirement at Lindenwold.

In person, Mr. Van Buren is of medium size, erect, and somewhat corpulent. His hair is white, his eye bright and piercing, and his forehead high and broad, indicative of unusual intellectual power. His private character is above reproach.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.

William Henry Harrison, ninth President of the United States, was a native of Virginia, a son of the incorruptible old patriot whose name is attached to the Declaration of Independence, and a lineal descendant of that General Harrison, who bore a distinguished part during the English civil wars, in the armies of the Commonwealth. The family of Harrison were among the earliest settlers of the colony of Virginia, and the name appears among the most prominent mentioned in the annals of that province.

Benjamin Harrison, the father of the President, was one of the most distinguished patriots of our country. Before he was twenty-one years of age, he was elected a member of the House of Burgesses in Virginia, in which he represented his native district for many years. Here he early displayed his love of freedom, and united with that patriotic band of members who resolved on resisting the oppressions of the mother country. In November, 1764, he was placed on a committee to prepare an address to the King, a memorial to the House of Lords, and a remonstrance to the Commons, in opposition to the odious stamp act. In August, 1774, he was elected a delegate from Virginia to the first Continental Congress, which assembled at Philadelphia, on the first of September following; and on that day, he had the gratification of seeing his colleague and brother-in-law, Peyton Randolph, placed in the presidential chair, by the unanimous voice of the Convention.

After the death of Mr. Randolph, Congress, on assembling, in 1775, were called upon to choose a new president. The southern members almost unanimously agreed upon the selection of Mr. Harrison for the chair vacated by the death of his relative. But as the name of John Hancock had also been proposed, Mr. Harrison, justly considering the importance of conciliating the northern feeling, at so momentous a crisis, with a generous self-denial, waived his claims, and urged with great zeal the appointment of Hancock, who was consequently unanimously chosen to that high station.

Waln, in his Biography of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence, says of Mr. Hancock :—

" With a modesty not unnatural for his years, and a consciousness of the difficulty he might experience in filling a station of such high importance and responsibility, he hesitated to take the seat. Mr. Harrison was standing beside him, and with the ready good humor that loved a joke, even in the Senate-House, he seized the modest candidate in his athletic arms, and placed him in the presidential chair; then turning to some of the members around, he exclaimed, 'We will show mother Britain how little we care for her, by making a Massachusetts man our president, whom she has excluded from pardon by public proclamation.' "

Mr. Harrison continued to be an active and influential member of the Continental Congress, to which he was returned four times as a delegate. On the tenth of June, 1776, as chairman of the committee of the whole House, he introduced the resolution which declared the independence of the colonies; and on the following ever-memorable *fourth of July*, he reported the more formal Declaration of Independence, to which celebrated document his signature is annexed.

On the expiration of his last term of service in Congress, Mr. Harrison was elected to the House of Burgesses from his own county, and was at once chosen speaker of that body; an office which he held uninterruptedly until the year 1782, when he was elected Governor of Virginia, and became one of the most popular officers that ever filled the executive chair. This eminent patriot died in the year 1791.

William Henry Harrison was born on the ninth of February, 1773, at Berkeley, on the James river, in Charles-City county. He was the third and younger son; and although the father was not wealthy, the son inherited a rich legacy in a name rendered honorable as connected with the first struggles of the country for freedom. On the death of his father, William Henry Harrison was placed under the guardianship of his intimate friend, Robert Morris, the great financier of the revolution. He was educated at Hampden Sidney College, and afterwards applied himself to the study of medicine as a profession. But before he had completed his course of studies, the barbarities of the Indians in their incursions upon our thin and scattered settlements upon the north-western frontiers, kindled a feeling of indignation throughout the country. The service was at that time neither popular nor inviting; but our young student resolved to give up his profession, and join the army destined to the defence of the Ohio frontier. His guardian, Mr. Morris, attempted to dissuade him from this purpose, but his resolution had been deliberately taken; and on communicating it to General Washington, that great man, beholding in the young son of his friend the germs of future greatness, cordially approved his patriotic determination. The Indian war was at that time assuming a very alarming aspect. Few of the Indians continued in peaceful relations with the United States, while the powerful tribes of the Miamies, the Hurons, or Wyandots, the Delawares, the Shawnees, the Kickapoos, the Potowatomies, the Ottawas, and the Winnebagoes, who occupied all the borders of our northern lakes, and were scattered through the whole immense extent of our north-western territory, were engaged in active hostility against the United States.

Encouraged by the British authorities in Canada, who, in violation of the treaty of peace, still held forcible possession of Detroit, Mackinaw, Niagara, and other points in our acknowledged territory, the Indians persisted in their savage incursions; and scarce a day passed without some new tale of violence and bloodshed. From 1783 to 1791, it has been estimated that more than fifteen hundred of our hardy pioneers of the west had fallen victims to the rifle and scalping-knife of their savage foes. Our north-western frontier presented an appalling scene of rapine, conflagration, and wanton destruction of life and property. Many of our border settlements had been crushed in their infancy, and all had been retarded in their

growth. Expedition after expedition, fitted out to oppose them, had met with the most disheartening losses; and finally, a gallant army, under Brigadier-General Harmer, which had been sent expressly to chastise these savages, after destroying some of their towns, had been signally defeated by them, and almost annihilated. Of the few experienced officers who escaped from Harmer's defeat, nearly all, worn out with the fatigues of a service so harassing, and shrinking from a warfare of so dangerous and barbarous a nature, had resigned their commissions; and a general feeling of dismay began to pervade the whole of our exposed frontier.

After the defeat of Harmer, a new army was raised, and placed under the command of the veteran General St. Clair. This brave but unfortunate commander moved his army slowly and cautiously to the head waters of the Wabash, opening a road, and establishing forts at suitable distances. By the 1st of November, 1791, he was in the midst of the Indian country, and within fifteen miles of the Miami villages. On the 4th, his camp was suddenly attacked about daylight, by an immense body of savages, aided by white auxiliaries from Canada. The assailants being well protected by the shelter of the trees and mounds of earth, fired from the ground, and were scarcely to be seen, except when they rose to spring from one shelter to another. They advanced rapidly in front, and upon either flank, up to the very mouths of the American field-pieces.

The militia occupying the front were dismayed by the impetuosity and violence of this unexpected attack, and falling back upon the regulars, threw them into confusion. In vain the officers endeavored to rally and re-form their men; their success was only partial. Twice were the Indians driven back by desperate charges; but while they gave way at one point to the bayonets of our soldiers, from every other quarter they poured in a heavy and destructive fire upon the lines, until the whole army was thrown into the greatest confusion, and a most disorderly retreat ensued. The savages pursued their conquered foe for miles, and the woods were strewn with the bodies of the dead and dying. Of fourteen hundred men, five hundred and thirty were killed, and three hundred and sixty wounded.

These sad reverses created an intense excitement throughout the country, and rendered it imperative upon the government to place the army under the command of a military chief of well-earned reputation; a cautious, discreet, brave, and energetic soldier. The two most prominent at that period, were George Rogers Clark and Anthony Wayne. They had both fought in the revolution, held separate commands, and had planned and executed the most daring and successful enterprises. The latter was known through the whole army, and in every quarter of the Union, as Mad Anthony, from his eventful fortunes and daring adventures. The calculating mind of the discriminating Washington singled out Mad Anthony to command the western army, and he at once received orders to that effect.

The United States Legion, as Wayne's army was called under the new organization, rendezvoused at Pittsburgh, in the summer of 1792. In November following, they went into winter quarters at an eligible position on the Ohio, 22 miles below, which they called Legionville. On the 30th April, 1793, General Wayne broke up his winter encampment at this place, and conveyed his army in boats down the Ohio to Fort Washington.

Such was the situation of the western country, when young HARRISON, then nineteen years of age, having received from the hands of Washington the commission of an ensign in the first regiment of artillery, joined his corps at Fort Washington, which stood upon the site now occupied by the Queen city of the West.

Soon after his arrival at Fort Washington, it became necessary to despatch a train of pack horses to Fort Hamilton, about thirty miles distant, upon the great Miami. This train was under the charge of a body of soldiers from the fort, and the whole was placed under the command of young Harrison. This was the first charge confided to his care. Though the distance was short, the state of the country, and the thousands of savages peopling the whole forest, rendered the enterprise extremely perilous; and constant exposure required uninterrupted watchfulness, and much more thought, attention, and wisdom than can often be found in a lad not yet out of his teens. This service was performed with great credit to himself, and General St. Clair openly acknowledged his pleasure at the success of his young officer, bestowing upon him the warmest praise and commendation. He rapidly gained the entire confidence of his officers, and in 1792 was promoted to the rank of lieutenant.

During the summer of 1793, the Indians having signified a desire for peace, commissioners were appointed to treat with them, but without success. General Wayne, during this time, was busily employed in disciplining and reinforcing his troops; and having at length received instructions from the Secretary of War to commence active operations, he left Fort Washington in October, and advanced with his army about eighty miles along the south-western branch of the Miami, where he took up his position, and erected fortifications. To this post he gave the name of Greenville, and here the army went into winter quarters. The winter, however, was not spent in idleness. On the 23d December, General Wayne sent a detachment of eight companies of infantry, and a battalion of artillery, to take possession of the ground upon which St. Clair and his gallant army had been so terribly defeated on the 4th of November, two years before. Lieutenant Harrison was not drafted for this expedition; but, longing for more active employment, he volunteered for the service, and his assistance was accepted by the commander.

The battle-field was soon in the hands of the soldiers, notwithstanding the inclemency of the season, and a fortification was immediately erected, to which the name of Fort Recovery was given. The bones of the murdered soldiers were carefully collected, and interred with military honors. The same pieces of artillery lost on the fatal 4th of November, 1791, were recovered; and, from their thunder-belching mouths, three times three discharges were fired over the remains of the western heroes.

Upon the return of the expedition, General Wayne issued a general order of thanks to the officers and men for their gallant conduct on the occasion, in which Lieutenant Harrison was particularly mentioned among other officers.

On the 30th of June, 1794, Fort Recovery was fiercely assailed by a large body of Indians, aided by British and Canadian auxiliaries. But though their assaults were unusually bold and daring, and repeatedly

renewed, they were each time bravely repulsed, and were finally compelled to retreat with great loss. About two weeks subsequent to this attack on Fort Recovery, General Wayne was reinforced by a body of mounted volunteers from Kentucky, under the command of General Scott. On the 8th of the following August, having, by a rapid movement, advanced seventy miles beyond Greenville, he encamped at Grand Glaise, in the very heart of the Indian country. In his despatch to the War Department on this occasion, the commander-in-chief says—" We have thus gained possession of the grand emporium of the hostile Indians in the West, without loss of blood. The very extensive and highly-cultivated fields and gardens show the work of many hands. The margins of those beautiful rivers, the Miami of the Lake and Au Glaise, appear like one continued village for a number of miles above and below the place; nor have I ever before beheld such immense fields of corn in any part of America, from Canada to Florida."

A strong work, called Fort Defiance, was immediately erected by our troops at the confluence of the rivers mentioned in the above despatch. General Wayne now felt himself fully prepared for decisive operations; but before striking the final blow, he, in compliance with his instructions, renewed his endeavors to conciliate and effect some amicable negotiation with the Indians. " I have thought proper," he said, " to offer the enemy a last overture of peace; and as they have every thing that is dear and interesting at stake, I have reason to expect they will listen to the proposition mentioned in the enclosed copy of an address despatched yesterday by a special flag, under circumstances that will insure his safe return, and may eventually spare the effusion of much human blood. But should war be their choice, that blood be upon their own heads. America shall no longer be insulted with impunity. To an all-powerful and just God, I therefore commit myself and gallant army."

These proposals were rejected by the enemy, although the great chief Little Turtle, who had planned and led the attack in the defeat of St. Clair, urged them to embrace the terms offered. " We have beaten the white men twice," said he, " under separate commanders. We cannot expect the same good fortune to attend us always. The Americans are now led by a chief who never sleeps—the night and the day are alike to him; and during all the time he has been marching upon our villages, notwithstanding the watchfulness of our young men, we have never been able to surprise him. Think well of it. There is something whispers me it would be prudent to listen to his offers of peace."

The day after this speech was delivered, was fought the memorable battle of the 20th August, 1794, which cannot be better described than by quoting a portion of the graphic account of General Wayne, in his official despatch to the Secretary of War:

" At 8 o'clock on the 20th," said General Wayne, " the army advanced in columns, agreeably to the standing order of march; the legion on the right flank, covered by the Miami—one brigade of mounted volunteers on the left, under Brigadier-General Todd, and the other in the rear, under Brigadier-General Barbee:—a select battalion of mounted volunteers moved in front of the legion, commanded by Major Price, who was directed to

keep sufficiently advanced, so as to give timely notice for the troops to form, in case of action, it being yet undetermined whether the Indians would decide for peace or war. After advancing about five miles, Major Price's corps received so severe a fire from the enemy, who were secreted in the woods and high grass, as to compel them to retreat.

"The legion was immediately formed in two lines, principally in a close, thick wood, which extended for miles on our left; and for a very considerable distance in front, the ground being covered with old fallen timber, probably occasioned by a tornado, which rendered it impracticable for cavalry to act with effect, and afforded the enemy the most favorable covert for their savage mode of warfare, they were formed in three lines, within supporting distance of each other, and extending nearly two miles, at right angles with the river.

"I soon discovered, from the weight of the fire, and the extent of their lines, that the enemy were in full force in front, in possession of their favorite ground, and endeavoring to turn our left flank. I therefore gave orders for the second line to advance, to support the first, and directed Major-General Scott to gain and turn the right flank of the savages, with the whole of the mounted volunteers, by a circuitous route—at the same time I ordered the front line to advance with trailed arms, and rouse the Indians from their coverts at the point of the bayonet; and when up, to deliver a close and well-directed fire on their backs, followed by a brisk charge, so as not to give them time to load again. I also ordered Captain Miss. Campbell, who commanded the legionary cavalry, to turn the left flank of the enemy next the river, which afforded a favorable field for that corps to act in. All these orders were obeyed with spirit and promptitude; but such was the impetuosity of the charge of the first line of infantry, that the Indians and Canadian militia and volunteers were driven from all their coverts in so short a time, that although every exertion was used by the officers of the second line of the legion, and by Generals Scott, Todd, and Barbee, of the mounted volunteers, to gain their proper positions, yet but a part of each could get up in season to participate in the action; the enemy being driven, in the course of one hour, more than two miles, through the thick woods already mentioned, by less than one-half their numbers.

"From every account, the enemy amounted to two thousand combatants; the troops actually engaged against them were short of nine hundred. This horde of savages, with their allies, abandoned themselves to flight, and dispersed with terror and dismay, leaving our victorious army in full and quiet possession of the field of battle, which terminated under the influence of the guns of the British garrison.

"Enclosed is a particular return of the killed and wounded—the loss of the enemy was more than double that of the federal army. The woods were strewed for a considerable distance with the dead bodies of the Indians and their white auxiliaries; the latter armed with British muskets and bayonets.

"We remained three days and nights on the banks of the Miami, in front of the field of battle, during which all the houses and corn-fields were consumed and destroyed for a considerable distance, both above and below Fort Miami, as well as within pistol-shot of that garrison, who were com-

pelled to remain tacit spectators of this general devastation and conflagration—among which were the houses, stores, and property of Colonel M'Kee, the British Indian agent, and principal stimulator of the war now existing between the United States and the savages."

The success of this brilliant action was owing not only to the admirable discipline which General Wayne had introduced, but to his method of extending his line, and forming his troops in open order, and charging rapidly upon the Indians, rousing them from their coverts at the point of the bayonet, and pouring in upon them a deadly fire before they could again find shelter. This system has been more or less practised upon in all our subsequent Indian wars.

The gallant bearing of Lieutenant Harrison in this action, was thus noticed by General Wayne, in his despatch to the Secretary of War: "My faithful and gallant aid-de-camp, *Lieutenant Harrison*, rendered the most essential service by communicating my orders in every direction, and by his conduct and bravery exciting the troops to press for victory."

The result of the battle of the Maumee Rapids greatly disheartened the Indians; and their discontent became very soon apparent at the vacillating conduct of the commander of the British fort, who, after their disastrous defeat, refused to take part in their behalf. Two of the most powerful chiefs, Little Turtle and Buckongelas, beginning to doubt the power of the English to protect them, and learning to respect our strength, openly declared in favor of the United States; and, through their influence, negotiations for peace were opened on the first of January, 1795. This led to the treaty of Greenville, by which the Indians relinquished an immense territory to the United States. The news of Wayne's victory had a favorable effect upon our pending negotiations in London, and is supposed to have enabled our minister, Mr. Jay, to secure the assent of Lord Grenville to the surrender to the United States of all the forts held and occupied by the British in the north-west, within the jurisdiction of our government. The settlers had now uninterrupted possession of the disputed territory, and emigration rapidly progressed.

Soon after the close of this campaign, Lieutenant Harrison received the commission of a captain, and was placed in command of Fort Washington, under circumstances which evinced the high estimation in which his talents and discretion were held by General Wayne. At this period France was at war with Spain; and certain agents of the French government had been sent to Kentucky by Genet, the French minister, and were then diligently employed in exciting the gallant people of that state to an invasion of Louisiana, by which means they hoped to embroil our country in a war with Spain. General Wayne received instructions to adopt every precaution to prevent the occurrence of such a result; and in giving the command of Fort Washington to Captain Harrison, he left with him extensive discretionary powers in relation to the management of this delicate responsibility. About this time, too, in compliance with the terms of Jay's treaty, the military posts, which, in defiance of good faith, had been established by the British on our north-western frontier, were given up to the United States; and Captain Harrison was charged with the important duty of despatching from Fort Washington the troops destined to take possession of the surren-

dered forts, and of forwarding through the wilderness the stores and munitions of war necessary for these remote posts.

"It is no slight evidence," says Hall, in his memoir of Harrison, "of the prudence, ability, and intelligence of Harrison, that, at an early age, and with the rank only of captain, he was selected by the discriminating Wayne to discharge duties so important, and to exercise a responsibility so delicate. It is enough to say that in this, as well as on various subsequent trusts reposed in him throughout a long career, he honorably vindicated, by his fidelity and zeal, the choice of the appointing power."

Captain Harrison remained at Fort Washington, discharging his arduous and complicated duties with boldness and punctuality. While there, he married the daughter of John Cleves Symmes, the founder of the Miami settlements. "She has been," says Hall, "the faithful companion of this distinguished patriot, during the various perils and vicissitudes of his eventful life, and still lives to witness the maturity of his fame, and the honors paid him by a grateful country."

On the death of General Wayne, in 1797, Captain Harrison left the army, and received his first civil appointment, as Secretary and *ex-officio* Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Territory. While in this station, he entered so warmly into the interests of the people, that when, in the following year, the North-Western Territory was declared to be entitled to a representation in Congress, Mr. Harrison was almost unanimously elected their first delegate to Congress. He was at this time about twenty-six years of age. He took his seat in the House of Representatives at the first session of the sixth Congress, in December, 1799. At this period, the all-engrossing subject in the west, and one in which the whole country had a deep interest, was the disposition of the public lands. The manner in which these lands had been hitherto disposed of, had created great dissatisfaction among the people. These lands had been sold only in large tracts, the smallest of which included, at least, four thousand acres; and as the minimum price was at that time two dollars per acre, a great majority of the new settlers were utterly precluded from becoming possessors of land by an original purchase from the government. Our hardy yeomanry, with limited pecuniary means, were thus entirely shut out from all chance of competition with wealthy speculators and grasping monopolists—the poorer emigrants were becoming disheartened at the chilling prospects before them, and the settlement of the new country was greatly retarded. Fully aware of the impolicy and injustice of this state of things, and true to the trust confided to him, Mr. Harrison's earliest legislative efforts were made to overthrow this exclusive and pernicious system. He aroused the attention of Congress to the consideration of this important subject, and evinced so intimate an acquaintance with the facts and business details connected with it, that he was appointed chairman of a committee raised to examine into and report on the existing mode of disposing of the public lands; the only instance, it is believed, in which that honor has been conferred on a territorial delegate. After a proper investigation, he presented a report, accompanied by a bill, the principal object of which was to reduce the size of the tracts of public land offered for sale, to such a smaller number of acres as would place them within the reach of actual

settlers. This masterly report, which was the joint production of himself and Mr. Gallatin, together with the great ability and eloquence with which he defended his bill from the powerful opposition it encountered in the House, gained Mr. Harrison a reputation rarely attained by so young a statesman. The bill was carried triumphantly in the House, and finally, after some amendments, passed the Senate. The result was, that the public lands, instead of being offered only in large tracts, of which four thousand acres was the smallest size, were now to be sold in alternate sections and half sections—the former containing six hundred and forty, and the latter three hundred and twenty acres each.

In the year 1800, the North-Western Territory was divided. That part of the old territory included within the present boundaries of Ohio and Michigan, retained its former name; and the immense extent of country north-west of this, was erected into a separate government, and received the name of Indiana. Soon after this division had taken place, Mr. Harrison resigned his seat in Congress, and was appointed governor of the new territory. This appointment gave great satisfaction to the people of Indiana, with whom the patriotic exertions of Mr. Harrison had rendered him deservedly popular.

As governor of this territory, Mr. Harrison was invested with extraordinary civil power, as well as with military authority. Besides the ordinary powers which he held, *ex-officio*, as governor, he had the sole power of dividing the district into counties and townships; and, with the aid of the judges, had full authority to adopt and publish such laws, both civil and criminal, of the original states, as might be necessary and best adapted to the wants and situation of the district; and he had the appointment of all the magistrates and other civil officers. He was made commander-in-chief of the militia, and all the officers below the rank of general received their commissions from him. He was likewise appointed superintendent of Indian affairs, and agent and representative of the general government; in performance of the duties of which office, he was required to keep up a constant and voluminous correspondence with the Cabinet at Washington. He had also the unusual power of conferring on a numerous class of individuals a legal title to large grants of land, on which they before held merely an equitable claim. His sole signature was sufficient, without any other formality, to give a valid title to these extensive and valuable tracts of land. No other formality or publicity was required. Possessed of this immense power, with opportunities to have amassed wealth by millions, he never availed himself of the opportunity to enhance his own private interests, directly or indirectly; and not a breath of suspicion ever clouded his honor or honesty.

In 1803, Governor Harrison was appointed by President Jefferson sole "commissioner to enter into any treaties which might be necessary with any Indian tribes north-west of the Ohio, and within the territory of the United States, on the subject of their boundaries or lands." By virtue of this authority, in the following year, Harrison succeeded in negotiating a treaty with the Sacs and Foxes; and besides the amicable relations established with those tribes, he obtained the cession of an extensive tract of country, including the whole of the valuable region between the river

Illinois and the Mississippi, with a northern boundary, stretching from the head of Fox river to a point on the Wisconsin, thirty-six miles above its mouth. This was the largest cession of lands that had ever yet been made by the Indians at any one time. Considerable tracts of land between the Ohio and the Wabash, and extending from Vincennes westward to the Mississippi, were likewise purchased by annuities from the Delawares and the Miamies.

For thirteen years, Mr. Harrison filled the office of governor of this territory, the people of which were almost universally attached to him. A strong instance of this attachment is found in the following extract from a resolution unanimously adopted by the House of Representatives of Indiana, in 1809: "They (the House of Representatives) cannot forbear recommending to, and requesting of, the President and Senate, most earnestly in their own names, and in the names of their constituents, the reappointment of the present governor, William Henry Harrison; because he possesses the good wishes and affection of a great majority of his fellow-citizens; because they believe him sincerely attached to the Union, the prosperity of the United States, and the administration of its government; because they believe him in a superior degree capable of promoting the interest of our territory, from long experience and laborious attention to its concerns, from his influence over the Indians, and wise and disinterested management of that department; and because they have confidence in his virtues, talents, and republicanism."

In 1805, the territory having entered upon the second grade of government, the people were allowed a legislature. They elected members of the lower House, and this body nominated ten persons, out of whom five were selected by Congress to form the Territorial Council. Governor Harrison warmly urged this change, although it deprived him personally of much power and patronage.

In the year 1806, the friendly relations which had for some time existed with the Indians, were broken by the intrigues of the two celebrated chiefs of the Shawnee tribe, Tecumseh and the Prophet. The design of these arch-intriguers was to form a confederacy of all the north and south-western tribes, for the purpose of preventing the whites from extending their new settlements further west, and by striking a deadly blow simultaneously along our ill-defended and extensive frontier, to expel the whites from the valleys of the west. It is now a matter of history that British emissaries from Canada were employed in forming alliances with the most powerful chiefs, and fomenting their hostility against the Americans. These movements amongst the tribes did not escape the vigilance of Governor Harrison, who, by a prudent course of policy, for several years kept the savages in check. In the summer of 1808, the Prophet encamped with his followers on the banks of the Tippecanoe. Conscious that Governor Harrison suspected the hostile designs of the chiefs, this cunning impostor formed the audacious resolve to visit the governor, and lull his suspicions by the warmest protestations of friendship. He visited Vincennes, proclaimed himself amicably disposed to the Americans, returned to Tippecanoe, and renewed his intrigues, intelligence of which was immediately conveyed to the governor.

In 1809, Governor Harrison held a council at Fort Wayne, with the chiefs of the Miamies, Delawares, Potawatomies, and Kickapoos, which resulted in the cession of an extensive tract of country on both sides the Wabash, and up that river for more than sixty miles above Vincennes. Tecumseh and the Prophet affected great dissatisfaction at this treaty; upon which Governor Harrison sent word to the Prophet, that he might come forward and exhibit any title he had to any portion of the lands transferred by the treaty, and if it was found just and equitable, the lands would be restored, or an ample equivalent given for them.

On the 12th August, 1810, Tecumseh visited Governor Harrison at Vincennes. The governor had sent him word not to bring more than thirty warriors with him, but he appeared with over three hundred, all completely armed. His excuse for this conduct was the pretended belief of intended treachery on the part of the whites. Tecumseh addressed this council in an animated speech, openly avowing the designs of himself and his brother, which were, to form a coalition of all the red men, to prevent the whites from extending their settlements farther west, and to establish the principle that the Indian lands belonged in common to all the tribes, and could not be sold without their united consent.

In reply, Governor Harrison said that, "when the white people arrived on this continent, they found the Miamies in the occupation of all the country on the Wabash, and at that time the Shawnees were residents of Georgia, from which they were driven by the Creeks. The lands have been purchased from the Miamies, who were the true and original owners of it. It is ridiculous to assert that all the Indians are one nation; for if such had been the intention of the Great Spirit, he would not have put six different tongues into their heads, but would have taught them all to speak one language.

"The Miamies have found it to their interest to sell a part of their lands, and to receive for them a further annuity, in addition to what they have long enjoyed, and the benefit of which they have experienced from the punctuality with which the seventeen fires* comply with their engagements; and the Shawnees have no right to come from a distant country to control the Miamies in the disposal of their own property."

The interpreter delivered this reply; and the moment he finished, Tecumseh bounded from the earth, and, with the most furious gesticulations, cried out, "It is false!" As he uttered this, his band of forty warriors, who were present, sprung to their feet, and began to brandish their tomahawks and war-clubs. The governor was attended by only a few unarmed citizens, his honorary guard of twelve soldiers having been directed to occupy a shady place at a distance. His situation was perilous. Every one expected to hear the yell of the savages, and to encounter their fierce attack. Governor Harrison immediately rose, and drew his sword—a friendly chief cocked a pistol with which he was armed, and some of the persons in attendance seized such weapons as were within their reach, and stood on the defensive. Not a word was spoken until the guard hastily approached, and were about to fire on the Indians, when the governor, with

* The seventeen States, at that time composing the Union.

singular coolness and presence of mind, restrained them. He then turned to Tecumseh, and calmly but authoritatively told him that "he was a bad man—that he would hold no further communication with him—and that he must now return to his camp, and take his departure from the settlements without delay."

The council immediately broke up, and Tecumseh and his warriors, overawed by the calmness and intrepidity of the governor, withdrew to their camp. The next morning, the haughty chief, apologizing for his conduct, desired a renewal of the council. Governor Harrison consented, taking the precaution to have two companies of militia under arms, to protect Vincennes. The chief, at the succeeding interviews, treated the governor with perfect respect, but insisted on the grounds he had before taken—adding that he was then on his way to the Creek nation, for the purpose of bringing them over to his measures; and he actually did, two days afterwards, set out on this journey with twelve or fifteen warriors.

Anxious if possible to win over the chief to a desire for peace, Governor Harrison visited him in his wigwam, but Tecumseh would not abate in his demands, and the governor indignantly rejected his offers of wampum in atonement for murders committed by his tribe. The governor again reminded him that the President would never accede to his claims upon the territory purchased at the treaty of Wayne; to which the haughty chief replied, "Well, as the great chief is to determine the matter, I hope the Great Spirit will put sense enough in his head to induce him to direct you to give up this land. It is true, he is so far off that he will not be injured by the war. He may sit still in his town, and drink his wine, while you and I have to fight it out."

At the winter session of the legislature of Indiana, in 1810, Governor Harrison in his message recapitulates the transactions connected with the treaty of Wayne, and alludes to the clamors of foreign agents and disaffected persons, who had charged that the Indians had been defrauded by that treaty. An obscure man, of the name of M'Intosh, openly asserted that the governor had cheated the Indians; and the calumny having been industriously circulated, Governor Harrison thought it due to himself and the character of the government, that the charge should be fully investigated. An action for slander was therefore brought against M'Intosh, in the Supreme Court of the territory. All the facts connected with the negotiation of the treaty of Fort Wayne were critically inquired into, and the defendant was allowed every opportunity to examine all the persons engaged in the Indian department, or who were acquainted with the circumstances attendant upon the making of this treaty. But the more the subject was inquired into, the more clearly did it manifest the strict honor and integrity of Governor Harrison; until, at length, convinced of this, the counsel of M'Intosh abandoned all plea of justification, and asked only for a mitigation of damages. The jury returned a verdict of four thousand dollars against the defendant—a heavy verdict in a new country, where money is always scarce, and damages given by juries in such cases are generally very small. A large amount of the defendant's property was sold the following year to satisfy this judgment, and was bought in by the agent of the governor, while he himself was absent in command of the army. *Two-thirds of this property*

Governor Harrison afterwards returned to M'Intosh, and the remainder he distributed among the orphan children of some of his gallant fellow-citizens who fell in battle during the last war!

In the year 1811, the Indians proceeded to open violence. The whole frontier was in a state of alarm, and loudly called for the protection of the government. President Madison directed the fourth regiment, commanded by Colonel Boyd, then stationed at Pittsburgh, to repair without delay to Vincennes. Instructions were also sent to Governor Harrison to march with an armed force upon the Prophet's town, but to avoid hostilities "of any kind, or to any degree not absolutely necessary." The governor immediately assembled five hundred of the militia and volunteers of Indiana, which, with the fourth regiment, consisting of about three hundred and fifty men, and a small but gallant body of volunteers from Kentucky, constituted his whole available force, amounting to about nine hundred men. These troops were collected at Fort Harrison, about sixty miles above Vincennes, from which, as soon as the troops were properly disciplined, he took up his line of march for the Prophet's town. He left Fort Harrison on the 28th October, 1811, and on the evening of the 5th November encamped his army at the distance of nine or ten miles from the Prophet's town. On the following day, the march was conducted with the greatest caution, to prevent surprise. About mid-day, scouts of the Indians were discovered, and the interpreters called to them, but they answered only with menacing gestures. Arriving at a favorable spot, within a mile and a half from the town, the governor determined to encamp, and fortify his position, until he could hear from the friendly Indians whom he had despatched to the Prophet on the day he left Fort Harrison. Afterwards Captain Dubois, of Vincennes, was despatched with an interpreter to the Prophet, to ascertain whether he intended to comply with the terms proposed. The army moved slowly onward, in order of battle. The Indians attempted to cut off Captain Dubois. The governor now determined to treat them as open enemies, and moved on with a determination to attack them. He had not proceeded far, however, before a deputation from the Prophet came in, who declared that he wished if possible to avoid hostilities, and had sent a pacific message in answer to that of the governor, but that the messengers had unfortunately missed the army by returning down the south side of the Wabash. A suspension of hostilities was agreed upon; but Harrison knew too well the artful treachery of his antagonist to be deceived. He posted his troops on a carefully chosen position, about three-fourths of a mile from Tippecanoe. The place selected was a dry piece of ground, which rose some ten feet above the level of a marshy prairie in front towards the town, and about twice as high above a similar prairie in the rear; through which, near the bank, ran a small stream, clothed with willows and brushwood. On the left of the encampment, this bench of land became wider; on the right it gradually narrowed, and terminated in an abrupt point, about one hundred and fifty yards from the right flank. The two columns of infantry occupied the front and rear. The right flank, being about eight yards wide, was filled with Captain Spencer's company of eighty men. The left flank, about one hundred and fifty yards in extent, was composed of three com-

panies of mounted riflemen, under General Wells, commanding as Major.

On the night of the 6th of November, (says M'Afee, the historian of this battle,) the troops went to rest, as usual, with their clothes and accoutrements on, and their arms by their sides. The officers were ordered to sleep in the same manner, and it was the governor's invariable practice to be ready to mount his horse at a moment's warning. On the morning of the 7th, he arose at a quarter before four o'clock, and sat by the fire conversing with the gentlemen of his family, who were reclining on their blankets waiting for the signal, which in a few minutes would have been given, for the troops to turn out. The orderly drum had already been roused for the reveille. The moon had risen, but afforded little light, in consequence of being overshadowed by clouds, which occasionally discharged a drizzling rain. At this moment the attack commenced.*

The treacherous Indians had crept up so near the sentries as to hear them challenge when relieved. They intended to rush upon the sentries, and kill them before they could fire; but one of them discovered an Indian creeping towards him in the grass, and fired. This was immediately followed by the Indian yell, and a desperate charge upon the left flank. The guard in that quarter gave way, and abandoned their officer without making any resistance. Captain Barton's company of regulars, and Captain Guiger's company of mounted riflemen, forming the left angle of the rear line, received the first onset. The fire there was excessive; but the troops, who had lain on their arms, were immediately prepared to receive, and had gallantry to resist, the furious savage assailants.

The manner of the attack was calculated to discourage and terrify the men; yet as soon as they could be formed and posted, they maintained their ground with desperate valor, though but few of them had ever before been in battle. The fires of the camp were extinguished immediately, as the light they afforded was more serviceable to the Indians than to our men.†

In the mean time, the attacks on Spencer's and Warwick's companies, on the right, became very severe. Captain Spencer and his lieutenants were all killed, and Captain Warwick was mortally wounded. The governor, in passing towards that flank, found Captain Robb's company near the centre of the camp. They had been driven from their post; or rather had fallen back without orders. He led them to the aid of Captain Spencer, where they fought very bravely, having seventeen men killed during the battle. While the governor was leading this company into action, Colonel Owen, his aid, was killed at his side. This gallant officer was

* Upon the first alarm, the governor mounted his horse, and proceeded towards the point of attack; and finding the line much weakened there, he ordered two companies from the centre of the rear line to march up, and form across the angle in the rear of Barton's and Guiger's companies. In passing through the camp towards the left of the front line, he met with Major Daviess, who informed him that the Indians, concealed behind some trees near the line, were annoying the troops very severely in that quarter, and requested permission to dislodge them. In attempting this exploit, he fell mortally wounded, as did Colonel Isaac White, of Indiana, who acted as a volunteer in his troop. —*Judge Hall.*

† Except those of Barton's and Guiger's companies, which the suddenness of the attack lef. no time to put out.—*Ib.*

mounted on a white horse; and as the governor had ridden a gray on the day before, it is probable that Owen was mistaken for him, as it is certain that he was killed by one of the only Indians who broke through the lines, and who are supposed to have resolved to sacrifice themselves in an attempt to insure victory by killing the commander-in-chief. The governor happened not to be mounted on his own gray; his servant had accidentally tied that animal apart from the other horses belonging to the general staff, and in the confusion occasioned by the attack, not being able to find this horse as quickly as was desirable, the governor mounted another.

Captain Prescott's company of U. S. infantry had filled up the vacancy caused by the retreat of Robb's company. Soon after Daviess was wounded, Captain Snelling, by order of the governor, charged upon the same Indians, and dislodged them with considerable loss. The battle was now maintained on all sides with desperate valor. The Indians advanced and retreated by a rattling noise made with deer hoofs: they fought with enthusiasm, and seemed determined on victory or death.

As soon as it was daylight, the companies of Snelling, Posey, Scott, and Wilson, were taken from the rear, and formed on the left flank; and those of Cook and Baen were ordered to the right. General Wells was directed to command the corps on the left, and with the aid of some dragoons, who were now mounted, to charge the enemy in that direction. The service was gallantly performed, and the Indians were driven into a swamp, where the cavalry could not follow. At the same time, Cook's and Lieutenant Larrabe's companies, with the aid of the riflemen and militia on the right flank, charged the Indians, and put them to flight in that quarter, which terminated the battle.

The Prophet took no part in this battle, but during the whole of the contest remained secure upon a neighboring eminence, chanting a war-song. He had practised the arts of a conjurer, and promised his warriors that "the Great Spirit would turn the powder of the whites into ashes, and charm their bullets, so that they should drop harmless, and that the red men should have light, while their enemies were involved in utter darkness." Soon after the battle commenced, he was told that his warriors were falling in great numbers, but he bade them fight on, and they would soon see the fulfilment of all his predictions.

On the next day, the Prophet's town, which had been hastily abandoned by the Indians, was occupied by our troops, who destroyed the fortifications, and burnt the town itself. After taking care of the wounded, and paying the last mournful rites to the remains of those who had fallen, the troops were put in motion on their homeward march to Vincennes.

The importance of the victory at Tippecanoe has never been over-estimated. It destroyed the potent influence of the Prophet, and defeated the combination among the tribes, which would certainly have followed, had our army been overpowered. All the historians of this battle concur in rendering to Governor Harrison the meed of praise for his daring intrepidity and gallant conduct in this hard-fought action. President Madison called to it the special attention of Congress, and the legislatures of Indiana and Kentucky passed the most flattering enconiums upon the illustrious commander.

On the 18th June, 1812, war was declared against Great Britain; and the whole west, ready to rally to the standard of the country, were anxious that Governor Harrison should be placed in command. He was accordingly appointed by the governor of Kentucky a brevet Major-General of militia, and placed in command of the gallant volunteers raised for the succor of Detroit, and other posts on the frontier. The ignoble surrender of Hull defeated the plans of the campaign. Soon after, General Winchester was appointed a Major-General in the army, and Governor Harrison received at the same time the commission of a Brigadier-General. This appointment he declined, being desirous that the war department should be first apprised of the arrangement by which he had been placed in command of the Kentucky troops. The appointment of Winchester was injudicious, and created great dissatisfaction throughout the west, where the people, knowing the merits of Harrison, were desirous that he should be placed in command. Governor Harrison, however, endeavored to reconcile the troops to the change. Still their displeasure at having been deprived of their favorite commander was not confined to murmurs, but created open disaffection, and almost mutiny. The volunteers, especially, were loud in their complaints and expressions of dissatisfaction at the change of commanders; and the troops were at last induced to continue their march, solely by the belief that as soon as the case was rightly understood at Washington, the command would be restored to Governor Harrison.

This expectation was speedily realized; for no sooner was the President made aware of the condition of the army, and of the almost unanimous wishes of the western people, than he immediately appointed Harrison in place of Winchester, commander-in-chief of the north-western army. The despatch conveying this appointment overtook him on his way to Indiana; and, with a small escort, he returned, without delay, to the army.

His arrival was at a fortunate juncture. A revolt had already taken place in one of the regiments, and others were disaffected. The appearance of their beloved commander restored all to order; and when he addressed them, the air rung with their huzzas. From that time, says Judge Hall, no troops were more faithful, until the fatal day when most of them gave their lives to their country, on the bloody field of Raisin.

The objects of the present campaign were, to retake Detroit, and expel the enemy from the territory of the United States; to protect our frontiers, and reduce Malden, in Upper Canada. General Harrison drew up his plan of operations at the outset. The Rapids of the Miami of the Lakes was the point of concentration, from which the principal movement against the enemy was to be made. The military base extended from Upper Sandusky on the right, to Fort Defiance on the left.

General Harrison now advised the building of vessels to contend with the English upon the lakes. This advice was soon after followed, and the wisdom of the suggestion was evinced by repeated naval victories.

General Winchester had been ordered by the commander-in-chief to advance to the Rapids. General Harrison reached Upper Sandusky on the 18th December, and Winchester reached the Rapids on the 16th January, where he fortified a good position. While here, General Winchester received intelligence of the advance of a body of the enemy upon the river

Raisin; and, without consulting General Harrison, made those imprudent advances which resulted in the massacre of the river Raisin, and the defeat at Frenchtown. The instant General Harrison was apprised of the meditated movements of Winchester, he exerted himself to avert the issue which he dreaded, and hastened to Winchester's camp; but the news of the disasters at the Raisin reached him on his arrival at the Rapids.

After Winchester's defeat, the army fell back upon the Portage, eighteen miles, where they remained till the last of January, when they marched to the foot of the Rapids. Finding it impracticable to advance upon Malden this season, General Harrison now had his camp fortified, and gave it the name of Camp Meigs. He now repaired to Cincinnati for the purpose of urging on vigorous preparations for a spring campaign. He repeated his earnest entreaties to the government to place a fleet on the lakes; and to his exertions was it principally owing that the gallant Perry was at length sent to Lake Erie to superintend the equipment of a fleet. Hearing that the enemy meditated a movement against Camp Meigs, General Harrison hastened back to the camp, where he arrived on the 12th of April. The morning of the 28th brought intelligence of the advance of the enemy, and soon after the British troops were discovered from the fort, ascending the river in vessels and boats, while the Indians, in strong force, were seen approaching, at the same time, by land. The British disembarked and encamped at the old station on the Maumee, nearly two miles below Fort Meigs; and on the night after they landed, they commenced the construction of three powerful batteries, on the north side of the river, directly opposite our camp. On the morning of the 1st of May, the English artillerists were at their guns. Orders were given in the American camp for the tents to be struck. In a few minutes the canvass was removed, and nothing was to be seen but a long breast-work of earth, behind which the army was securely encamped. The Americans had erected a grand traverse, twelve feet high, running entirely across the camp, upon a base twenty feet broad, and three hundred yards long. For five days the enemy threw a continuous shower of balls, but with very little effect. General Harrison kept up a heavy fire in the mean time.

On learning the approach of a reinforcement under General Clay, General Harrison promptly decided upon making a bold effort to raise the siege by a simultaneous attack upon the enemy's batteries on both sides the river. Preparations were at once made for a sortie from the fort, against the British works on the right bank; and an officer was despatched to General Clay, directing him to land six or eight hundred men about a mile above the fort, on the left bank, with orders to march with great secrecy and rapidity to the assault of the batteries in that quarter, to carry them by storm, spike the cannon, and let down the carriages, and then hasten to their boats, and cross over to the camp. The sortie from the fort was attended with great success. The detachment ordered to this service consisted of three hundred and fifty men, a part of whom were regulars, and the remainder volunteers and Kentucky militia, under the command of Colonel Miller, of the United States army. These brave troops attacked a body of British regulars and Indians, of more than double their number; but the impetuosity of their charge was irresistible, and after a severe struggle, they

drove the enemy from the batteries. They spiked the cannon, took a large number of prisoners, and having fully accomplished their object, returned in triumph to the fort. This sortie was one of the most sanguinary and desperate actions fought during the whole war—and its brilliant success was richly merited by the intrepid gallantry of the brave troops engaged in the enterprise.

While this was going on, Dudley had landed on the opposite side of the river, charged the enemy's batteries at full speed, and pulled down the British flag without loss of a man. General Harrison made signals for Dudley and his men to retire, but they loitered about, examining the works Campbell was sent to recall them, but the Indians gathered on their flank, and attacked Captain Comb's company. Dudley again charged the foe, and drove them two miles. The enemy now rallying, attacked Major Shelby, who had remained at the batteries. Some of his men were made prisoners, and others driven to the boats. The major rallied the rest, drove back the foe, and hastened to assist Dudley. A retreat was undertaken; but so great was the disorder, that most of Dudley's men were taken pris oners, and many of them tomahawked by the Indians, in presence of the British general, Proctor.

Foiled by the skilful dispositions of Harrison, and by the battle, or rather the succession of battles, fought on the fifth, Proctor was compelled to abandon the siege of Fort Meigs; and on the eighth of May he broke up his camp, and retreated in disappointment and disgrace.

Early in July following this memorable defeat, the Indians again assembled in the neighborhood of Fort Meigs, to the number of five thousand warriors, under Tecumseh. General Harrison now removed his headquarters to Seneca-town, nine miles up the Sandusky river, where he constructed a fortified camp. This was a position from which he could fall back for the protection of Fort Meigs; and his design was, when he could concentrate his forces, to make a descent upon the enemy, and raise the siege. On the 28th July, however, the enemy, again despairing of success, abandoned the siege—the British troops embarking, and sailing round Sandusky bay, while their savage allies marched across the swamps of Portage river, to co-operate in a meditated attack upon Fort Stephenson, a temporary depôt, under command of Major Croghan. The gallant defence of this post by Croghan again taught the enemy the strength of American valor. After repeated attempts to take it by assault, the enemy was at length forced to abandon the attempt, and retreat in confusion, having lost, in killed and wounded, nearly as many as the entire number of men under the heroic Croghan. The British now withdrew entirely from our territory, and concentrated their strength at Malden, their principal stronghold in Upper Canada. General Harrison did not suffer them long to rest after their retreat, but commenced immediate preparations for carrying the war into Canada. Our fleet on Lake Erie had been constructed; and the gallant Perry, on the 10th September, captured the entire fleet of the enemy. General Harrison had just at this time concentrated his forces; and, on the 27th September, the troops embarked at Sandusky bay, and advanced towards Malden, expecting to find the British and Indians encamped there in full force. But upon landing on the Canada shore, they found that

Proctor, disheartened by his recent defeats, had abandoned that stronghold, after having destroyed the fort and navy-yard, and had retreated with his regulars and savage allies to Sandwich. Our army advanced rapidly in pursuit of the enemy, who had retreated up the river Thames, to the Moravian town. Here was fought the celebrated battle of the Thames.

On the 5th October, the enemy was overtaken. The British general, Proctor, having had his choice of the ground, had selected a strong position. It was flanked on the left by the Thames, and supported by artillery; and on the right by two extensive swamps, running nearly parallel to the river, and occupied by a strong body of Indians. The British regulars were formed in open order, in two extended lines. The Indians were commanded by Tecumseh in person. Their left flank was posted on the isthmus between the two swamps, and their right extended a considerable distance down the principal marsh.

General Harrison drew up one division of his infantry in a double line reaching from the river to the swamp, opposite to Proctor's troops, and the other division at right angles to the first, with its front extending along the swamp, with a view of preventing the Indians from turning his left flank, and attacking him in the rear. Johnson's mounted regiment was placed in front of the infantry.

The American army advanced in order of battle, and the reconnoitring parties soon brought in exact intelligence of the dispositions Proctor had made. Harrison, with the rapid decision of an able general, saw at once the egregious error of his opponent in forming his regular soldiers in extended line, and instantly took advantage of it. Aware that troops formed in open order could not resist a vigorous charge of cavalry, he immediately ordered Colonel Johnson to form his regiment of mounted men, and dash through the enemy's line, in close column. This charge was rapidly made, and with the most brilliant success. The extended and weakened line of the enemy could offer but a feeble resistance to the charge of these gallant troops, who dashed through their ranks with overwhelming impetuosity, and wheeling to the right and left, began to pour in a destructive fire upon their rear. Terrified and overwhelmed by this onset of the Americans, the British army in a short time threw down their arms, and were all made prisoners, except a few who, with the cowardly Proctor, had fled in the early part of the battle. The Indians fought with desperation until their great chief Tecumseh was slain by the gallant band of Kentuckians under Colonel Johnson, when they fled, leaving the field to the conquerors. This brilliant victory, following the capture of the enemy's fleet on the lake, entirely destroyed the British force in Upper Canada, and put an end to the war on the north-western frontier.

The news of this glorious victory occasioned universal rejoicings throughout the country. President Madison passed a high eulogium upon the merits of the commanding general, and the distinguished Langdon Cheves remarked on the floor of Congress, that "the victory of Harrison was such as would have secured to a Roman general, in the best days of the Republic, the honors of a triumph."

On the 7th of October, the different corps of our army commenced their return home, having first embarked the greater part of the property they

had captured in boats on the Thames, and set fire to the Moravian town, a small village occupied chiefly by Delaware Indians, who professed to be of the Moravian sect of religion. On the 10th, all the troops arrived with their prisoners at Sandwich.

In the mean time, the Indians had sued for peace, and General Harrison had concluded an armistice, until the pleasure of the President could be known.

General John Armstrong having been appointed Secretary of War, for some cause never explained to the country, and totally irreconcilable with his duty as a patriotic statesman, now changed the direction of affairs in the north-west; and on the 25th April, 1814, appointed a subordinate officer to a separate command within the district assigned by the President to Major-General Harrison. General Harrison soon after this resigned, and retired from the army. President Madison, however, immediately appointed him a commissioner to treat with the Indians, in which service he continued until 1816, when he was chosen by a large majority representative in Congress from Ohio. He continued to serve in the House of Representatives of the nation, much to the satisfaction of his constituents, and greatly to his own honor, until 1819, when he was chosen a member of the State Senate. In 1824, he was elected a Senator of the United States, and soon after taking his seat was appointed chairman of the military committee, in place of General Jackson, who had resigned. While serving in this high station, he commanded universal respect.

In 1828, General Harrison was appointed minister plenipotentiary to the Republic of Colombia. He lost no time in embarking, and arrived at Maracaybo, on the 22d of December, and thence proceeded to Bogota. He found every thing in confusion, and Bolivar much inclined to favor the military party, which wished to confer upon him a dictatorship. To this the more democratic of the people were strongly opposed, and they eventually succeeded in their views. The plain appearance and republican manners of the minister led to his being suspected, by a people ever jealous, of favoring the democratic party, and subjected him to many petty persecutions from the aristocracy, against which he gallantly sustained himself. He addressed to General Bolivar his celebrated appeal in favor of constitutional liberty, which has often been quoted in North and South America. General Jackson succeeding to the Presidency in 1829, General Harrison was immediately recalled.

On returning from Colombia, General Harrison retired to the cultivation of his fine farm at North Bend, on the banks of the Ohio, about fifteen miles below Cincinnati. The frosts of age were gathering around his brows; but the affection of the people, whom he had so long and so gallantly served, was still surviving fresh and green. In 1836, without any general concert, and when there were several candidates in the field against Mr. Van Buren, he was taken up by some of the states a short time before the election, and received seventy-two electoral votes. This strong evidence of an abiding popularity with the people, was not forgotten four years later, when another Presidential election was at hand.

At a full national convention of Whig delegates, assembled at Harrisburgh, in Pennsylvania, on the 4th of December, 1839, General Harrison

received the unanimous nomination of that body as the Whig candidate for the Presidency. The friends of all the other candidates opposed to the existing order of things, and desirous to effect a change of measures in the federal administration, cordially united in this nomination; and after a contest more animated and more general than any which ever before occurred, General HARRISON was elected to the Presidency by an overwhelming vote. He received the suffrages of nineteen states, and a greater majority of electoral votes than was ever before given for any President—receiving two hundred and thirty-four of the two hundred and ninety-four votes given in the twenty-six states.

General Harrison was now sixty-eight years of age; and his elevation to the Presidency diffused a general joy throughout the nation. He arrived at Washington in the month of February, 1841, accompanied by some of his former companions in arms and chosen friends, who were to compose for the present his household. His immediate family remained in Ohio, with the purpose of following in the ensuing summer. The inauguration of President Harrison, on the 4th March, 1841, was attended by a multitude of the people, greater than ever before assembled at Washington, and he pronounced his address in a clear and distinct voice, which was heard by many thousands of his countrymen assembled in front of the eastern portico of the Capitol. The address follows:

Called from a retirement which I had supposed was to continue for the residue of my life, to fill the chief executive office of this great and free nation, I appear before you, fellow-citizens, to take the oaths which the constitution prescribes as a necessary qualification for the performance of its duties. And in obedience to a custom coeval with our government, and what I believe to be your expectations, I proceed to present to you a summary of the principles which will govern me in the discharge of the duties which I shall be called upon to perform.

It was the remark of a Roman consul, in an early period of that celebrated republic, that a most striking contrast was observable in the conduct of candidates for offices of power and trust, before and after obtaining them—they seldom carrying out in the latter case the pledges and promises made in the former. However much the world may have improved, in many respects, in the lapse of upwards of two thousand years since the remark was made by the virtuous and indignant Roman, I fear that a strict examination of the annals of some of the modern elective governments would develope similar instances of violated confidence.

Although the fiat of the people has gone forth, proclaiming me the chief magistrate of this glorious Union, nothing upon their part remaining to be done, it may be thought that a motive may exist to keep up the delusion under which they may be supposed to have acted in relation to my principles and opinions; and perhaps there may be some in this assembly who have come here either prepared to condemn those I shall now deliver, or, approving them, to doubt the sincerity with which they are uttered. But the lapse of a few months will confirm or dispel their fears. The outline of principles to govern, and measures to be adopted by an administration not yet begun, will soon be exchanged for immutable history; and I shall stand, either exonerated by my countrymen, or classed with the mass of those who promised that they might deceive, and flattered with the intention to betray.

However strong may be my present purpose to realize the expectations of a magnanimous and confiding people, I too well understand the infirmities of human nature, and the dangerous temptations to which I shall be exposed, from the magnitude of the power which it has been the will of the people to commit to my hands, not to place my chief confidence upon the aid of that Almighty Power which has hitherto protected me, and enabled me to bring to favorable issues other important but still greatly inferior trusts, heretofore confided to me by my country.

The broad foundation upon which our constitution rests being the people—a breath of theirs having made, as a breath can unmake, change, or modify it—it can be assigned to none of the great divisions of government but to that of democracy. If such is its theory those who are called upon to administer it must recognise, as its leading principle, the duty of shaping their measures so as to produce the greatest good to the greatest number. But, with these broad admissions, if we could compare the sovereignty acknowledged to exist in the mass of the people with the power claimed by other sovereignties, even by those which have been considered most purely democratic, we shall find a most essential difference. All others lay claim to power limited only by their own will. The majority of our citizens, on the contrary, possess a sovereignty with an amount of power precisely equal to that which has been granted to them by the parties to the national compact, and nothing beyond. We admit of no government by divine right; believing that, so far as power is concerned, the beneficent Creator has made no distinction amongst men—that all are upon an equality, and that the only legitimate right to govern is an express grant of power from the governed. The constitution of the United States is the instrument containing the grant of power to the several departments composing the government. On an examination of that instrument, it will be found to contain declarations of power granted, and of power withheld. The latter is also susceptible of division into power which the majority had the right to grant, but which they did not think proper to intrust to their agents, and that which they could not have granted, not being possessed by themselves. In other words, there are certain rights possessed by each individual American citizen, which, in his compact with the others, he has never surrendered. Some of them, indeed, he is unable to surrender, being, in the language of our system, inalienable.

The boasted privilege of a Roman citizen was to him a shield only against a petty provincial ruler, whilst the proud democrat of Athens could console himself under a sentence of death for a supposed violation of the national faith, which no one understood, and which at times was the subject of the mockery of all, or of banishment from his home, his family, and his country, with or without an alleged cause, that it was the act not of a single tyrant, or hated aristocracy, but of his assembled countrymen. Far different is the power of our sovereignty. It can interfere with no one's faith, prescribe forms of worship for no one's observance, inflict no punishment but after well-ascertained guilt, the result of investigation under forms prescribed by the constitution itself. These precious privileges, and those scarcely less important of giving expression to his thoughts and opinions, either by writing or speaking, unrestrained but by the liability for injury to others, and that of a full participation in all the advantages which flow from the government, the acknowledged property of all, the American citizen derives from no charter granted from his fellow-man. He claims them because he is himself a man, fashioned by the same Almighty hand as the rest of his species, and entitled to a full share of the blessings with which he has endowed them.

Notwithstanding the limited sovereignty possessed by the people of the United States, and the restricted grant of power to the government which they have adopted, enough has been given to accomplish all the objects for which it was created. It has been found powerful in war, and hitherto justice has been administered, an intimate union effected, domestic tranquillity preserved, and personal liberty secured to the citizen. As was to be expected, however, from the defect of language, and the necessarily sententious manner in which the constitution is written, disputes have arisen as to the amount of power which it has actually granted, or was intended to grant. This is more particularly the case in relation to that part of the instrument which treats of the legislative branch. And not only as regards the exercise of powers claimed under a general clause, giving that body the authority to pass all laws necessary to carry into effect the specified powers, but in relation to the latter also. It is, however, consolatory to reflect that *most* of the instances of alleged departure from the letter or spirit of the constitution have ultimately received the sanction of a majority of the people. And the fact that many of our statesmen, most distinguished for talent and patriotism, have been, at one time or other of their political career, on both sides of each of the most warmly disputed questions, forces upon us the inference that the errors, if errors there were, are attributable to the intrinsic difficulty, in many instances, of ascertaining the intentions of the framers of the constitution, rather than the influence of any sinister or unpatriotic motive.

But the great danger to our institutions does not appear to me to be in a usurpation, by the government, of power not granted by the people, but by the accumulation, in one of

the departments, of that which was assigned to others. Limited as are the powers which have been granted, still enough have been granted to constitute a despotism, if concentrated in one of the departments. This danger is greatly heightened, as it has always been observable that men are less jealous of encroachments of one department upon another, than upon their own reserved rights.

When the constitution of the United States first came from the hands of the convention which formed it, many of the sternest republicans of the day were alarmed at the extent of the power which had been granted to the federal government, and more particularly of that portion which had been assigned to the executive branch. There were in it features which appeared not to be in harmony with their ideas of a simple representative democracy, or republic. And knowing the tendency of power to increase itself, particularly when executed by a single individual, predictions were made that, at no very remote period, the government would terminate in virtual monarchy. It would not become me to say that the fears of these patriots have been already realized. But, as I sincerely believe that the tendency of measures, and of men's opinions, for some years past, has been in that direction, it is, I conceive, strictly proper that I should take this occasion to repeat the assurances I have heretofore given, of my determination to arrest the progress of that tendency, if it really exists, and restore the government to its pristine health and vigor, as far as this can be effected by any legitimate exercise of the power placed in my hands.

I proceed to state, in as summary a manner as I can, my opinion of the sources of the evils which have been so extensively complained of, and the correctives which may be applied. Some of the former are unquestionably to be found in the defects of the constitution; others, in my judgment, are attributable to misconstruction of some of its provisions. Of the former is the eligibility of the same individual to a second term of the presidency. The sagacious mind of Mr. Jefferson early saw and lamented this error; and attempts have been made, hitherto without success, to apply the amendatory power of the states to its correction.

As, however, one mode of correction is in the power of every President, and consequently in mine, it would be useless, and perhaps invidious, to enumerate the evils of which, in the opinion of many of our fellow-citizens, this error of the sages who framed the constitution may have been the source, and the bitter fruits which we are still to gather from it if it continues to disfigure our system. It may be observed, however, as a general remark, that republics can commit no greater error than to adopt or continue any feature in their systems of government which may be calculated to create or increase the love of power in the bosoms of those to whom necessity obliges them to commit the management of their affairs. And surely nothing is more likely to produce such a state of mind than the long continuance of an office of high trust. Nothing can be more corrupting, nothing more destructive of all those noble feelings which belong to the character of a devoted republican patriot. When this corrupting passion once takes possession of the human mind, like the love of gold, it becomes insatiable. It is the never-dying worm in his bosom, grows with his growth, and strengthens with the declining years of its victim. If this is true, it is the part of wisdom for a republic to limit the service of that officer, at least, to whom she has intrusted the management of her foreign relations, the execution of her laws, and the command of her armies and navies, to a period so short as to prevent his forgetting that he is the accountable agent, not the principal—the servant, not the master. Until an amendment of the constitution can be effected, public opinion may secure the desired object. I give my aid to it by renewing the pledge heretofore given, that, under no circumstances, will I consent to serve a second term.

But if there is danger to public liberty from the acknowledged defects of the constitution, in the want of limit to the continuance of the executive power in the same hands, there is, I apprehend, not much less from a misconstruction of that instrument, as it regards the powers actually given. I cannot conceive that, by a fair construction, any or either of its provisions would be found to constitute the President a part of the legislative power. It cannot be claimed from the power to recommend, since, although enjoined as a duty upon him, it is a privilege which he holds in common with every other citizen. And although there may be something more of confidence in the propriety of the measures recommended in the one case than in the other, in the obligations of ultimate decision there can be no difference. In the language of the constitution, "all the legislative powers" which it grants "are vested in the Congress of the United States."

It would be a solecism in language to say that any portion of these is not included in the whole.

It may be said, indeed, that the constitution has given to the executive the power to annul the acts of the legislative body by refusing to them his assent. So a similar power has necessarily resulted from that instrument to the judiciary; and yet the judiciary forms no part of the legislature. There is, it is true, this difference between these grants of power: the executive can put his negative upon the acts of the legislature, for other cause than that of want of conformity to the constitution, whilst the judiciary can only declare void those which violate that instrument. But the decision of the judiciary is final in such a case; whereas, in every instance where the veto of the executive is applied, it may be overcome by a vote of two-thirds of both Houses of Congress. The negative upon the acts of the legislative, by the executive authority, and that in the hands of one individual, would seem to be an incongruity in our system. Like some others of a similar character, however, it appears to be highly expedient; and if used only with the forbearance and in the spirit which was intended by its authors, it may be productive of great good, and be found one of the best safeguards to the Union.

At the period of the formation of the constitution, the principle does not appear to have enjoyed much favor in the state governments. It existed but in two, and in one of these there was a plural executive. If we would search for the motives which operated upon the purely patriotic and enlightened assembly which framed the constitution, for the adoption of a provision so apparently repugnant to the leading democratic principle, that the majority should govern, we must reject the idea that they anticipated from it any benefit to the ordinary course of legislation. They knew too well the high degree of intelligence which existed among the people, and the enlightened character of the state legislatures, not to have the fullest confidence that the two bodies elected by them would be worthy representatives of such constituents, and, of course, that they would require no aid in conceiving and maturing the measures which the circumstances of the country might require. And it is preposterous to suppose that a thought could for a moment have been entertained that the President, placed at the capital, in the centre of the country, could better understand the wants and wishes of the people than their own immediate representatives, who spend a part of every year among them, living with them, often laboring with them, and bound to them by the triple tie of interest, duty, and affection. To assist or control Congress, then, in its ordinary legislation, could not, I conceive, have been the motive for conferring the veto power on the President. This argument acquires additional force from the fact of its never having been thus used by the first six Presidents,—and two of them were members of the convention, one presiding over its deliberations, and the other having a larger share in consummating the labors of that august body than any other person. But if bills were never returned to Congress by either of the Presidents above referred to, upon the ground of their being inexpedient, or not as well adapted as they might be to the wants of the people, the veto was applied upon that of want of conformity to the constitution, or because errors had been committed from a too hasty enactment.

There is another ground for the adoption of the veto principle which had probably more influence in recommending it to the convention than any other. I refer to the security which it gives to the just and equitable action of the legislature upon all parts of the Union. It could not but have occurred to the convention that, in a country so extensive, embracing so great a variety of soil and climate, and consequently of products, and which, from the same causes, must ever exhibit a great difference in the amount of the population of its various sections, calling for a great diversity in the employments of the people, that the legislation of the majority might not always justly regard the rights and interests of the minority; and acts of this character might be passed, under an express grant by the words of the constitution, and, therefore, not within the competency of the judiciary to declare void; that however enlightened and patriotic they might suppose, from past experience, the members of Congress might be, and however largely partaking, in general, of the liberal feelings of the people, it was impossible to expect that bodies so constituted should not sometimes be controlled by local interests and sectional feelings. It was proper, therefore, to provide some umpire, from whose situation and mode of appointment more independence and freedom from such influences might be expected. Such a one was afforded by the executive department, constituted by the constitution. A person elected to that high office, having his constituents in every section, state, and subdivision

of the Union, must consider himself bound, by the most solemn sanctions, to guard, protect, and defend the rights of all, and of every portion, great or small, from the injustice and oppression of the rest. I consider the veto power, therefore, given by the constitution to the executive of the United States, solely as a conservative power: to be used only, 1st, to protect the constitution from violation; 2dly, the people from the effects of hasty legislation, where their will has been probably disregarded or not well understood; and, 3dly, to prevent the effects of combinations violative of the rights of the minorities. In reference to the second of these objects, I may observe that I consider it the right and privilege of the people to decide disputed points of the constitution, arising from the general grant of power to Congress to carry into effect the powers expressly given. And I believe, with Mr. Madison, "that repeated recognitions under various circumstances, in acts of the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of the government, accompanied by indications in different modes of the concurrence of the general will of the nation, afford to the President sufficient authority for his considering such disputed point as settled."

Upwards of half a century has elapsed since the adoption of our present form of government. It would be an object more highly desirable than the gratification of the curiosity of speculative statesmen, if its precise situation could be ascertained, a fair exhibit made of the operations of each of its departments, of the powers which they respectively claim and exercise, of the collisions which have occurred between them, or between the whole government and those of the states, or either of them. We could then compare our actual condition, after fifty years' trial of our system, with what it was in the commencement of its operations, and ascertain whether the predictions of the patriots who opposed its adoption, or the confident hopes of its advocates, have been best realized. The great dread of the former seems to have been, that the reserved powers of the states would be absorbed by those of the federal government, and a consolidated power established, leaving to the states the shadow only of that independent action for which they had so zealously contended, and on the preservation of which they relied as the last hope of liberty. Without denying that the result to which they looked with so much apprehension is in the way of being realized, it is obvious that they did not clearly see the mode of its accomplishment. The general government has seized upon none of the reserved rights of the states. As far as any open warfare may have gone, the state authorities have amply maintained their rights. To a casual observer, our system presents no appearance of discord between the different members which compose it. Even the addition of many new ones has produced no jarring. They move in their respective orbits in perfect harmony with the central head, and with each other. But there is still an under current at work, by which, if not seasonably checked, the worst apprehensions of our anti-federal patriots will be realized. And not only will the state authorities be overshadowed by the great increase of power in the executive department of the general government, but the character of that government, if not its designation, be essentially and radically changed. This state of things has been in part effected by causes inherent in the constitution, and in part by the never-failing tendency of political power to increase itself.

By making the President the sole distributer of all the patronage of the government, the framers of the constitution do not appear to have anticipated at how short a period it would become a formidable instrument to control the free operations of the state governments. Of trifling importance at first, it had, early in Mr. Jefferson's administration, become so powerful as to create great alarm in the mind of that patriot, from the potent influence it might exert in controlling the freedom of the elective franchise. If such could have then been the effects of its influence, how much greater must be the danger at this time, quadrupled in amount, as it certainly is, and more completely under the control of the executive will, than their construction of their powers allowed, or the forbearing characters of all the early Presidents permitted them to make? But it is not by the extent of its patronage alone that the executive department has become dangerous, but by the use which it appears may be made of the appointing power, to bring under its control the whole revenues of the country. The constitution has declared it to be the duty of the President to see that the laws are executed; and it makes him the commander-in-chief of the armies and navy of the United States. If the opinion of the most approved writers upon that species of mixed government, which, in modern Europe, is termed *monarchy* in contradistinction to *despotism*, is correct, there was wanting no other addition

to the powers of our chief magistrate to stamp a monarchical character on our government, but the control of the public finances. And to me it appears strange indeed, that any one should doubt that the entire control which the President possesses over the officers who have the custody of the public money, by the power of removal with or without cause, does, for all mischievous purposes at least, virtually subject the treasure also to his disposal.

The first Roman emperor, in his attempt to seize the sacred treasure, silenced the opposition of the officer to whose charge it had been committed, by a significant allusion to his sword. By a selection of political instruments for the care of the public money, a reference to their commissions by a President would be quite as effectual an argument as that of Cæsar to the Roman knight. I am not insensible of the great difficulty that exists in devising a proper plan for the safe-keeping and disbursement of the public revenues, and I know the importance which has been attached by men of great abilities and patriotism to the divorce, as it is called, of the treasury from the banking institutions. It is not the divorce which is complained of, but the unhallowed union of the treasury with the executive department, which has created such extensive alarm. To this danger to our republican institutions, and that created by the influence given to the executive through the instrumentality of the federal officers, I propose to apply all the remedies which may be at my command. It was certainly a great error in the framers of the constitution not to have made the officer at the head of the treasury department entirely independent of the executive. He should at least have been removable only upon the demand of the popular branch of the legislature. I have determined never to remove a secretary of the treasury without communicating all the circumstances attending such removal to both Houses of Congress. The influence of the executive in controlling the freedom of the elective franchise through the medium of the public officers, can be effectually checked by renewing the prohibition published by Mr. Jefferson, forbidding their interference in elections, farther than giving their own votes; and their own independence secured by an assurance of perfect immunity in exercising this sacred privilege of freemen under the dictates of their own unbiased judgments. Never, with my consent, shall an officer of the people, compensated for his services out of their pockets, become the pliant instrument of executive will.

There is no part of the means placed in the hands of the executive, which might be used with greater effect, for unhallowed purposes, than the control of the public press. The maxim which our ancestors derived from the mother country, that "the freedom of the press is the great bulwark of civil and religious liberty," is one of the most precious legacies which they have left us. We have learned, too, from our own, as well as the experience of other countries, that golden shackles, by whomsoever or by whatever pretence imposed, are as fatal to it as the iron bonds of despotism. The presses in the necessary employment of the government should never be used "to clear the guilty, or to varnish crimes." A decent and manly examination of the acts of the government should be not only tolerated, but encouraged.

Upon another occasion I have given my opinion, at some length, upon the impropriety of executive interference in the legislation of Congress: that the article in the constitution making it the duty of the President to communicate information, and authorizing him to recommend measures, was not intended to make him the source of legislation, and, in particular, that he should never be looked to for schemes of finance. It would be very strange, indeed, that the constitution should have strictly forbidden one branch of the legislature from interfering in the origination of such bills, and that it should be considered proper that an altogether different department of the government should be permitted to do so.

Some of our best political maxims and opinions have been drawn from our parent isle. There are others, however, which cannot be introduced in our system without singular incongruity, and the production of much mischief. And this I conceive to be one. No matter in which of the Houses of Parliament a bill may originate, nor by whom introduced, a minister, or a member of the opposition, by the fiction of law, or rather of constitutional principle, the sovereign is supposed to have prepared it agreeably to his will, and then submitted it to Parliament for their advice and consent. Now, the very reverse is the case here, not only with regard to the principle, but the forms prescribed by the constitution. The principle certainly assigns to the only body constituted by the constitution (the legislative body) the power to make laws, and the forms even

direct that the enactment should be ascribed to them. The Senate, in relation to revenue bills, have the right to propose amendments; and so has the executive, by the power given him to return them to the House of Representatives, with his objections. It is in his power, also, to propose amendments in the existing laws, suggested by his observations upon their defective or injurious operation. But the delicate duty of devising schemes of revenue should be left where the constitution has placed it—with the immediate representatives of the people. For similar reasons, the mode of keeping the public treasure should be prescribed by them; and the farther it may be removed from the control of the executive, the more wholesome the arrangement, and the more in accordance with republican principle.

Connected with this subject is the character of the currency. The idea of making it exclusively metallic, however well intended, appears to me to be fraught with more fatal consequences than any other scheme, having no relation to the personal rights of the citizen, that has ever been devised. If any single scheme could produce the effect of arresting, at once, that mutation of condition by which thousands of our most indigent fellow-citizens, by their industry and enterprise, are raised to the possession of wealth, that is the one. If there is one measure better calculated than another to produce that state of things so much deprecated by all true republicans, by which the rich are daily adding to their hoards, and the poor sinking deeper into penury, it is an exclusive metallic currency. Or if there is a process by which the character of the country for generosity and nobleness of feeling may be destroyed by the great increase and necessary toleration of usury, it is an exclusive metallic currency.

Amongst the other duties of a delicate character which the President is called upon to perform, is the supervision of the government of the territories of the United States. Those of them which are destined to become members of our great political family, are compensated by their rapid progress from infancy to manhood, for the partial and temporary deprivation of their political rights. It is in this district only where American citizens are to be found, who, under a settled system of policy, are deprived of many important political privileges, without any inspiring hope as to the future. Their only consolation, under circumstances of such deprivation, is that of the devoted exterior guards of a camp—that their sufferings secure tranquillity and safety within.

Are there any of their countrymen who would subject them to greater sacrifices—to any other humiliations than those essentially necessary to the security of the object for which they were thus separated from their fellow-citizens? Are their rights alone not to be guarantied by the application of those great principles upon which all our constitutions are founded? We are told by the greatest of British orators and statesmen, that, at the commencement of the war of the Revolution, the most stupid men in England spoke of "their American subjects." Are t ere, indeed, citizens of any of our states who have dreamed *of their subjects* in the District of Columbia? Such dreams can never be realized by any agency of mine.

The people of the District of Columbia are not the subjects of the people of the states, but free American citizens. Being in the latter condition when the constitution was formed, no words used in that instrument could have been intended to deprive them of that character. If there is any thing in the great principles of inalienable rights, so emphatically insisted upon in our Declaration of Independence, they could neither make, nor the United States accept, a surrender of their liberties, and become the *subjects*, in other words, the slaves, of their former fellow-citizens. If this be true, and it will scarcely be denied by any one who has a correct idea of his own rights as an American citizen, the grant to Congress of exclusive jurisdiction in the District of Columbia can be interpreted, so far as respects the aggregate people of the United States, as meaning nothing more than to allow to Congress the controlling power necessary to afford a free and safe exercise of the functions assigned to the general government by the constitution. In all other respects, the legislation of Congress should be adapted to their peculiar position and wants, and be conformable with their deliberate opinions of their own interests.

I have spoken of the necessity of keeping the respective departments of the government, as well as all the other authorities of our country, within their appropriate orbits. This is a matter of difficulty in some cases, as the powers which they respectively claim are not defined by very distinct lines. Mischievous, however, in their tendencies, as collisions of this kind may be, those which arise between the respective communities, which for certain purposes compose one nation, are much more so; for no such nation can long

exist without the careful culture of those feelings of confidence and affection which are the effective bonds of union between free and confederate states. Strong as is the tie of interest, it has been often found ineffectual. Men, blinded by their passions, have been known to adopt measures for their country in direct opposition to all the suggestions of policy. The alternative, then, is to destroy or keep down a bad passion by creating and fostering a good one; and this seems to be the corner-stone upon which our American political architects have reared the fabric of our government. The cement which was to bind it, and perpetuate its existence, was the affectionate attachment between all its members. To insure the continuance of this feeling, produced at first by a community of dangers, of sufferings, and of interests, the advantages of each were made accessible to all.

No participation in any good, possessed by any member of an extensive confederacy, except in domestic government, was withheld from the citizen of any other member. By a process attended with no difficulty, no delay, no expense but that of removal, the citizen of one might become the citizen of any other, and successively of the whole. The lines, too, separating powers to be exercised by the citizens of one state from those of another, seem to be so distinctly drawn as to leave no room for misunderstanding. The citizens of each state unite in their persons all the privileges which that character confers, and all that they might claim as citizens of the United States; but in no case can the same person, at the same time, act as the citizen of two separate states, and *he is therefore positively precluded from any interference with the reserved powers of any state but that of which he is, for the time being, a citizen.* He may indeed offer to the citizens of other states his advice as to their management, and the form in which it is tendered is left to his own discretion and sense of propriety.

It may be observed, however, that organized associations of citizens, requiring compliance with their wishes, too much resemble the *recommendations* of Athens to her allies, supported by an armed and powerful fleet. It was, indeed, to the ambition of the leading states of Greece to control the domestic concerns of the others, that the destruction of that celebrated confederacy, and subsequently of all its members, is mainly to be attributed. And it is owing to the absence of that spirit that the Helvetic confederacy has for so many years been preserved. Never have there been seen in the institutions of the separate members of any confederacy more elements of discord. In the principles and forms of government and religion, as well as in the circumstances of the several cantons, so marked a discrepancy was observable, as to promise any thing but harmony in their intercourse, or permanency in their alliance. And yet, for ages, neither has been interrupted. Content with the positive benefits which their union produced, with the independence and safety from foreign aggression which it secured, the sagacious people respected the institutions of each other, however repugnant to their own principles and prejudices.

Our confederacy, fellow-citizens, can only be preserved by the same forbearance. Our citizens must be content with the exercise of the powers with which the constitution clothes them. The attempt of those of one state to control the domestic institutions of another, can only result in feelings of distrust and jealousy, and certain harbingers of disunion, violence, civil war, and the ultimate destruction of our free institutions. Our confederacy is perfectly illustrated by the terms and principles governing a common copartnership. There a fund of power is to be exercised under the direction of the joint counsels of the allied members, but that which has been reserved by the individuals is intangible by the common government, or the individual members composing it. To attempt it, finds no support in the principles of our constitution. It should be our constant and earnest endeavor mutually to cultivate a spirit of concord and harmony among the various parts of our confederacy. Experience has abundantly taught us that the agitation by citizens of one part of the Union of a subject not confided to the general government, but exclusively under the guardianship of the local authorities, is productive of no other consequences than bitterness, alienation, discord and injury to the very cause which is intended to be advanced. Of all the great interests which appertain to our country, that of union, cordial, confiding, fraternal union, is by far the most important, since it is the only true and sure guarantee of all others.

In consequence of the embarrassed state of business and the currency, some of the states may meet with difficulty in their financial concerns. However deeply we may regret any thing imprudent or excessive in the engagements into which states have enter

ed for purposes of their own, it does not become us to disparage the state governments, nor to discourage them from making proper efforts for their own relief. On the contrary, it is our duty to encourage them, to the extent of our constitutional authority, to apply their best means, and cheerfully to make all necessary sacrifices, and submit to all necessary burdens, to fulfil their engagements and maintain their credit; for the character and credit of the several states form part of the character and credit of the whole country. The resources of the country are abundant, the enterprise and activity of our people proverbial; and we may well hope that wise legislation and prudent administration, by the respective governments, each acting within its own sphere, will restore former prosperity.

Unpleasant and even dangerous as collisions may sometimes be, between the constituted authorities or the citizens of our country, in relation to the lines which separate their respective jurisdictions, the result can be of no vital injury to our institutions, if that ardent patriotism, that devoted attachment to liberty, that spirit of moderation and forbearance for which our countrymen were once distinguished, continue to be cherished. If this continues to be the ruling passion of our souls, the weaker feelings of the mistaken enthusiast will be corrected, the Utopian dreams of the scheming politician dissipated, and the complicated intrigues of the demagogue rendered harmless. The spirit of liberty is the sovereign balm for every injury which our institutions receive. On the contrary, no care that can be used in the construction of our government, no division of powers, no distribution of checks in its several departments, will prove effectual to keep us a free people, if this spirit is suffered to decay; and decay it will, without constant nurture. To the neglect of this duty, historians agree in attributing the ruin of all the republics with whose existence and fall their writings have made us acquainted. The same causes will ever produce the same effects; and as long as the love of power is a dominant passion of the human bosom, and as long as the understandings of men can be warped, and their affections changed by operations upon their passions and prejudices, so long will the liberty of a people depend on their own constant attention to its preservation.

The danger to all well-established free governments arises from the unwillingness of the people to believe in its existence, or from the influence of designing men, diverting their attention from the quarter whence it approaches to a source from which it can never come. This is the old trick of those who would usurp the government of their country. In the name of democracy they speak, warning the people against the influence of wealth and the danger of aristocracy. History, ancient and modern, is full of such examples. Cæsar became the master of the Roman people and the Senate, under the pretence of supporting the democratic claims of the former against the aristocracy of the latter. Cromwell, in the character of protector of the liberties of the people, became the dictator of England; and Bolivar possessed himself of unlimited power, with the title of his country's liberator. There is, on the contrary, no single instance on record of an extensive and well-established republic being changed into an aristocracy. The tendency of all such governments, in their decline, is to monarchy; and the antagonist principle to liberty there, is the spirit of faction—a spirit which assumes the character, and, in times of great excitement, imposes itself upon the people as the genuine spirit of freedom, and like the false Christs whose coming was foretold by the Saviour, seeks to, and, were it possible, would, impose upon the true and most faithful disciples of liberty. It is in periods like this that it behooves the people to be most watchful of those to whom they have intrusted power. And although there is at times much difficulty in distinguishing the false from the true spirit, a calm and dispassionate investigation will detect the counterfeit, as well by the character of its operations as the results that are produced. The true spirit of liberty, although devoted, persevering, bold, and uncompromising in principle, that secured, is mild and tolerant, and scrupulous as to the means it employs; whilst the spirit of party, assuming to be that of liberty, is harsh, vindictive, and intolerant, and totally reckless as to the character of the allies which it brings to the aid of its cause. When the genuine spirit of liberty animates the body of a people to a thorough examination of their affairs, it leads to the excision of every excrescence which may have fastened itself upon any of the departments of the government, and restores the system to its pristine health and beauty. But the reign of an intolerant spirit of party among a free people seldom fails to result in a dangerous accession to the executive power, introduced and established amidst unusual professions of devotion to democracy.

The foregoing remarks relate almost exclusively to matters connected with our domestic concerns. It may be proper, however, that I should give some indications to my fel

low-citizens of my proposed course of conduct in the management of our foreign relations. I assure them, therefore, that it is my intention to use every means in my power to preserve the friendly intercourse which now so happily subsists with every foreign nation; and that although, of course, not well informed as to the state of any pending negotiations with any of them, I see in the personal characters of the sovereigns, as well as in the mutual interest of our own and of the governments with which our relations are most intimate, a pleasing guarantee that the harmony so important to the interests of their subjects, as well as our citizens, will not be interrupted by the advancement of any claim or pretension upon their part to which our honor would not permit us to yield. Long the defender of my country's rights in the field, I trust that my fellow-citizens will not see, in my earnest desire to preserve peace with foreign powers, any indication that their rights will ever be sacrificed, or the honor of the nation tarnished, by any admission on the part of their chief magistrate unworthy of their former glory.

In our intercourse with our aboriginal neighbors, the same liberality and justice which marked the course prescribed to me, by two of my illustrious predecessors, when acting under their direction in the discharge of the duties of superintendent and commissioner, shall be strictly observed. I can conceive of no more sublime spectacle—none more likely to propitiate an impartial Creator—than a rigid adherence to the principles of justice on the part of a powerful nation, in its transactions with a weaker and uncivilized people, whom circumstances have placed at its disposal.

Before concluding, fellow-citizens, I must say something to you on the subject of the parties at this time existing in our country. To me it appears perfectly clear, that the interest of that country requires that the violence of the spirit by which those parties are at this time governed, must be greatly mitigated, if not entirely extinguished, or consequences will ensue which are appalling to be thought of. If parties in a republic are necessary to secure a degree of vigilance sufficient to keep the public functionaries within the bounds of law and duty, at that point their usefulness ends. Beyond that they become destructive of public virtue, the parents of a spirit antagonist to that of liberty, and eventually its inevitable conqueror.

We have examples of republics, where the love of country and of liberty, at one time, were the dominant passions of the whole mass of citizens, and yet, with the continuance of the name and forms of free government, not a vestige of these qualities remaining in the bosom of any one of its citizens. It was the beautiful remark of a distinguished English writer, that "in the Roman senate Octavius had a party, and Antony a party, but the commonwealth had none." Yet the senate continued to meet in the temple of liberty, to talk of the sacredness and beauty of the commonwealth, and gaze at the statues of the elder Brutus and of the Curtii and Decii. And the people assembled in the forum, not as in the days of Camillus and the Scipios, to cast their free votes for annual magistrates, or pass upon the acts of the senate, but to receive from the hands of the leaders of the respective parties their share of the spoils, and to shout for one or the other, as those collected in Gaul, or Egypt, and the Lesser Asia, would furnish the larger dividend. The spirit of liberty had fled, and, avoiding the abodes of civilized man, had sought protection in the wilds of Scythia or Scandinavia; and so, under the operation of the same causes and influences, it will fly from our capitol and our forums. A calamity so awful, not only to our country, but to the world, must be deprecated by every patriot; and every tendency to a state of things likely to produce it immediately checked. Such a tendency has existed—does exist.

Always the friend of my countrymen, never their flatterer, it becomes my duty to say to them from this high place to which their partiality has exalted me, that there exists in the land a spirit hostile to their best interests—hostile to liberty itself. It is a spirit contracted in its views, selfish in its object. It looks to the aggrandizement of a few, even to the destruction of the interest of the whole. The entire remedy is with the people. Something, however, may be effected by the means which they have placed in my hands. It is union that we want, not of a party for the sake of that party, but a union of the whole country for the sake of the whole country—for the defence of its interests and its honor against foreign aggression, for the defence of those principles for which our ancestors so gloriously contended. As far as it depends upon me, it shall be accomplished. All the influence that I possess shall be exerted to prevent the formation of at least an executive party in the halls of the legislative body. I wish for the support of no member of that body to any measure of mine that does not satisfy his judgment and his sense o

duty to those from whom he holds his appointment, nor any confidence in advance from the people, but that asked for by Mr. Jefferson, "to give firmness and effect to the legal administration of their affairs."

I deem the present occasion sufficiently important and solemn to justify me in expressing to my fellow-citizens a profound reverence for the Christian religion, and a thorough conviction that sound morals, religious liberty, and a just sense of religious responsibility, are essentially connected with all true and lasting happiness; and to that good Being who has blessed us by the gifts of civil and religious freedom, who watched over and prospered the labors of our fathers, and has hitherto preserved to us institutions far exceeding in excellence those of any other people, let us unite in fervently commending every interest of our beloved country in all future time.

[Here the oath of office was administered by Chief Justice Taney.]

Fellow-citizens: Being fully invested with that high office to which the partiality of my countrymen has called me, I now take an affectionate leave of you. You will bear with you to your homes the remembrance of the pledge I have this day given to discharge all the high duties of my exalted station, according to the best of my ability; and I shall enter upon their performance with entire confidence in the support of a just and generous people.

President Harrison entered with a hearty zeal upon the laborious duties of his office, laboring incessantly from the earliest dawn often until midnight. The throngs of people who visited him also imposed a heavy burden upon his hands; but he was unremitting in his labors, until attacked by that disease which terminated his life. On the first of April, he became indisposed, and called in medical assistance. His disease was soon found to be formidable, baffling the skill of the physicians; and so rapidly did his enfeebled frame sink under the disease, that at half-past twelve on the morning of the fourth of April, he sunk calmly into the sleep of death. The last words he uttered were characteristic of his life, and breathed only the devotion of the patriot's heart for the good of his beloved country. "MY LAST WISH," said he, "IS THAT THE TRUE PRINCIPLES OF THE GOVERNMENT MAY BE CARRIED OUT!—I ASK NOTHING MORE!!"

The general feeling throughout the country was thus eloquently portrayed by the National Intelligencer of the ninth of April, 1841, which contained an account of the funeral pageant:

"So brief had been the late President's illness, that now, as in the case of Washington, there had scarce been time for us to begin to fear, when the stunning blow of the reality fell upon us like the stroke of thunder from a cloudless sky. Men looked aghast, and staggered, as if amazed by something they could scarce believe. But it was true. He who, with open beaming countenance, passed along our streets in the joy of his heart—he, the welcome, the long-expected, the desired, on whom all eyes were fastened, to whom all hearts went out, who had within him more stirring subjects of exhilirating consciousness than have met in any single bosom since Washington was crowned with wreaths as he came back from Yorktown, was, on Wednesday last, within one month, "one little month," borne along that same crowded avenue—crowded not as before with a jubilant people gathered from every quarter of the country, but with sincerely sorrowing multitudes following his bier. As the shouts which then rent the air were the free spontaneous expression of the love and joy of freemen, delighting to confer their highest honors on one whom they believed to have richly deserved them; so, now, the tears which fell from the eyes of woman, the sighs and looks of grief of gray-headed men, the general, universal aspect

of public sorrow, were the unbought, the unpurchasable tribute of a bereaved people to public virtue and devoted patriotism. This was not the momentary gush of feelings wrought upon by the pomp and circumstance of a funeral procession. It was not the sable car, the nodding plumes, the slow and mournful array—it was the event itself—the loss of such a man, at such a time, which drew forth these expressions of public feeling. They will be substantially the same in every part of the country. As it was here, so it will be every where. When the words, "the President is dead," met the ear, the man of business dropped his pen—the artisan dropped his tools—children looked in the faces of their parents, and wives into the countenances of their husbands, and the wail of sorrow arose as if each had lost a parent, or some near and dear friend. Could General Harrison now look down on the land he loved, he might, indeed, "read his history in a nation's eyes;" and those whose bosoms glow and struggle with high purposes and strong desires for their country's good, may learn in what they now behold, wherever they turn their eyes, how glorious a reward awaits the memory of those who faithfully serve their country!"

[From the National Intelligencer, April 9, 1841.]

THE FUNERAL CEREMONIES.

Wednesday having been set apart for the solemnities of the funeral of the late President, some anxiety was felt, in the early part of the morning, as to the weather, for the sky was overcast, and fears were entertained lest it should come on to rain—but, as the day advanced, these apprehensions were dissipated; and, though it continued rather cool, this did but favor the march of the troops and of the other numerous collections of persons who formed portions of the funeral procession.

At sunrise, the sound of cannon from the several military stations in the vicinity of the city heralded the melancholy occasion which was to assemble the citizens of the District and its neighborhood, and minute-guns were fired during the morning. In entire consonance with those mournful sounds was the aspect of the whole city, as well its dwellings as its population. The buildings on each side of the entire length of the Pennsylvania avenue, with scarcely an exception, and many houses on the contiguous streets, were hung with festoons and streamers of black, not only about the signs and entrances, but in many cases from all the upper stories. Almost every private dwelling had crape upon the knocker and bell-handle of its door, and many of the very humblest abodes hung out some spontaneous signal of the general sorrow. The stores and places of business, even such as are too frequently seen open on the Sabbath, were all closed. Every thing like business seemed to have been forgotten, and all minds to be occupied with the purpose of the day.

The railroad cars approaching the city were crowded to excess, although the trains were doubled; and a large portion of the passengers stood up, from necessity, the entire way from Baltimore hither. The steamboats brought crowds of people from Alexandria, and the individuals entering the city from the adjacent country, on horseback, and in vehicles of every description, seemed to be more numerous than even on the occasion of the late inauguration. The great point of attraction was the President's man-

sion. Towards that, all steps, all thoughts, were tending. There lay the body, closed in its leaden hearse, and covered with its solemn pall, seated in that deep repose which nothing shall break but the Archangel's trump. It lay on a bier in the East room, (an occupation how different from its wont!) and ladies were admitted all the morning, who heaped upon the coffin offerings of the most beautiful flowers. The northern portico of the mansion was hung with long banners of black, extending from column to column. The iron gates of the enclosure in front were closed, save when the carriages of the foreign ministers, members of the Cabinet, the attending physicians, the clergy, and some other privileged persons, were admitted, preparatory to their taking the places assigned them in the funeral procession.

The military portion of it, constituting the funeral escort, began to form in line on the New York avenue, immediately north of the President's house, and a most noble and imposing appearance it presented. Without undertaking to give the exact order or all the details of the military part of the procession, it must suffice us for the present to state that of volunteers, besides the Light Infantry, National Blues, and Columbia Artillery of this city, and the squadron of Potomac Dragoons from Georgetown, there were present the Eagle Artillerists, Eutaw Infantry, Invincibles, Independent Grays, National Guards, Maryland Cadets, and Military Association, of Baltimore, the Annapolis Grays, from the city of Annapolis, and a part of the York Riflemen and Washington Blues, from York, Pennsylvania. Then there was a battalion of United States Marines, and a division of United States Light Artillery, commanded by Captain Ringgold, from Fort M'Henry. But one of the most impressive portions of the military part of the procession consisted of the dismounted and mounted officers of the army, navy, militia, and volunteers. Seldom has there been exhibited, within a space so limited, so many distinguished military men; the sight of whose well-known figures led back our thoughts to many a bloody field and many an ensanguined sea, on which the national honor has been well and nobly maintained.

The civic part of the procession was not less striking than the military. It embraced the municipal officers of the District, the clergy of all denominations, the judiciary, the executive officers of the government, including the President of the United States and the heads of departments, the ex-members of the late Cabinet now in the city, the comptrollers, auditors, and commissioners, treasurer, register, &c., with a numerous column of clerks in the several departments. Such members of both Houses of Congress as are in the city also attended, and Ex-President Adams in his place. Next followed officers and soldiers who had served under General Harrison in the late war. Another division of the procession consisted of public societies and associations, preceded by their banners, and wearing their respective badges—among whom we noticed the society of Odd Fellows, very richly attired; the Washington Catholic Temperance Association, with their white banner, displaying the cross, which is the symbol of their faith; the Typographical Society; several schools and lyceums; and, to close all, the different fire companies of the district, in their showy and picturesque uniforms of cloaks, hats, and accoutrements, and with appropriate ensigns.

The music was excellent; several fine bands, playing mournful airs, giving place, from time to time, to the muffled drums of the military, beating slow marches.

But the object of chief interest, and one which, as it passed, hushed every other sound, and caused many a tear to fall, was the funeral car containing the body of the deceased President. It was of large dimensions, in form an oblong platform, on which was a raised dais, the whole covered with black velvet. From the cornice of the platform fell a black velvet curtain outside of the wheels, to within a few inches of the ground. From the corners of the car a black crape festoon was formed on all sides, looped in the centre by a funeral wreath. On the coffin lay the sword of justice and the sword of state, surmounted by the scroll of the constitution, bound together by a funeral wreath formed of the yew and the cypress. The car was drawn by six white horses, having at the head of each a colored groom, dressed in white, with white turban and sash, and supported by pall-bearers in black.* The effect was very fine. The contrast of this slowly moving body of white and black, so opposite to the strong colors of the military around it, struck the eye even from the greatest distance, and gave a chilling warning beforehand that the corpse was drawing nigh.

The entire procession occupied two full miles in length, and was marshalled on its way by officers on horseback, carrying white batons with black tassels. The utmost order prevailed throughout; and, considering the very great concourse of people collected, the silence preserved during the whole course of the march was very impressive.

Before the body was removed from the Presidential mansion, religious services were conducted in presence of the President of the United States and Ex-President Adams, the members of the late and present Cabinets, the foreign ministers, and the mourning household, by the Rev. Mr. Hawley. The Reverend gentleman declined making any address upon the occasion; but, pointing to a Bible and Episcopal prayer-book which lay upon the table, stated that they had been purchased by the deceased President immediately after his arrival in the city, and had been in daily use by him since then; that the late President had declared to him (Mr. Hawley) personally his full belief in the truth of the Christian religion, and his purpose, had not disease intervened to prevent it, to have united himself to the church on the succeeding Sabbath.

On the firing of the signal gun at the appointed hour, the procession, having received into its ranks the funeral car and the family mourners who

* The following gentlemen, as pall-bearers, were designated to represent the several States and Territories which are attached to their names, at the funeral of the late President:—R. Cutts, Esq., for Maine; Hon. C. Cushing, Mass.; W. B. Lloyd, Esq., Conn. Gen. John Granger, N. Y.; M. Willing, Esq., Pa.; David Hoffman, Esq., Md.; Hon E. D. White, N. C.; Gen. D. L. Clinch, Geo.; Col. Rogers, Tenn.; M. Durald, Esq. La.; Anderson Miller, Esq., Miss.; Dr. Perrine, Ala.; A. W. Lyon, Esq., Ark.; Hon J. D. Doty, Wisconsin; Hon. W. B. Carter, Iowa; Hon. J. B. Moore, N. H.; M. St. C Clarke, Esq., R. I.; Hon. Hiland Hall, Vt.; Hon. G. C. Washington, N. J.; Hon. A Naudain, Del.; Major Camp, Va.; John Carter, Esq., S. C.; Th. Crittenden, Esq., Ky. Mr. Graham, Ohio; Gen. Robert Hanna, Ind.; D. G. Garnsey, Esq., Ill.; Major Russell, Mo.; Gen. Howard, Mich.; Hon. C. Downing, Florida; R. Smith, Esq., District of Columbia.

followed the remains of their relative to the tomb, moved along Pennsylvania avenue, under the fire of minute-guns near the President's house, repeated at the City Hall on the head of the column arriving opposite to it, and at the Capitol on its reaching the western gate of the enclosure. Having reached the Capitol square, passing on the south side of it, the procession advanced over the plains eastward till it reached the space in front of the Congressional burying-ground. Here the car halted, while the line was formed by the military as they arrived, and then passed slowly on, being saluted as it passed with colors lowered, the troops presenting arms, and the officers saluting it in military form. Having reached the principal entrance, the car was again halted; the coffin was taken down, and placed on the shoulders of the bearers; the clergy advanced, and the Rev. Mr. Hawley, reciting the solemn funeral service of the Episcopal Liturgy, the procession advanced down the principal avenue of the cemetery until it reached the receiving vault, where a space had been kept open by sentries under arms, and where a hollow square being formed, the coffin was lowered into the vault. A signal being given to the troops outside, the battalion of Light Artillery, who were placed on an adjoining eminence, fired a salute, which was immediately followed by the several military bodies in line, who commenced firing from the left to the right, and continued the salute till it had thrice gone up the whole line.

The procession then résumed its march, and returned by the same route to the city, where the troops were dismissed, and the citizens retired to their several abodes. By five o'clock, nothing remained but empty streets and the emblems of mourning upon the houses; and the still deeper gloom, which oppressed the general mind with renewed power after all was over, and the sense of the public bereavement alone was left to fill the thoughts.

JOHN TYLER.

JOHN TYLER, the tenth President of the United States, and the sixth incumbent of that high office whose birth-place was Virginia, was born at Charles-City, in Charles-City county, in the year 1789. His father, John Tyler, was a distinguished public man in Virginia, and governor of the commonwealth from 1808 to 1811. Mr. Tyler was educated at William and Mary College, studied law at that institution, and in the office of his father, and entered at an early age upon the practice of his profession. Scarcely had he reached the age of twenty-one years, before he was elected by the people of his native county to represent them in the State legislature. Here we find him zealous in his efforts to promote the interests of his constituents and of his ancient commonwealth. In 1816, he was elected a representative in Congress, and continued a member of that body until 1821. He here distinguished himself as a ready and fluent debater, and attracted the notice of the people of his native state by the strength and boldness of his views on the great questions of the day. In the memorable investigation of the United States Bank, in 1819, when the report and restrictions proposed by Mr. Spencer, of New York, and direct propositions for repeal of the charter, came up for debate, Mr. Tyler delivered his opinions in strong terms on the subject of the National Bank, as well as upon the whole system of banking as pursued in this country. On the 19th February, in the course of the debate, he said:—

"The question whether it would be proper to direct a *scire facias* against the bank, divides itself into two heads of inquiry. First, whether the charter has been so violated as to insure a forfeiture?—and if so, is it expedient to exact the forfeiture? The decision of the first would preclude me from an inquiry into the second. For, sir, inasmuch as I believe the creation of this corporation unconstitutional, I cannot, without a violation of my oath, hesitate to repair the breach thus made in the constitution, when an opportunity presents itself of doing so without violating the public faith. But believing, also, that it is expedient to put it down, and other gentlemen feeling themselves at liberty to follow up that inquiry, I propose to express to you my views on that subject.

"I think that the incorporation of the United States Bank was calculated to delay the resumption of specie payments on the part of the State banks."

"Mr. Chairman, I look to a more efficient cause for the resumption of specie payments: I look to the resolutions of the State legislatures, to the resolution of Congress, requiring the payment of all dues to the government to be made in specie, or the notes of banks paying specie, after the 20th February, 1817, as the great cause of this resumption. I am disposed to ascribe more energy to the arm of this government, than to any moneyed institution."

"For one, I enter my protest against the banking system, as conducted in this country—a system not to be supported by any correct principle of political economy—a gross delusion—the dream of a visionary—a system that has done more to corrupt the morals of society than any thing else—which has introduced a struggle for wealth, instead of the honorable struggle which governs the actions of a patriot, and makes ambition virtue—which has made the husbandman spurn his cottage, and introduced a spirit of luxury at variance with the simplicity of our institutions."

"I call upon the warm advocates of banking, now to surrender their errors. Shall I take them by the hand, and lead them through our cities? Bankruptcy meets us at every step; ruin stares us every where in the face. Shall I be told of the benefits arising to commerce from the concentration of capital? Away with the delusion—experience has exposed its fallacy. True, for a moment, it has operated as a stimulus; but, like ardent spirits, it has produced activity and energy for a moment; relaxation has followed, and the torpor of death has ensued."

"The revenues amount to upwards of $20,000,000 annually. Require but a fourth or fifth part to be paid in gold or silver, what would be the effect? The merchants would collect the notes of banks, and demand specie for them; and thus a test would be adopted, by means of which to ascertain the solvency of each institution. The demand for specie thus produced, would have the beneficial effect of introducing more of it into the country; for money is like every other article, and will find its way to the market where it is most wanting. The system might be enlarged gradually, until your wishes should be consummated."

"I protest against the idea that the government cannot do without this bank. We are not dependent on this corporation. Wretched indeed would be our situation if such was the case."

In 1825, Mr. Tyler was elected governor of the commonwealth of Virginia, and devoted himself with characteristic ardor to the developement of her resources, and to the maintenance of those republican doctrines with which her renown is identified. Educated in the Jeffersonian school of politics, Governor Tyler opposed the doctrine of internal improvements by the federal government. In his message to the General Assembly, in December, 1826, he says:

"Vain and idle, indeed, was this resolution, (concerning internal improvements by the general government,) if that same government has a right to enter upon the soil of a state, whensoever and wheresoever it may please to take possession of the same, convert it to its own uses and purposes, and render subject not only the property, but the persons of the people, to the jurisdiction of its courts; for it would seem to follow that the right to create imposed the obligation to preserve, and this duty would call for the imposition of regulations, the violation or disregard of which ought of consequence to render amenable to punishment the offending individual. One usurpation always begets another and another, until at last the original form of government is lost, and liberty exists only in the records of the past. Virginia has ever been found exerting her influence against the exercise of this alarming power. Her motives cannot be misunderstood by her sister states. Her wants are as great as theirs can well be. Possess

ing a surface of territory larger than almost any other state in the Union, the moiety of which is distinguished by its irregularity, she would find many inducements in accepting, in the form of internal improvements, the largesses of the general government. But she will not surrender voluntarily her constitutional rights. She believes that liberty can only be preserved by upholding the federative principle; and she regards consolidation as the greatest of evils."

On the 13th January, 1827, Governor Tyler was elected to the Senate of the United States for six years from the fourth of March succeeding. In this exalted sphere, his talents and integrity of character secured for him, among those with whom he acted, a commanding influence; and his industrious application to the public business, the independence of his character, and the urbanity of his manners, were followed by the respect and esteem of all parties in that body. His election to the Senate of the United States, is a sufficient proof of the estimation in which he was held by the republican party. During his term of service in this body, great and momentous questions of civil policy and constitutional law were discussed and investigated. Probably at no period since the existence of the government, were weightier matters controverted, and a greater amount of talent called into requisition, than in the years of 1830, '31, '32, '33, and '34. The deepest excitement pervaded the country.

In the Senate, May 14, 1830, the bill authorizing a subscription of stock in the Maysville, Washington, Paris, and Lexington Turnpike Road, being under consideration, Mr. Tyler said:

"He did not rise to enter into a constitutional argument on the bill now under consideration. He should wait for more favorable auspices, before he ventured to detain the Senate by such an argument. The period might be near at hand, when the principles of the constitution would once more be invoked, and the true democratic party be called upon to rally around the standard which was unfurled in times long since gone by. Whenever the day should arrive in which the country would be so far relieved from the unhappy spell in which it had been bound, as to listen with attention to an exposition of this subject on constitutional grounds, he would not be wanting in his duty. I was (said Mr. T.) in that Congress which was the first to enter gravely into the discussion of the constitutional power of this government to make roads and canals. I then attentively weighed all that was urged by the advocates of the system—if system that may be called, which is none—and my decision was against them. Every subsequent reflection has confirmed the opinion then expressed; and the experience of the last six years has satisfied me that, in its exercise, all that is dear, and should be considered sacred in our institutions, is put to hazard. Experience is the parent of true wisdom, and the lights which she has furnished upon this subject ought to be bright enough to conduct our footsteps back to the path from which we have strayed."

Mr. Tyler holds to what is called a strict construction of the constitution. In the Senate, February 24, 1831, the appropriation to pay the negotiators of the Turkish treaty being under consideration, he used the following language:

"It is our duty, Mr. President, under all circumstances, and however

situated, to be faithful to the constitution. *Esto perpetua* should be the motto of all in regard to that instrument, and more emphatically those into whose hands it is committed by the parties to the compact of union. Sir, parties may succeed, and will succeed each other; stars that shine with brilliancy to-day, may be struck from their spheres to-morrow; convulsion may follow convulsion; the battlements may rock about us, and the storm rage in its wildest fury; but while the constitution is preserved inviolate, the liberties of the country will be secure. When we are asked to lay down the constitution upon the shrine of party, our answer is, the price demanded is too great. If required to pass over its violation in silence, we reply, that to do so would be infidelity to our trust, and treason to those who sent us here. The constant effort of Virginia has been directed to its preservation: the political conflict of the hour has never led her to yield it for an instant. No matter with what solemnity the violation has been attended; although sanctioned by the two Houses of Congress and the President of the United States, and confirmed by judicial decision, she has not halted in her duty. How little, then, should we be entitled to represent her, if we could so far forget ourselves as to hobble in our course!"

In December, 1832, General Jackson issued his celebrated proclamation. It was designed to arrest the proceedings of the state of South Carolina, which were viewed as hostile to the existence of the union of the confederated states. With the view of carrying out his plans, as laid down in this state paper, he called on Congress to invest him with larger powers. By many, distinguished for their love of country, the bill commonly called "the *force bill*," was deemed subversive of the rights of sovereign states. At this moment, Mr. Tyler came forth with a mass of information, lucidly arranged, and carefully and logically bodied forth, at once creditable to his talents as a speaker, and confessedly useful to the cause which he espoused, and the principles which he vindicated.

On the 10th April, at the close of a very able speech, which occupied two days in the delivery, upon Mr. Clay's resolutions for a modification of the tariff, Mr. Tyler closed as follows:

"In the names of the great actors of former times under the roof of that very edifice, [Faneuil Hall,] I invoke honorable Senators to pause, long to pause, ere they decide that this grinding system shall receive no abatement. Its oppression, if that were the only circumstance, would be as nothing in comparison with the alienation of feeling which it has produced. What can compensate for the loss of that affection on the part of even a single state in this Union? Flatter not yourselves that this is exclusively a South Carolina question. No, sir; it is a Southern question. Every state on the other side of the Potomac feels alike interested in it: nor labor under the morbid apprehension that to grant relief can produce the slightest tendency to disunion. Do you seek to give perpetuity to the Union, practise not injustice; for, as certain as fate itself, they who sow injustice will reap iniquity. I have been reared in a reverential affection for the Union. My imagination has led me to look into the distant future, and there to contemplate the greatness of free America. I have beheld her walking on the waves of the mighty deep, carrying along with her tidings of great joy to distant nations. I have seen her overturning the strong places of

despotism, and restoring to man his long lost rights. Wo, wo betide that man who shall sow the seeds of disunion among us! Better for him had he never been born. If he call upon the mountains to hide him—nay, if he bury himself in the very centre of the earth, the indignation of mankind will find him out, and blast him with its lightnings."

In 1834, in consequence of the violent usurpations of General Jackson, the Senate of the United States adopted a resolution, censuring the President for the exertion of unconstitutional powers. Mr. Tyler, ever faithful to those ancient principles of Virginia, which were then sunk to the lowest depression, stood by the constitution, and asserted its mandates. The resolution was adopted. Shortly thereafter, the administration gaining the ascendancy in that body, a resolution was introduced by a Senator from Missouri, to expunge this resolution censuring the President for exercising unconstitutional powers, and thus violating this sacred instrument. As Mr. Tyler had contributed his support to the adoption of this resolution, he resisted its expunction. The mutilation of the journals of the Senate he opposed with the greatest energy. During this alarming crisis, we find him distinguished by his fidelity to the interests of the country—by his stern devotion to his duty, and his inflexibility of principle.

When instructed by that body from whence he derived his power as Senator of the United States—and which every man is bound to consider the true representative of the will of the people of the state—to support the expunging resolution, he took the alternative presented to the choice of every high-minded citizen. He acted as a man of principle and honor always acts. He could not obey, and he resigned, in order that the legislative body which instructed him might supply his place with one who could conscientiously obey its instructions. By this means he preserved his own integrity, without violating a duty of a representative of the people. He conducted himself like a faithful public servant, who, being commanded to do an act which he cannot approve, disdains to receive any longer the wages of a master he refuses to obey. He sacrificed a station as honorable as any which presents itself to the ambition of a citizen of the United States, and voluntarily sought retirement from a scene which he embellished by his highly cultivated talents, and ennobled by his lofty and uncompromising integrity.

Such an act of devotion to the great principle of representative responsibility, is one that deserves to be recorded, not only for its magnanimity, but for its rarity.

It is the character and habit of the President not to yield a blind acquiescence to the opinions of any individual. His judgment was not satisfied with the propriety of the measure of removing the deposites from the Bank of the United States. He foresaw the consequences it would produce, and desired an opportunity to investigate and reflect upon it. Such an opportunity he made an effort to obtain, and when that effort was successful, rather than unite with his political friends in supporting a measure pregnant with results so extensive and important, without a full conviction of its necessity or constitutionality, he chose, by manly independence, to hazard all the imputations to which his vote with the minority might possibly subject him. Those who acted with him were too well acquainted with

the purity and firmness of his principles, political and moral, to misrepresent his motives, or to arraign the propriety of his conduct. His opposition to this measure, and to the expunging resolution, elevated him greatly in the confidence of the Whig party. Although he had been ostracized—banished from the Senate of the United States—by a faithful adherence to the doctrines of instruction, his virtues and independence as a statesman still continued to hold a firm grasp on the affections of the people. The Whig party, cherishing for him an elevated regard, placed him on the ticket with the late General William Henry Harrison, as their candidate for the Vice-Presidency. With that distinguished individual, he was elevated to office by almost acclamation. On the fourth of March, 1841, he took his seat as Vice-President of the United States, little dreaming of the destiny which an overruling Providence was in one short month to devolve upon him. President Harrison died on the fourth of April; whereby, under our constitution, the duties and responsibilities of President were devolved upon Vice-President Tyler.

Immediately after the decease of President Harrison, Mr. Webster, Jr., chief clerk of the department of state, left Washington for the residence of the Vice-President, in Virginia, bearing to him the following letter:

WASHINGTON, April 4, 1841.

To JOHN TYLER, *Vice-President of the United States:*

Sir: It has become our most painful duty to inform you that William Henry Harrison, late President of the United States, has departed this life.

This distressing event took place this day, at the President's mansion, in this city, at thirty minutes before one in the morning.

We lose no time in despatching the chief clerk in the state department as a special messenger to bear you these melancholy tidings.

We have the honor to be, with the highest regard, your obedient servants,

DANIEL WEBSTER,
Secretary of State.
THOMAS EWING,
Secretary of the Treasury.
JOHN BELL,
Secretary of War.
JOHN J. CRITTENDEN,
Attorney General.
FRANCIS GRANGER,
Postmaster General.

Vice-President Tyler lost no time in repairing to the seat of government, where he arrived on the morning of the sixth of April, taking lodgings at Brown's hotel. At twelve o'clock, all the heads of departments, with the exception of the Secretary of the Navy, (who was absent with his family in Georgia,) waited upon him, to pay him their official and personal respects. They were received with the utmost kindness and cordiality. The Vice-President signified to them his deep feeling of the public calamity sustained by the death of President Harrison, and expressed his profound sensibility to the heavy responsibilities so suddenly devolved upon himself. He spoke of the present state of things with great concern and seriousness,

and made known his wishes that the several heads of departments would continue to fill the places which they respectively occupied, and his confidence that they would afford all the aid in their power to enable him to carry on the administration of the government successfully.

The President then took and subscribed the following oath of office:

I do solemnly swear that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States; and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the constitution of the United States. JOHN TYLER.

April 6, 1841.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, }
City and county of Washington, } *ss.*

I, WILLIAM CRANCH, Chief Judge of the Circuit Court of the District of Columbia, certify that the above named JOHN TYLER personally appeared before me this day; and, although he deems himself qualified to perform the duties and exercise the powers and office of President on the death of William Henry Harrison, late President of the United States, without any other oath than that which he has taken as Vice-President, yet, as doubts may *arise*, and for greater caution, took and subscribed the foregoing oath before me. W. CRANCH.

April 6, 1841.

After the solemn pageant of the funeral of President Harrison had passed, the following address was published by President TYLER:

TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES.

FELLOW-CITIZENS: Before my arrival at the seat of government, the painful communication was made to you, by the officers presiding over the several departments, of the deeply regretted death of William Henry Harrison, late President of the United States. Upon him you had conferred your suffrages for the first office in your gift, and had selected him as your chosen instrument to correct and reform all such errors and abuses as had manifested themselves from time to time in the practical operation of the government. While standing at the threshold of this great work, he has, by the dispensation of an all-wise Providence, been removed from amongst us; and, by the provisions of the constitution, the efforts to be directed to the accomplishing of this vitally important task, have devolved upon myself. This same occurrence has subjected the wisdom and sufficiency of our institutions to a new test. For the first time in our history, the person elected to the Vice-Presidency of the United States, by the happening of a contingency provided for in the constitution, has had devolved upon him the Presidential office. The spirit of faction, which is directly opposed to the spirit of a lofty patriotism, may find in this occasion for assaults upon my administration. And in succeeding, under circumstances so sudden and unexpected, and to responsibilities so greatly augmented, to the administration of public affairs, I shall place in the intelligence and patriotism of the people my only sure reliance. My earnest prayer shall be constantly addressed to the all-wise and all-powerful Being who made me, and by whose dispensation I am called to the high office of President of this con

federacy, understandingly to carry out the principles of that constitution which I have sworn "to protect, preserve, and defend."

The usual opportunity which is afforded to a chief magistrate, upon his induction to office, of presenting to his countrymen an exposition of the policy which would guide his administration, in the form of an inaugural address, not having, under the peculiar circumstances which have brought me to the discharge of the high duties of President of the United States, been afforded to me, a brief exposition of the principles which will govern me in the general course of my administration of public affairs, would seem to be due as well to myself as to you. In regard to foreign nations, the groundwork of my policy will be justice on our part to all, submitting to injustice from none. While I shall sedulously cultivate the relations of peace and amity with one and all, it will be my most imperative duty to see that the honor of the country shall sustain no blemish. With a view to this, the condition of our military defences will become a matter of anxious solicitude. The army, which has in other days covered itself with renown; and the navy, not inappropriately termed the right arm of the public defence, which has spread a light of glory over the American standard in all the waters of the earth, should be rendered replete with efficiency.

In view of the fact, well vouched by history, that the tendency of all human institutions is to concentrate power in the hands of a single man, and that their ultimate downfall has proceeded from this cause, I deem it of the most essential importance that a complete separation should take place between the sword and the purse. No matter where or how the public moneys shall be deposited, so long as the President can exert the power of appointing and removing, at his pleasure, the agents selected for their custody, the commander-in-chief of the army and navy is in fact the treasurer. A permanent and radical change should therefore be decreed. The patronage incident to the Presidential office, already great, is constantly increasing. Such increase is destined to keep pace with the growth of our population, until, without a figure of speech, an army of office-holders may be spread over the land. The unrestrained power exerted by a selfishly ambitious man, in order either to perpetuate his authority, or to hand it over to some favorite as his successor, may lead to the employment of all the means within his control to accomplish his object. The right to remove from office, while subjected to no just restraint, is inevitably destined to produce a spirit of crouching servility with the official corps, which, in order to uphold the hand which feeds them, would lead to direct and active interference in the elections, both state and federal, thereby subjecting the course of state legislation to the dictation of the chief executive officer, and making the will of that officer absolute and supreme. I will, at a proper time, invoke the action of Congress upon this subject, and shall readily acquiesce in the adoption of all proper measures which are calculated to arrest these evils, so full of danger in their tendency. I will remove no incumbent from office who has faithfully and honestly acquitted himself of the duties of his office, except in such cases where such officer has been guilty of an active partisanship, or by secret means—the less manly, and therefore the more objectionable—has given his official influ-

ence to the purposes of party, thereby bringing the patronage of the government in conflict with the freedom of elections. Numerous removals may become necessary under this rule. These will be made by me through no acerbity of feeling. I have had no cause to cherish or indulge unkind feelings towards any, but my conduct will be regulated by a profound sense of what is due to the country and its institutions; nor shall I neglect to apply the same unbending rule to those of my own appointment. Freedom of opinion will be tolerated, the full enjoyment of the right of suffrage will be maintained, as the birthright of every American citizen; but I say emphatically to the official corps, "thus far, and no further." I have dwelt the longer upon this subject, because removals from office are likely often to arise, and I would have my countrymen understand the principle of the executive action.

In all public expenditures, the most rigid economy should be resorted to; and, as one of its results, a public debt in time of peace be sedulously avoided. A wise and patriotic constituency will never object to the imposition of necessary burdens for useful ends; and true wisdom dictates the resort to such means, in order to supply deficiencies in the revenue, rather than to those doubtful expedients which, ultimating in a public debt, serve to embarrass the resources of the country, and to lessen its ability to meet any great emergency which may arise. All sinecures should be abolished. The appropriations should be direct and explicit, so as to leave as limited a share of discretion to the disbursing agents as may be found compatible with the public service. A strict responsibility on the part of all the agents of the government should be maintained, and peculation or defalcation visited with immediate expulsion from office, and the most condign punishment.

The public interest also demands that if any war has existed between the government and the currency, it shall cease. Measures of a financial character, now having the sanction of legal enactment, shall be faithfully enforced until repealed by the legislative authority. But I owe it to myself to declare that I regard existing enactments as unwise and impolitic, and in a high degree oppressive. I shall promptly give my sanction to any constitutional measure which, originating in Congress, shall have for its object the restoration of a sound circulating medium, so essentially necessary to give confidence in all the transactions of life, to secure to industry its just and adequate rewards, and to re-establish the public prosperity. In deciding upon the adaptation of any such measure to the end proposed, as well as its conformity to the constitution, I shall resort to the fathers of the great republican school for advice and instruction, to be drawn from their sage views of our system of government, and the light of their ever glorious example.

The institutions under which we live, my countrymen, secure each person in the perfect enjoyment of all his rights. The spectacle is exhibited to the world of a government deriving its powers from the consent of the governed, and having imparted to it only so much power as is necessary for its successful operation. Those who are charged with its administration should carefully abstain from all attempts to enlarge the range of powers thus granted to the several departments of the government, other than

by an appeal to the people for additional grants, lest by so doing they disturb that balance which the patriots and statesmen who framed the constitution designed to establish between the federal government and the states composing the Union. The observance of these rules is enjoined upon us by that feeling of reverence and affection which finds a place in the heart of every patriot for the preservation of union and the blessings of union—for the good of our children and our children's children, through countless generations. An opposite course could not fail to generate factions, intent upon the gratification of their selfish ends, to give birth to local and sectional jealousies, and to ultimate either in breaking asunder the bonds of union, or in building up a central system, which would inevitably end in a bloody sceptre and an iron crown.

In conclusion, I beg you to be assured that I shall exert myself to carry the foregoing principles into practice during my administration of the government; and, confiding in the protecting care of an ever-watchful and overruling Providence, it shall be my first and highest duty to preserve unimpaired the free institutions under which we live, and transmit them to those who shall succeed me in their full force and vigor.

JOHN TYLER.

Washington, April 9, 1841.

The principles set forth in this address gave general satisfaction to the country.

The new Congress had been summoned by the late President to meet in extra session on the 31st of May, under the belief that the means at the disposal of the Treasury would be insufficient to carry on the government until the period of the regular session. It was supposed to be necessary, also, to provide additional revenues, in consequence of the existing debt of the country, and the diminished receipts from the customs under the compromise act of 1833. A favorite measure with the victorious party of 1840, was the distribution among the states of the proceeds of the sales of the public lands. A change in the fiscal arrangements of the government, and some general arrangement of the currency, was also in contemplation. On all these great topics, the views of the President were shadowed forth in his first message, as follows:

FELLOW-CITIZENS: You have been assembled in your respective halls of legislation under a proclamation bearing the signature of the illustrious citizen who was so lately called by the direct suffrages of the people to the discharge of the important functions of their chief executive office. Upon the expiration of a single month from the day of his installation, he has paid the great debt of nature, leaving behind him a name associated with the recollection of numerous benefits conferred upon the country during a long life of patriotic devotion. With this public bereavement are connected other considerations, which will not escape the attention of Congress. The preparations necessary for his removal to the seat of government, in view of a residence of four years, must have devolved upon the late President heavy expenditures, which, if permitted to burden the limited resources of his private fortune, may tend to the serious embarrassment of his surviving family; and it is therefore respectfully submitted to Congress whether the ordinary principles of justice would not dictate the propriety of its legislative interposition. By the provisions of the fundamental law, the powers and duties of the high station to which he was elected have devolved upon me; and in the dispositions of the representatives of the states and of the people will be found, to a great extent, a solution of the problem to which our institutions are for the first time subjected.

In entering upon the duties of this office, I did not feel that it would be becoming in me to disturb what had been ordered by my lamented predecessor. Whatever, therefore, may have been my opinion, originally, as to the propriety of convening Congress at so early a day from that of its late adjournment, I found a new and a controlling inducement not to interfere with the patriotic desires of the late President, in the novelty of the situation in which I was so unexpectedly placed. My first wish, under such circumstances, would necessarily have been to have called to my aid, in the administration of public affairs, the combined wisdom of the two Houses of Congress, in order to take their counsel and advice as to the best mode of extricating the government and the country from the embarrassments weighing heavily on both. I am then most happy in finding myself, so soon after my accession to the Presidency, surrounded by the immediate representatives of the states and people.

No important changes having taken place in our foreign relations since the last session of Congress, it is not deemed necessary on this occasion to go into a detailed statement in regard to them. I am happy to say that I see nothing to destroy the hope of being able to preserve peace.

The ratification of the treaty with Portugal has been duly exchanged between the two governments. This government has not been inattentive to the interests of those of our citizens who have claims on the government of Spain, founded on express treaty stipulations; and a hope is indulged that the representations which have been made to that government on this subject may lead, ere long, to beneficial results.

A correspondence has taken place between the Secretary of State and the minister of her Britannic Majesty accredited to this government, on the subject of Alexander M'Leod's indictment and imprisonment, copies of which are herewith communicated to Congress.

In addition to what appears from these papers, it may be proper to state that Alexander M'Leod has been heard by the Supreme Court of the state of New York on his motion to be discharged from imprisonment, and that the decision of that Court has not as yet been pronounced.

The Secretary of State has addressed to me a paper upon two subjects, interesting to the commerce of the country, which will receive my consideration, and which I have the honor to communicate to Congress.

So far as it depends on the course of this government, our relations of good-will and friendship will be sedulously cultivated with all nations. The true American policy will be found to consist in the exercise of a spirit of justice, to be manifested in the discharge of all our international obligations, to the weakest of the family of nations as well as to the most powerful. Occasional conflicts of opinion may arise; but when the discussions incident to them are conducted in the language of truth, and with a strict regard to justice, the scourge of war will for the most part be avoided. The time ought to be regarded as having gone by when a resort to arms is to be esteemed as the only proper arbiter of national differences.

The census recently taken shows a regularly progressive increase in our population Upon the breaking out of the war of the Revolution, our numbers scarcely equalled three millions of souls—they already exceed seventeen millions, and will continue to increase in a ratio which duplicates in a period of about twenty-three years. The old states contain a territory sufficient in itself to maintain a population of additional millions, and the most populous of the new states may even yet be regarded as but partially settled; while of the new lands on this side of the Rocky mountains, to say nothing of the immense region which stretches from the base of those mountains to the mouth of the Columbia river, about 770,000,000 of acres, ceded and unceded, still remain to be brought into market. We hold out to the people of other countries an invitation to come and settle among us as members of our rapidly growing family; and, for the blessings which we offer them, we require of them to look upon our country as their country, and to unite with us in the great task of preserving our institutions, and thereby perpetuating our liberties. No motive exists for foreign conquests. We desire but to reclaim our almost illimitable wildernesses, and to introduce into their depths the lights of civilization. While we shall at all times be prepared to vindicate the national honor, our most earnest desire will be to maintain an unbroken peace.

In presenting the foregoing views, I cannot withhold the expression of the opinion that there exists nothing in the extension of our empire over our acknowledged possessions to excite the alarm of the patriot for the safety of our institutions. The federative system,

leaving to each state the care of its domestic concerns, and devolving on the federal government those of general import, admits in safety of the greatest expansion; but, at the same time, I deem it proper to add that there will be found to exist at all times an imperious necessity for restraining all the functionaries of this government within the range of their respective powers, thereby preserving a just balance between the powers granted to this government and those reserved to the states and to the people.

From the report of the Secretary of the Treasury, you will perceive that the fiscal means, present and accruing, are insufficient to supply the wants of the government for the current year. The balance in the treasury on the fourth day of March last, not covered by outstanding drafts, and exclusive of trust funds, is estimated at $860,000. This includes the sum of $215,000 deposited in the mint and its branches to procure metal for coining, and in the process of coinage, and which could not be withdrawn without inconvenience; thus leaving subject to draft, in the various depositories, the sum of $645,000. By virtue of two several acts of Congress, the Secretary of the Treasury was authorized to issue, on and after the fourth day of March last, treasury notes to the amount of $5,413,000, making an aggregate available fund of $6,058,000 on hand.

But this fund was chargeable with outstanding treasury notes redeemable in the current year, and interest thereon, to the estimated amount of five millions two hundred and eighty thousand dollars. There is also thrown upon the treasury the payment of a large amount of demands accrued in whole or in part in former years, which will exhaust the available means of the treasury, and leave the accruing revenue, reduced as it is in amount, burdened with debt, and charged with the current expenses of the government The aggregate amount of outstanding appropriations on the fourth day of March last, was $33,429,616 50, of which $24,210,000 will be required during the current year; and there will also be required for the use of the War Department additional appropriations to the amount of $2,511,132 98, the special objects of which will be seen by reference to the report of the Secretary of War.

The anticipated means of the treasury are greatly inadequate to this demand. The receipts from customs for the last three quarters of the last year, and the first quarter of the present year, amounted to $12,100,000; the receipts for lands for the same time to $2,742,430 60; showing an average revenue, from both sources, of $1,236,870 per month. A gradual expansion of trade, growing out of a restoration of confidence, together with a reduction in the expenses of collecting, and punctuality on the part of collecting officers, may cause an addition to the monthly receipts from the customs. They are estimated for the residue of the year from the fourth of March, at $12,000,000; the receipts from the public lands for the same time are estimated at $2,500,000; and from miscellaneous sources, at $170,000; making an aggregate of available fund within the year of $14,670,000; which will leave a probable deficit of $11,406,000. To meet this, some temporary provision is necessary, until the amount can be absorbed by the excess of revenues which are anticipated to accrue at no distant day.

There will fall due, within the next three months, treasury notes of the issues of 1840, including interest, about $2,850,000. There is chargeable in the same period for arrearages for taking the sixth census, $294,000; and the estimated expenditures for the current service are about $8,100,000, making the aggregate demand upon the treasury, prior to the first of September next, about $11,340,000.

The ways and means in the treasury, and estimated to accrue within the above named period, consist of about $694,000 of funds available on the 28th ultimo; an unissued balance of treasury notes, authorized by the act of 1841, amounting to $1,955,000, and estimated receipts from all sources of $3,800,000, making an aggregate of about $6,450,000, and leaving a probable deficit on the first of September next of about $4,845,000.

In order to supply the wants of the government, an intelligent constituency, in view of their best interests, will, without hesitation, submit to all necessary burdens. But it is nevertheless important so to impose them as to avoid defeating the just expectations of the country, growing out of pre-existing laws. The act of the 2d March, 1833, commonly called the compromise act, should not be altered except under urgent necessities, which are not believed at this time to exist. One year only remains to complete the series of reductions provided for by that law, at which time provisions made by the same law, and which then will be brought actively in aid of the manufacturing interests of the Union, will not fail to produce the most beneficial results. Under a system of discrim

lating duties imposed for purposes of revenue, in unison with the provisions of existing laws, it is to be hoped that our policy will, in the future, be fixed and permanent, so as to avoid those constant fluctuations which defeat the very objects they have in view. We shall thus best maintain a position which, while it will enable us the more readily to meet the advances of other countries, calculated to promote our trade and commerce, will, at the same time, leave in our own hands the means of retaliating with greater effect unjust regulations.

In intimate connection with the question of revenue, is that which makes provision for a suitable fiscal agent, capable of adding increased facilities in the collection and disbursement of the public revenues, rendering more secure their custody, and consulting a true economy in the great, multiplied, and delicate operations of the Treasury Department. Upon such an agent depends, in an eminent degree, the establishment of a currency of uniform value, which is of so great importance to all the essential interests of society; and on the wisdom to be manifested in its creation, much depends. So intimately interwoven are its operations not only with the interests of individuals, but of states, that it may be regarded in a great degree as controlling both. If paper be used as the chief medium of circulation, and the power be vested in the government of issuing it at pleasure, either in the form of treasury drafts or any other, or if banks be used as the public depositories, with liberty to regard all surpluses, from day to day, as so much added to their active capital, prices are exposed to constant fluctuations, and industry to severe suffering. In the one case, political considerations, directed to party purposes, may control, while excessive cupidity may prevail in the other. The public is thus constantly liable to imposition. Expansions and contractions may follow each other in rapid succession, the one engendering a reckless spirit of adventure and speculation, which embraces states as well as individuals; the other causing a fall in prices, and accomplishing an entire change in the aspect of affairs. Stocks of all kinds rapidly decline—individuals are ruined, and states embarrassed even in their efforts to meet with punctuality the interest on their debts. Such, unhappily, is the condition of things now existing in the United States. These effects may readily be traced to the causes above referred to. The public revenues, on being removed from the then Bank of the United States, under an order of a late President, were placed in selected state banks, which, actuated by the double motive of conciliating the government and augmenting their profits to the greatest possible extent, enlarged extravagantly their discounts, thus enabling all other existing banks to do the same. Large dividends were declared, which, stimulating the cupidity of capitalists, caused a rush to be made to the legislatures of the respective states for similar acts of incorporation, which, by many of the states, under a temporary infatuation, were readily granted; and thus the augmentation of the circulating medium, consisting almost exclusively of paper, produced a most fatal delusion. An illustration, derived from the land sales of the period alluded to, will serve best to show the effect of the whole system. The average sales of the public lands, for a period of ten years prior to 1834, had not much exceeded $2,000,000 per annum. In 1834 they attained, in round numbers, to the amount of $6,000,000. In the succeeding year of 1835, they reached $16,000,000; and in 1836 they amounted to the enormous sum of $25,000,000—thus crowding into the short space of three years upwards of twenty-three years' purchase of the public domain. So apparent had become the necessity of arresting this course of things, that the Executive Department assumed the highly questionable power of discriminating in the funds to be used in payment by different classes of public debtors—a discrimination which was doubtless designed to correct this most ruinous state of things by the exaction of specie in all payments for the public lands, but which could not at once arrest the tide which had so strongly set in. Hence the demands for specie became unceasing, and corresponding prostration rapidly ensued under the necessities created with the banks to curtail their discounts, and thereby to reduce their circulation. I recur to these things with no disposition to censure pre-existing administrations of the government, but simply in exemplification of the truth of the position which I have assumed. If, then, any fiscal agent which may be created shall be placed, without due restrictions, either in the hands of the administrators of the government or those of private individuals, the temptation to abuse will prove to be resistless. Objects of political aggrandizement may seduce the first, and the promptings of a boundless cupidity will assail the last. Aided by the experience of the past, it will be the pleasure of Congress so to guard and fortify the public interests, in the creation of any new agent, as to place them, so far

as human wisdom can accomplish it, on a footing of perfect security. Within a few years past, three different schemes have been before the country. The charter of the Bank of the United States expired by its own limitation in 1836. An effort was made to renew it, which received the sanction of the two Houses of Congress, but the then President of the United States exercised his *veto* power, and the measure was defeated. A regard to truth requires me to say that the President was fully sustained in the course he had taken by the popular voice. His successor in the chair of state unqualifiedly pronounced his opposition to any new charter of a similar institution; and not only the popular election which brought him into power, but the elections through much of his term, seemed clearly to indicate a concurrence with him in sentiment on the part of the people. After the public moneys were withdrawn from the United States Bank, they were placed in deposite with the state banks, and the result of that policy has been before the country. To say nothing as to the question whether that experiment was made under propitious or adverse circumstances, it may safely be asserted that it did receive the unqualified condemnation of most of its early advocates, and it is believed was also condemned by the popular sentiment. The existing sub-treasury system does not seem to stand in higher favor with the people, but has recently been condemned in a manner too plainly indicated to admit of a doubt. Thus, in the short period of eight years, the popular voice may be regarded as having successively condemned each of the three schemes of finance to which I have adverted. As to the first, it was introduced at a time (1816) when the state banks, then comparatively few in number, had been forced to suspend specie payments, by reason of the war which had previously prevailed with Great Britain. Whether, if the United States Bank charter, which expired in 1811, had been renewed in due season, it would have been enabled to continue specie payments during the war, and the disastrous period to the commerce of the country which immediately succeeded, is, to say the least, problematical: and whether the United States Bank of 1816 produced a restoration of specie payments, or the same was accomplished through the instrumentality of other means, was a matter of some difficulty at that time to determine. Certain it is that, for the first years of the operation of that Bank, its course was as disastrous as for the greater part of its subsequent career it became eminently successful. As to the second, the experiment was tried with a redundant treasury, which continued to increase until it seemed to be the part of wisdom to distribute the surplus revenue among the states, which, operating at the same time with the specie circular, and the causes before adverted to, caused them to suspend specie payments, and involved the country in the greatest embarrassment. And, as to the third, if carried through all the stages of its transmutation, from paper and specie to nothing but the precious metals, to say nothing of the insecurity of the public moneys, its injurious effects have been anticipated by the country in its unqualified condemnation. What is now to be regarded as the judgment of the American people on this whole subject, I have no accurate means of determining, but by appealing to their more immediate representatives. The late contest, which terminated in the election of General Harrison to the Presidency, was decided on principles well known, and openly declared: and, while the sub-treasury received in the result the most decided condemnation, yet no other scheme of finance seemed to have been concurred in. To you, then, who have come more directly from the body of our common constituents, I submit the entire question, as best qualified to give a full exposition of their wishes and opinions. I shall be ready to concur with you in the adoption of such system as you may propose, reserving to myself the ultimate power of rejecting any measure which may, in my view of it, conflict with the constitution, or otherwise jeopard the prosperity of the country—a power which I could not part with, even if I would, but which I will not believe any act of yours will call into requisition.

I cannot avoid recurring, in connection with this subject, to the necessity which exists for adopting some suitable measure whereby the unlimited creation of banks by the states may be corrected in future. Such result can be most readily achieved by the consent of the states, to be expressed in the form of a compact among themselves, which they can only enter into with the consent and approbation of this government—a consent which, in the present emergency of the public demands, may justifiably be given by Congress in advance of any action by the states, as an inducement to such action, upon terms well defined by the act of tender. Such a measure, addressing itself to the calm reflection of the states, would find, in the experience of the past and the condition of the present, much to sustain it. And it is greatly to be doubted whether any scheme of finance can

prove for any length of time successful, while the states shall continue in the unrestrained exercise of the power of creating banking corporations. This power can only be limited by their consent.

With the adoption of a financial agency of a satisfactory character, the hope may be indulged that the country may once more return to a state of prosperity. Measures auxiliary thereto, and in some measure inseparably connected with its success, will doubtless claim the attention of Congress. Among such, a distribution of the proceeds of the sales of the public lands, provided such distribution does not force upon Congress the necessity of imposing upon commerce heavier burdens than those contemplated by the act of 1833, would act as an efficient remedial measure, by being brought directly in aid of the states As one sincerely devoted to the task of preserving a just balance in our system of government, by the maintenance of the states in a condition the most free and respectable, and in the full possession of all their power, I can no otherwise than feel desirous for their emancipation from the situation to which the pressure on their finances now subjects them. And while I must repudiate, as a measure founded in error, and wanting constitutional sanction, the slightest approach to an assumption by this government of the debts of the states, yet I can see, in the distribution adverted to, much to recommend it. The compacts between the proprietor states and this government expressly guaranty to the states all the benefits which may arise from the sales. The mode by which this is to be effected addresses itself to the discretion of Congress, as the trustee for the states; and its exercise, after the most beneficial manner, is restrained by nothing in the grants or in the constitution, so long as Congress shall consult that equality in the distribution which the compacts require. In the present condition of some of the states, the question of distribution may be regarded as substantially a question between direct and indirect taxation. If the distribution be not made in some form of other, the necessity will daily become more urgent with the debtor states for a resort to an oppressive system of direct taxation, or their credit, and necessarily their power and influence, will be greatly diminished. The payment of taxes, after the most inconvenient and oppressive mode, will be exacted in place of contributions for the most part voluntarily made, and therefore comparatively unoppressive. The states are emphatically the constituents of this government; and we should be entirely regardless of the objects held in view by them in the creation of this government, if we could be indifferent to their good. The happy effects of such a measure upon all the states would immediately be manifested. With the debtor states, it would effect the relief, to a great extent, of the citizens from a heavy burden of direct taxation, which presses with severity on the laboring classes, and eminently assist in restoring the general prosperity. An immediate advance would take place in the price of the state securities, and the attitude of the states would become once more, as it should ever be, lofty and erect. With states laboring under no extreme pressure from debt, the fund which they would derive from this source would enable them to improve their condition in an eminent degree. So far as this government is concerned, appropriations to domestic objects, approaching in amount the revenue derived from the land sales, might be abandoned; and thus a system of unequal and therefore unjust legislation would be substituted by one dispensing equality to all the members of this confederacy. Whether such distribution should be made directly to the states in the proceeds of the sales, or in the form of profits by virtue of the operations of any fiscal agency having these proceeds as its basis, should such measure be contemplated by Congress, would well deserve its consideration. Nor would such disposition of the proceeds of the sales in any manner prevent Congress, from time to time, from passing all necessary pre-emption laws for the benefit of actual settlers, or from making any new arrangement as to the price of the public lands, which might in future be esteemed desirable.

I beg leave particularly to call your attention to the accompanying report from the Secretary of War. Besides the present state of the war which has so long afflicted the Territory of Florida, and the various other matters of interest therein referred to, you will learn from it that the Secretary has instituted an inquiry into abuses, which promises to develope gross enormities in connection with Indian treaties which have been negotiated, as well as in the expenditures for the removal and subsistence of the Indians. He represents, also, other irregularities of a serious nature that have grown up in the practice of the Indian Department, which will require the appropriation of upwards of $200,000 to correct, and which claim the immediate attention of Congress.

In reflecting on the proper means of defending the country, we cannot shut our eyes

to the consequences which the introduction and use of the power of steam upon the ocean are likely to produce in wars between maritime states. We cannot yet see the extent to which this power may be applied in belligerent operations, connecting itself as it does with recent improvements in the science of gunnery and projectiles; but we need have no fear of being left, in regard to these things, behind the most active and skilful of other nations, if the genius and enterprise of our fellow-citizens receive proper encouragement and direction from government.

True wisdom would, nevertheless, seem to dictate the necessity of placing in perfect condition those fortifications which are designed for the protection of our principal cities and roadsteads. For the defence of our extended maritime coast, our chief reliance should be placed on our navy, aided by those inventions which are destined to recommend themselves to public adoption. But no time should be lost in placing our principal cities on the seaboard and the lakes in a state of entire security from foreign assault. Separated as we are from the countries of the old world, and in much unaffected by their policy, we are happily relieved from the necessity of maintaining large standing armies in times of peace. The policy which was adopted by Mr. Monroe, shortly after the conclusion of the late war with Great Britain, of preserving a regularly organized staff, sufficient for the command of a large military force, should the necessity for one arise, is founded as well in economy as in true wisdom. Provision is thus made, upon filling up the rank and file, which can readily be done on any emergency, for the introduction of a system of discipline, both promptly and efficiently. All that is required in time of peace is to maintain a sufficient number of men to guard our fortifications, to meet any sudden contingency, and to encounter the first shock of war. Our chief reliance must be placed on the militia. They constitute the great body of national guards, and, inspired by an ardent love of country, will be found ready at all times and at all seasons to repair with alacrity to its defence. It will be regarded by Congress, I doubt not, at a suitable time, as one of its highest duties, to attend to their complete organization and discipline.

By the report of the Secretary of the Navy, it will be seen that the state of the navy pension fund requires the immediate attention of Congress. By the operation of the act of the 3d of March, 1837, entitled "An act for the more equitable administration of the navy pension fund," that fund has been exhausted. It will be seen that there will be required for the payment of navy pensions, on the first of July next, $88,706 06, and on the first of January, 1842, the sum of $69,000. In addition to these sums, about $6,000 will be required to pay arrears of pensions which will probably be allowed between the first of July and the first of January, 1842, making in the whole $163,706 06. To meet these payments, there is within the control of the department the sum of $23,040, leaving a deficit of $139,666 06. The public faith requires that immediate provision should be made for the payment of these sums.

In order to introduce into the navy a desirable efficiency, a new system of accountability may be found to be indispensably necessary. To mature a plan having for its object the accomplishment of an end so important, and to meet the just expectations of the country, require more time than has yet been allowed to the Secretary at the head of that department. The hope is indulged that, by the time of your next regular session, measures of importance, in connection with this branch of the public service, may be matured for your consideration.

Although the laws regulating the Post Office Department only require from the officer charged with its direction to report at the usual annual session of Congress, the Postmaster-General has presented to me some facts connected with the financial condition of the department, which are deemed worthy the attention of Congress. By the accompanying report of that officer, it appears that the existing liabilities of that department, beyond the means of payment at its command, cannot be less than $500,000. As the laws organizing that branch of the public service confine the expenditure to its own revenue, deficiencies therein cannot be presented under the usual estimates for the expenses of the government. It must therefore be left to Congress to determine whether the messages now due to contractors shall be paid from the public treasury, or whether that department shall continue under its present embarrassments. It will be seen by the report of the Postmaster-General, that the recent lettings of contracts in several of the states have been made at such reduced rates of compensation, as to encourage the belief that if the department was relieved from existing difficulties, its future operations might be conducted without any further call upon the general treasury.

The power of appointing to office is one of a character the most delicate and responsible. The appointing power is evermore exposed to be led into error. With anxious solicitude to select the most trustworthy for official station, I cannot be supposed to possess a personal knowledge of the qualifications of every applicant. I deem it therefore proper, in this most public manner, to invite, on the part of the Senate, a just scrutiny into the character and pretensions of every person whom I may bring to their notice in the regular form of a nomination for office. Unless persons every way trustworthy are employed in the public service, corruption and irregularity will inevitably follow. I shall, with the greatest cheerfulness, acquiesce in the decision of that body; and, regarding it as wisely constituted to aid the Executive department in the performance of this delicate duty, I shall look to its "consent and advice" as given only in furtherance of the best interests of the country. I shall also, at the earliest proper occasion, invite the attention of Congress to such measures as in my judgment will be best calculated to regulate and control the Executive power in reference to this vitally important subject.

I shall also, at the proper season, invite your attention to the statutory enactments for the suppression of the slave trade, which may require to be rendered more efficient in their provisions. There is reason to believe that the traffic is on the increase. Whether such increase is to be ascribed to the abolition of slave labor in the British possessions in our vicinity, and an attendant diminution in the supply of those articles which enter into the general consumption of the world, thereby augmenting the demand from other quarters, and thus calling for additional labor, it were needless to inquire. The highest considerations of public honor, as well as the strongest promptings of humanity, require a resort to the most vigorous efforts to suppress the trade.

In conclusion, I beg leave to invite your particular attention to the interests of this District. Nor do I doubt but that, in a liberal spirit of legislation, you will seek to advance its commercial as well as its local interests. Should Congress deem it to be its duty to repeal the existing sub-treasury law, the necessity of providing a suitable place of deposite for the public moneys which may be required within the District, must be apparent to all.

I have felt it due to the country to present the foregoing topics to your consideration and reflection. Others, with which it might not seem proper to trouble you at an extraordinary session, will be laid before you at a future day. I am happy in committing the important affairs of the country into your hands. The tendency of public sentiment, I am pleased to believe, is towards the adoption, in a spirit of union and harmony, of such measures as will fortify the public interests. To cherish such a tendency of public opinion, is the task of an elevated patriotism. That differences of opinion as to the means of accomplishing these desirable objects should exist, is reasonable to be expected. Nor can all be made satisfied with any system of measures. But I flatter myself with the hope that the great body of the people will readily unite in support of those whose efforts spring from a disinterested desire to promote their happiness; to preserve the federal and state governments within their respective orbits; to cultivate peace with all the nations of the earth, on just and honorable grounds; to exact obedience to the laws; to intrench liberty and property in full security; and, consulting the most rigid economy, to abolish all useless expenses.

JOHN TYLER

WASHINGTON, June 1, 1841.

JAMES K. POLK.

James K. Polk is the eldest of ten children, was born in the county of Muhlenberg, North Carolina, on the second day of November, 1795, and is consequently now* in the fiftieth year of his age. His ancestral name was Pollock, but has, by a transition not unusual, assumed its present curtailed form. His ancestors, nearly a century and a half ago, emigrated from Ireland to this country, and established themselves in Maryland, where some of their descendants still reside. The branch of the family from which the President of the United States sprung, removed to the neighborhood of Carlisle, in Pennsylvania, and from thence to the western frontier of North Carolina, sometime before the commencement of the revolutionary war. Its connection with that eventful struggle is one of the most brilliant description. The great uncle of James K. Polk, Col. Thomas Polk, was the prime mover, in the noble part pursued by the inhabitants of Muhlenberg county, when they publicly absolved themselves from their allegiance to the British crown, and issued a formal manifesto of independence. The Alexanders, Chairman and Secretary of the famous meeting, as well as Dr. Ephraim Brevard, the author of the declaration itself, were also relatives of this family. In the contest for independence, several of Mr. Polk's relatives distinguished themselves, even to the pern of life. To be allied to such a people and lineage, is indeed a fit subject for honorable pride. Liberty does not frown upon the indulgence of a sentiment so natural. She does not reject the heritage of honor, while refusing to add to it, social or political distinctions subversive of equal rights. The American people have always manifested an affectionate regard for those who bear the names of the heroes or martyrs of the revolution. They furnish not a proof of the alleged ingratitude of republics. The father of Mr. Polk was an unpretending, unassuming farmer, who, thrown upon his own resources in early life, became the architect of his own fortunes. He was a warm supporter of Mr. Jefferson, and through life a firm and consistent republican. In 1806 he removed to Tennessee, where he was among the first pioneers of a then wilderness, but now the most flourishing and populous portion of that State. In this region Mr. Polk still resides, so that he may be said, literally, to have grown with its growth and strengthened with its strength. The opportunities for instruction in this infant settlement, could not of course be great. Notwithstanding this disadvantage, and the still more formidable one, of a painful affliction, from which, after years of suffering, he was finally relieved by a surgical operation—Mr. Polk acquired the elements of a good English education. From the

* 1845

delicate nature of his constitution, his father determined, much against the will of his son, to educate him for commercial pursuits; and with this view, actually placed him in a merchant's counting-room. He remained but a very short period in a position so distasteful and so adverse to his wishes. His constant and urgent appeals finally overcame the resistance of his father. He was, in 1813, placed first under the care of the Rev. Dr. Henderson, and subsequently, at the Academy of Murfreesborough, Tennessee, then under the direction of Mr. Samuel P. Black. In 1815 he entered in the University of North Carolina, and graduated in 1818 with the highest distinction of his class, and with the reputation of being the first scholar in both the mathematics and classics. Of the former science he was passionately fond, though equally distinguished as a linguist. His course at college was marked by the same assiduity and studious application which have since characterized him. So carefully has Mr. Polk avoided the pedantry of classical display, which is the false taste of our day and country, as almost to hide the acquisitions which distinguished his early career. His preference for the useful and substantial, indicated by his youthful passion for the mathematics, has made him select a style of elocution which would perhaps be deemed too plain by the shallow admirers of flashy declamation.

Returning to Tennessee, from the State which is, in two senses, his *alma mater*, with health greatly impaired by laborious application, Mr. Polk, in 1819, commenced the study of the law, in the office of Senator Grundy, and late in 1820 was admitted to the bar. He commenced his professional career in Maury county, and from the connection of his family with its early settlement, pursued his calling with great advantages. But his success was due to his personal qualities, still more than to extrinsic advantages. His thorough academical preparation, his accurate knowledge of the law, his readiness and resources in debate, his unwearied application to business, secured him, at once, full employment, and in less than one year he was already a leading practitioner. Such prompt success in a profession, where the early stages are proverbially slow and discouraging, falls to the lot of few.

In 1823 Mr. Polk entered the political arena, being chosen to represent his County in the State Legislature, by a heavy majority over the former incumbent. He was for two successive years, a member of that body, where his ability in debate, and talent for business, at once gave him reputation. In August, 1825, Mr. Polk, being then in his thirtieth year, was chosen to represent his district in Congress, and in the ensuing December, took his seat in that body, where he remained until 1838. From his early youth he was an unwavering, sterling republican. He ever regarded the Constitution of the United States as an instrument of specific and limited powers, and that is at the very foundation of the democratic creed. He took ground early against the constitutionality, as well as the expediency, of a National Bank; and in August, 1829, consequently several months before the appearance of General Jackson's first message, announced then his opinions in a published letter to his constituents. He has ever been opposed to an oppressive tariff protec-

tion and was at all times the strenuous advocate of a reduction of the revenue to the economical wants of the Government.

When Mr. Polk entered Congress, he was, with one or two exceptions, the junior member of that body. He made his first speech in Congress in favor of the proposition to amend the Constitution in such a manner as to give the choice of President and Vice President immediately and irreversibly to the People, and this address at once attracted the attention of the country by the force of his reasoning, the copiousness of its research, and the spirit of honest indignation by which it was animated. From this time Mr. Polk's history is inseparably interwoven with that of the House. He is prominently connected with every important question, and upon every one, as by an unerring instinct of republicanism, took the soundest and broadest ground. During the whole period of General Jackson's administration, as long as he retained a seat on the floor, he was one of its leading supporters, and at times, and on certain questions of paramount importance, its chief reliance. In December, 1827, two years after his entrance in the House, Mr. Polk was placed on the important Committee on Foreign Affairs, and some time after was appointed, in addition, chairman of the select committee to which was referred that portion of the President's message calling the attention of Congress to a probable accumulation of a surplus in the Treasury, after the anticipated extinguishment of the national debt.

During the session of 1830, Mr. Polk distinguished himself by his manly and uncompromising course upon many important measures; such as the "Maysville Road Bill," and the "Buffalo and New Orleans Road Bill."

In December, 1832, Mr. Polk was transferred to the Committee of Ways and Means, with which his connection has been so distinguished. At that session the Directors of the Bank of the United States were summoned to Washington, and examined on oath before that committee. A division of opinion resulted in the presentation of two reports. That of the majority leaning in favor of the Bank, but admitting it had exceeded its lawful powers. Mr. Polk, in behalf of the minority, made a detailed report, communicating all the material circumstances, and presenting conclusions utterly adverse to the institution which had been the subject of inquiry. This arrayed against his re-election a powerful opposition, but, after a violent contest, Mr. Polk was re-elected by a majority of over three thousand.

In September, 1833, the President determined upon the bold measure of the removal of the deposites from the United States Bank, which was effected in the following month. This act produced much excitement throughout the country, and it was foreseen that a great and doubtful contest was about to ensue. At such a crisis it became important to have at the head of the Committee of Ways and Means a man of courage to meet, and firmness to sustain, the formidable shock. Such a man was found in Mr. Polk, and he proved himself equal to the occasion. Although opposed by such men as Mr. McDuffie, Adams and Binney, Mr. Polk, as leader of the opposition to the Bank, carried through and

sustained the measures of the President; and Mr. McDuffie, the distinguished leader of the Bank cause in this conflict, bore testimony, in his concluding remarks, to the "boldness and manliness" with which Mr. Polk had assumed the only position which could be judiciously taken.

Towards the close of the session of 1834, Mr. Stevenson resigned the Speaker's chair, as well as his seat in the House. Mr. Polk was nominated by the Democratic party in the House to succeed him, but, in consequence of a division in their ranks, he was defeated.

In 1835, Mr. Polk was elected Speaker of the House, and was again chosen at the following session. During the first session he presided more appeals were taken from his decision than had occurred in the whole period since the origin of the Government; but he was uniformly sustained by the House, and by many of his political adversaries. Notwithstanding the violence with which he had been assailed, Congress passed, at the close of the session in 1837, a unanimous vote of thanks to its presiding officer, from whom it separated with the kindest feelings; and no man, now, could enjoy its confidence and friendship in a higher degree. His calmness and good temper had allayed the violence of opposition, in a station for which his quickness, coolness and sagacity, eminently qualified him.

After leaving the House, Mr. Polk was elected Governor of the State of Tennessee, by an overwhelming majority, and filled that office for one term with ability and his usual firmness and promptitude of character; and, upon his term of office expiring, retired to private life, to enjoy the fruits of his early industry, and repose upon the laurels he had won in the National Councils.

In 1844, Mr. Polk was nominated by the Democratic party as their candidate for the Presidency. Mr. Van Buren, Calhoun, Johnson, Cass, Buchanan, being also candidates for the nomination, the selection of Mr. Polk was flattering to his friends, and was considered as a mark of commendation for his faithful public services. After a bitter and desperately fought contest, Mr. Polk was elected President of the United States, by a handsome majority over Mr. Clay, his opponent, and was, on the 4th day of March, 1845, inducted into the Presidential Chair of office, when he promulgated the following

INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

Fellow-Citizens:

Without solicitation on my part, I have been chosen by the free and voluntary suffrages of my countrymen, to the most honorable and most responsible office on earth. I am deeply impressed with gratitude for the confidence reposed in me. Honored with this distinguished consideration at an earlier period of life than any of my predecessors, I cannot disguise the diffidence with which I am about to enter on the discharge of my official duties.

If the more aged and experienced men who have filled the office of President of the United States, even in the infancy of the republic, distrusted their ability to discharge the duties of that exalted station, what ought not to be the apprehensions of one so much younger and less endowed, now that our domain extends from ocean to ocean, and our

people have so greatly increased in numbers, and at a time when so great diversity of opinion prevails in regard to the principles and policy which should characterize the administration of our government? Well may the boldest fear, and the wisest tremble, when incurring responsibilities on which may depend our country's peace and prosperity, and, in some degree, the hopes and the happiness of the whole human family.

In assuming responsibilities so vast, I fervently invoke the aid of that Almighty Ruler of the universe, in whose hands are the destinies of nations and of men, to guard this heaven-favored land against the mischiefs which, without His guidance, might arise from an unwise public policy. With a firm reliance upon the wisdom of Omnipotence to sustain and direct me in the path of duty which I am appointed to pursue, I stand in the presence of this assembled multitude of my countrymen, to take upon myself the solemn obligation, "to the best of my ability, to preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States."

A concise enumeration of the principles which will guide me in the administrative policy of the government, is not only in accordance with the examples set me by all my predecessors, but is eminently befitting the occasion.

The constitution itself, plainly written as it is, the safeguard of our federative compact, the offspring of concession and compromise, binding together in the bonds of peace and union this great and increasing family of free and independent States, will be the chart by which I shall be directed.

It will be my first care to administer the government in the true spirit of that instrument, and to assume no powers not expressly granted, or clearly implied in its terms. The government of the United States is one of delegated and limited powers; and it is by a strict adherence to the clearly granted powers, and by abstaining from the exercise of doubtful or unauthorized implied powers, that we have the only sure guaranty against the recurrence of those unfortunate collisions between the Federal and State authorities, which have occasionally so much disturbed the harmony of our system, and even threatened the perpetuity of our glorious Union.

"To the States respectively, or to the people," have been reserved "the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States." Each State is a complete sovereignty within the sphere of its reserved powers. The Government of the Union, acting within the sphere of its delegated authority, is also a complete sovereignty. While the General Government should abstain from the exercise of authority not clearly delegated to it, the States should be equally careful that, in the maintenance of their rights, they do not overstep the limits of powers reserved to them. One of the most distinguished of my predecessors attached deserved importance to "the support of the State Governments in all their rights, as the most competent administration for our domestic concerns, and the surest bulwark against anti-republican tendencies;" and to the "preservation of the General Government in its whole constitutional vigor, as the sheet-anchor of our peace at home, and safety abroad."

To the Government of the United States has been intrusted the exclusive management of our Foreign Affairs. Beyond that, it wields a few general enumerated powers. It does not force reform on the States. It leaves individuals, over whom it casts its protecting influence, entirely free to improve their own condition by the legitimate exercise of all their mental and physical powers. It is a common protector of each and all the States; of every man who lives upon our soil, whether of native or foreign birth; of every religious sect, in their worship of the Almighty according to the dictates of their own conscience; of every shade of opinion, and the most free inquiry; of every art, trade and occupation, consistent with the laws of the States. And we rejoice in the general happiness, prosperity and advancement of our country, which have been the offspring of Freedom, not of Power.

This most admirable and wisest system of well-regulated self-government among men, ever devised by human minds, has been tested by its successful operation for more than half a century; and, if preserved from the usurpations of the Federal Government on the one hand, and the exercise by the States of powers not reserved to them on the other, will, I fervently hope and believe, endure for ages to come, and dispense the blessings of civil and religious liberty to distant generations. To effect objects so dear to every patriot, I shall devote myself with anxious solicitude. It will be my desire to guard against that most fruitful source of danger to the harmonious action of our system, which consists in substituting the mere discretion and caprice of the Executive, or of majorities in the legislative department of the Government, for powers which have been withheld from the Federal Government by the Constitution. By the theory of our Government, majorities rule; but

this right is not an arbitrary or unlimited one. It is a right to be exercised in subordination to the Constitution, and in conformity to it. One great object of the Constitution was to restrain majorities from oppressing minorities, or encroaching upon their just rights. Minorities have a right to appeal to the Constitution, as a shield against such oppression.

That the blessings of liberty which our Constitution secures may be enjoyed alike by minorities and majorities, the Executive has been wisely invested with a qualified veto upon the acts of the Legislature. It is a negative power, and is conservative in its character. It arrests for the time hasty, inconsiderate, or unconstitutional legislation; invites re-consideration, and transfers questions at issue between the Legislative and Executive departments of the tribunal of the people. Like all other powers, it is subject to be abused. When judiciously and properly exercised, the Constitution itself may be saved from infraction, and the rights of all preserved and protected.

The inestimable value of our federal Union is felt and acknowledged by all. By this system of united and confederated States, our people are permitted, collectively and individually, to seek their own happiness in their own way; and the consequences have been most auspicious. Since the Union was formed, the number of States has increased from thirteen to twenty-eight; two of these have taken their position as members of the confederacy within the last week. Our population has increased from three to twenty millions. New communities and states are seeking protection under its ægis, and multitudes from the Old World are flocking to our shores to participate in its blessings. Beneath its benign sway, peace and prosperity prevail. Freed from the burdens and miseries of war, our trade and intercourse have extended throughout the world. Mind, no longer tasked in devising means to accomplish or resist schemes of ambition, usurpation, or conquest, is devoting itself to man's true interests, in developing his faculties and powers, and the capacity of nature to minister to his enjoyments. Genius is free to announce its inventions and discoveries: and the hand is free to accomplish whatever the head conceives, not incompatible with the rights of a fellow-being. All distinctions of birth or of rank have been abolished. All citizens, whether native or adopted, are placed upon terms of precise equality. All are entitled to equal rights and equal protection. No union exists between church and state; and perfect freedom of opinion is guaranteed to all sects and creeds.

These are some of the blessings secured to our happy land by our federal Union. To perpetuate them, it is our sacred duty to preserve it. Who shall assign limits to the achievements of free minds and free hands, under the protection of this glorious Union? No treason to mankind since the organization of society, would be equal in atrocity to that of him who would lift his hand to destroy it. He would overthrow the noblest structure of human wisdom, which protects himself and his fellow-man. He would stop the progress of free government, and involve his country either in anarchy or despotism. He would extinguish the fire of liberty which warms and animates the hearts of happy millions, and invites all the nations of the earth to imitate our example. If he say that error and wrong are committed in the administration of the government, let him remember that nothing human can be perfect; and that under no other system of government revealed by Heaven, or devised by man, has reason been allowed so free and broad a scope to combat error. Has the swords of despots proved to be a safer or surer instrument of reform in government, than enlightened reason? Does he expect to find among the ruins of this Union a happier abode for our swarming millions than they now have under it? Every lover of his country must shudder at the thought of the possibility of its dissolution, and will be ready to adopt the patriotic sentiment, "Our federal Union—it must be preserved." To preserve it, the compromises which alone enabled our fathers to form a common constitution for the government and protection of so many States and distinct communities, of such diversified habits, interests, and domestic institutions, must be sacredly and religiously observed. Any attempt to disturb or destroy these compromises, being terms of the compact of Union, can lead to none other than the most ruinous and disastrous consequences.

It is a source of deep regret that, in some sections of our country, misguided persons have occasionally indulged in schemes of agitations, whose object is the destruction of domestic institutions existing in other sections—institutions which existed at the adoption of the Constitution, and were recognized and protected by it. All must see that if it were possible for them to be successful in attaining their object, the dissolution of the Union, and the consequent destruction of our happy form of government, must speedily follow.

I am happy to believe that at every period of our existence as a nation, there has existed, and continues to exist, among the great mass of our people, a devotion to the Union of the

States, which will shield and protect it against the moral treason of any who would seriously contemplate its destruction. To secure a continuance of that devotion, the compromises of the Constitution must not only be preserved, but sectional jealousies and heart-burnings must be discountenanced; and all should remember, that they are members of the same political family, having a common destiny. To increase the attachment of our people to the Union, our laws should be just. Any policy which shall tend to favor monopolies, or the peculiar interests of sections or classes, must operate to the prejudice of the interests of their fellow-citizens, and should be avoided. If the compromises of the Constitution be preserved —if sectional jealousies and heart-burnings, be discountenanced—if our laws be just, and the government be practically administered strictly within the limits of power prescribed to it—we may discard all apprehensions for the safety of the Union.

With these views of the nature, character, and objects of the Government, and the value of the Union, I shall steadily oppose the creation of those institutions and systems which, in their nature, tend to pervert it from its legitimate purposes, and make it the instrument of sections, classes, and individuals. We need no National Banks, or other extraneous institutions, planted around the Government to control or strengthen it in opposition to the will of its authors. Experience has taught us how unnecessary they are as auxiliaries of the public authorities, how impotent for good, and how powerful for mischief.

Ours was intended to be a plain and frugal Government; and I shall regard it to be my duty to recommend to Congress, and, as far as the Executive is concerned, to enforce by all the means within my power, the strictest economy in the expenditure of the public money, which may be compatible with the public interests.

A National Debt has become almost an institution of European monarchies. It is viewed, in some of them, as an essential prop to existing governments. Melancholy is the condition of that people whose government can be sustained only by a system which periodically transfers large amounts from the labor of the many to the coffers of the few. Such a system is incompatible with the ends for which our Republican Government was instituted. Under a wise policy, the debts contracted in our Revolution, and during the war of 1812, have been happily extinguished. By a judicious application of the revenues, not required for other necessary purposes, it is not doubted that the debt which has grown out of the circumstances of the last few years may be speedily paid off.

I congratulate my fellow-citizens on the entire restoration of the credit of the General Government of the Union, and that of many of the States. Happy would it be for the indebted States if they were freed from their liabilities, many of which were incautiously contracted. Although the Government of the Union is neither in a legal nor a moral sense bound for the debts of the States, and it would be a violation of our compact of Union to assume them, yet we cannot but feel a deep interest in seeing all the States meet their public liabilities, and pay off their just debts, at the earliest practicable period. That they will do so as soon as it can be done without imposing too heavy burdens on their citizens, there is no reason to doubt. The sound, moral and honorable feeling of the people of the indebted States, cannot be questioned; and we are happy to perceive a settled disposition on their part, as their ability returns, after a season of unexampled pecuniary embarrassment, to pay off all just demands, and to acquiesce in any reasonable measures to accomplish that object.

One of the difficulties which we have had to encounter in the practical administration of the Government, consists in the adjustment of our revenue laws, and the levy of the taxes necessary for the support of government. In the general proposition, that no more money shall be collected than the necessities of an economical administration shall require, all parties seem to acquiesce. Nor does there seem to be any material difference of opinion as to the absence of right in the government to tax one section of country, or one class of citizens, or one occupation, for the mere profit of another. "Justice and sound policy forbid the federal government to foster one branch of industry to the detriment of another, or to cherish the interests of one portion to the injury of another portion of our common country." I have heretofore declared to my fellow-citizens that, in "my judgment, it is the duty of the government to extend, as far as it may be practicable to do so, by its revenue laws, and all other means within its power, fair and just protection to all the great interests of the whole Union, embracing agriculture, manufactures, the mechanic arts, commerce, and navigation." I have also declared my opinion to be "in favor of a tariff for revenue," and that "in adjusting the details of such a tariff, I have sanctioned such moderate discriminating duties as would produce the amount of revenue needed, and, at the same time, afford reasonable

incidental protection to our home industry;" and that I was 'opposed to a tariff for protection merely, and not for revenue."

The power to "lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises," was an indispensable one to be conferred on the Federal Government, which, without it, would possess no means of providing for its own support. In executing this power, by levying a Tariff of duties for the support of Government, the raising of *revenue* should be the *object*, and *protection* the *incident*. To reverse this principle, and make *protection* the *object*, and *revenue* the *incident*, would be to inflict manifest injustice upon all other than the protected interests. In levying duties for revenue, it is doubtless proper to make such discriminations within the *revenue principle*, as will afford incidental protection to our home interests. Within the revenue limit, there is a discretion to discriminate; beyond that limit, the rightful exercise of the power is not conceded. The incidental protection afforded to our home interests by discriminations within the revenue range, it is believed will be ample. In making discriminations, all our home interests should, as far as practicable, be equally protected. The largest portion of our people are agriculturists. Others are employed in manufactures, commerce, navigation, and the mechanic arts. They are all engaged in their respective pursuits, and their joint labors constitute the National or home industry. To tax one branch of this home industry for the benefit of another, would be unjust. No one of these interests can rightfully claim an advantage over the others, or to be enriched by impoverishing the others. All are equally entitled to the fostering care and protection of the Government. In exercising a sound discretion in levying discriminating duties within the limit prescribed, care should be taken that it be done in a manner not to benefit the wealthy few, at the expense of the toiling millions, by taxing *lowest* the luxuries of life, or articles of superior quality and high price, which can only be consumed by the wealthy; and *highest* the necessaries of life, or articles of coarse quality and low price, which the poor and great mass of our people must consume. The burdens of Government should, as far as practicable, be distributed justly and equally among all classes of our population. These general views, long entertained on this subject, I have deemed it proper to reiterate. It is a subject upon which conflicting interests of sections and occupations are supposed to exist, and a spirit of mutual concession and compromise in adjusting its details should be cherished by every part of our wide-spread country as the only means of preserving harmony and a cheerful acquiescence of all in the operation of our revenue laws. Our patriotic citizens in every part of the Union will readily submit to the payment of such taxes as shall be needed for the support of their Government, whether in peace or in war, if they are so levied as to distribute the burdens as equally as possible among them.

The republic of Texas has made known her desire to come into our Union, to form a part of our confederacy, and enjoy with us the blessings of liberty, secured and guaranteed by our constitution. Texas was once a part of our country—was unwisely ceded away to a foreign power—is now independent, and possesses an undoubted right to dispose of a part or the whole of her territory, and to merge her sovereignty, as a separate and independent State in ours. I congratulate my country that, by an act of the late Congress of the United States, the assent of this government has been given to the re-union; and it only remains for the two countries to agree upon the terms, to consummate an object so important to both.

I regard the question of Annexation as belonging exclusively to the United States and Texas. They are independent powers, competent to contract; and foreign nations have no right to interfere with them, or to take exceptions to their re-union. Foreign powers do not seem to appreciate the true character of our Government. Our Union is a confederation of independent States, whose policy is peace with each other and all the world. To enlarge its limits is to extend the dominions of peace over additional territories and increasing millions. The world has nothing to fear from military ambition in our Government. While the Chief Magistrate and the popular branch of Congress are elected for short terms by the suffrages of those millions who must, in their own persons, bear all the burdens and miseries of war, our Government cannot be otherwise than pacific. Foreign powers should, therefore, look on the Annexation of Texas to the United States, not as the conquest of a nation seeking to extend her dominions by arms and violence, but as the peaceful acquisition of a territory once her own, by adding another member to our confederation with the consent of that member—thereby diminishing the chances of war, and opening to them new and ever-increasing markets for their products.

To Texas the re-union is important, because the strong protecting arm of our Government will be extended over her, and the vast resources of her fertile soil and genial climate

would be speedily developed, while the safety of New-Orleans, and of our whole south-western frontier against hostile aggression, as well as the interests of the whole Union, would be promoted by it.

In the earlier stages of our National existence, the opinion prevailed with some, that our system of confederated States could not operate successfully over an extended territory, and serious objections have, at different times, been made to the enlargement of our boundaries. These objections were earnestly urged when we acquired Louisiana. Experience has shown that they were not well founded. The title of numerous Indian tribes to vast tracts of country has been extinguished. New States have been admitted into the Union. New Territories have been created, and our jurisdiction and laws extended over them. As our population has expanded, the Union has been cemented and strengthened. As our boundaries have been enlarged, and our agricultural population has been spread over a large surface, our federative system has acquired additional strength and security. It may well be doubted whether it would not be in greater danger of overthrow, if our present population were confined to the comparatively narrow limits of the original thirteen States, than it is, now that they are sparsely settled over a more expanded territory. It is confidently believed that our system may be safely extended to the utmost bounds of our territorial limits: and that, as it shall be extended, the bonds of our Union, so far from being weakened, will become stronger.

None can fail to see the danger to our safety and future peace, if Texas remains an independent State, or becomes an ally or dependency of some foreign nation more powerful than herself. Is there one among our citizens who would not prefer perpetual peace with Texas, to occasional wars, which so often occur between bordering independent nations? Is there one who would not prefer free intercourse with her, to high duties on all our products and manufactures which enter our ports or cross her frontiers? Is there one who would not prefer an unrestricted communication with her citizens, to the frontier obstructions which must occur if she remains out of the Union? Whatever is good or evil in the local institutions of Texas, will remain her own, whether annexed to the United States or not. None of the present States will be responsible for them, any more than they are for the local institutions of each other. They have confederated together for certain specified objects. Upon the same principle that they would refuse to form a perpetual union with Texas because of her local institutions, our forefathers would have been prevented from forming our present Union. Perceiving no valid objection to the measure, and many reasons for its adoption, vitally affecting the peace, the safety, and the prosperity of both countries, I shall, on the broad principle which formed the basis and produced the adoption of our constitution, and not in any narrow spirit of sectional policy, endeavor, by all constitutional, honorable, and appropriate means, to consummate the expressed will of the people and government of the United States, by the re-annexation of Texas to our Union at the earliest practicable period.

Nor will it become in a less degree my duty to assert and maintain, by all constitutional means, the right of the United States to that portion of our Territory which lies beyond the Rocky Mountains. Our title to the country of the Oregon is "clear and unquestionable;" and already are our people preparing to perfect that title, by occupying it with their wives and children. But eighty years ago our population was confined on the West by the ridge of the Alleghanies. Within that period—within the lifetime, I might say, of some of my hearers—our people, increasing to many millions, have filled the eastern valley of the Mississippi; adventurously ascended the Missouri to its head springs; and are already engaged in establishing the blessings of self-government in valleys, of which the rivers flow to the Pacific. The world beholds the peaceful triumphs of the industry of our emigrants. To us belongs the duty of protecting them, adequately, wherever they may be upon our soil. The jurisdiction of our laws, and the benefits of our republican institutions, should be extended over them in the distant regions which they have selected for their homes. The increasing facilities of intercourse will easily bring the States, of which the formation in that part of our territory cannot be long delayed, within the sphere of our federative Union. In the meantime, every obligation imposed by treaty or conventional stipulations, should be sacredly respected.

In the management of our foreign relations, it will be my aim to observe a careful respect for the rights of other nations, while our own will be the subject of constant watchfulness. Equal and exact justice should characterise all our intercourse with foreign countries. All alliances having a tendency to jeopard the welfare and honor of our country, or sacrifice

any one of the national interests, will be studiously avoided; and yet no opportunity will be lost to cultivate a favorable understanding with foreign governments, by which our navigation and commerce may be extended, and the ample products of our fertile soil, as well as the manufactures of our skilful artizans, find a ready market and remunerative prices in foreign countries.

In taking "care that the laws be faithfully executed," a strict performance of duty will be exacted from all public officers. From those officers, especially, who are charged with the collection and disbursement of the public revenue, will prompt and rigid accountability be required. Any culpable failure or delay on their part to account for the moneys intrusted to them, at the times and in the manner required by law, will, in every instance, terminate the official connexion of such defaulting officer with the government.

Although, in our country, the chief magistrate must almost of necessity be chosen by a party, and stand pledged to its principles and measures, yet, in his official action, he should not be the President of a party only, but of the whole people of the United States. While he executes the laws with impartial hand, shrinks from no proper responsibility, and faithfully carries out in the Executive Department of the Government the principles and policy of those who have chosen him, he should not be unmindful that our fellow-citizens who have differed from him in opinion are entitled to the full and free exercise of their opinions and judgments, and that the rights of all are entitled to respect and regard.

Confidently relying upon the aid and assistance of the co-ordinate departments of the government in conducting our public affairs, I enter upon the discharge of the high duties which have been assigned me by the people, again humbly supplicating that Divine Being who has watched over and protected our beloved country from its infancy to the present hour, to continue His gracious benedictions upon us, that we may continue to be a prosperous and happy people.

The chief events of Mr. Polk's administration are, the commencement, continuance and conclusion, of a war with Mexico, and the discovery of the rich gold mines of California. Of the various causes which led to hostilities we have not room to speak in detail; we must therefore be content with a brief notice of the leading facts connected with our late difficulties with that republic.

Texas, having maintained her independence of Mexico for nine years, and obtained a recognition of her independence from the United States and the principal powers of Europe,* applied for and obtained admission into the American Union, by an act approved by President Tyler on the 2d of March, 1845. Mexico had never acknowledged the independence of Texas, (although that government had offered to do so, conditionally,) and therefore the annexation to our territory of a province which she claimed as her own, was deemed by her a sufficient reason for terminating diplomatic intercourse with our government.

On the 6th of March, 1845, the Mexican minister at Washington demanded his passports, declared his mission ended, and protested against the act of Congress, which, as he averred, had severed from Mexico an integral part of her dominions. Herrera, the President of Mexico, issued

* From the earliest period of their independence, the Texan people desired a reannexation to the American Union, and overtures for an acknowledgment of their independence, and with it annexation implied, were twice made to our government, and refused, on account of existing treaties with Mexico. But these treaties were afterward so grossly violated by the successive executives of the Mexican government, that delicacy on that point was no longer demanded, and Texas was acknowledged a free and independent state.

a proclamation, denouncing the act as a breach of faith, and calling upon the people to rally in support of their rights. Small detachments of Mexican troops were already on the frontier of Texas, and larger bodies were ordered to the Rio Grande with the avowed object of enforcing the jurisdiction of Mexico over Texas.

By the terms of the treaty of annexation, the United States government was bound to protect the new state; and in view of the belligerent movements of Mexico, it was deemed advisable to send a military force to the Texan frontier, to act as circumstances might require. Accordingly, in the latter part of July, 1845, the United States government sent thither several military companies, under the command of General Taylor, which took position upon an island near Corpus Christi Bay, and north of the river Nueces. General Paredes, having been invested by the Mexican people with dictatorial powers, prepared to invade Texas with an army of six or seven thousand men. To guard against the evils of this threatened invasion, General Taylor broke up his encampment at Corpus Christi, and took position upon the Rio Grande, opposite Matamoras. It was while marching toward this point with a portion of his little army, that he was attacked by a large body of Mexicans who had crossed the Rio Grande, and the battles of Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma ensued, which proved victorious to the Americans. On the 24th of May, Matamoras surrendered, and the Americans took position on Mexican soil.

When the news of actual hostilities reached our government, Congress was in session, and an act was immediately passed authorizing the president to raise by voluntary enlistment fifty thousand men, and also appropriating ten millions of dollars for the prosecution of the war in Mexico. On the 21st September, 1846, the Americans, under Taylor, attacked Monterey. It surrendered on the 24th. About the same time, divisions under Wool, Kearney, Frémont, and others, penetrated New Mexico and California, and took possession of some of the principal towns, — among them Monterey on the Pacific.

Toward the close of 1846, General Scott was ordered to take the chief command in Mexico. He reached the Rio Grande in January, 1847, and soon began preparations to attack Vera Cruz, the nearest seaport to the city of Mexico. On the 22d of February, Taylor achieved a decisive victory at Buena Vista, and the Mexican army, under Santa Anna, was entirely routed. This battle closed the war in that quarter. On the 13th of March, 1847, the United States military and naval forces invested Vera Cruz, and on the 29th the city and castle surrendered. Nearly every town on the gulf was taken possession of by our navy, and General Scott at once proceeded towards the capital. At Cerro Gordo he was met by Santa Anna with about twelve thousand troops, and a desperate battle ensued. Santa Anna was defeated, and the Americans pushed forward toward the city of Mexico. Scott fought two victorious battles near the city; the Mexican authorities proposed an armistice, for the purpose of negotiating peace. Hostilities, however, soon recommenced, and, on the 16th of September, Scott entered the capital in triumph. After this event, all hostile movements were confined to that quarter, and these consisted in slight skirmishes between belligerent detachments. After considerable delay, a

Mexican congress was convened, and a treaty between the two republics was concluded and ratified by both parties.*

At one time towards the close of Mr. Polk's administration, the slavery question threatened dire evil to our happy Union; but patriotism and sound judgment governed our councils, and the cloud passed away.

On the accession of General Taylor, March 5th, 1849, Mr. Polk remained at the capital, and gracefully took part in the inaugural ceremonies. Soon after their conclusion, he left for Nashville, by way of Charleston and New Orleans, in search of that quiet and retirement which his overtaxed powers so much needed. His devotion to the business of his office was acknowledged, by friends and foes, to have been incessant; — too great, indeed, for a frame so delicate as his to endure with safety. He had been, for a long time, subject to frequent attacks of chronic diarrhœa, one of which greatly prostrated him, on the journey up the Mississippi. He, however, reached home in safety, and, after a few days' rest, took possession of an elegant mansion which he had just completed, in the centre of the city, upon "Grundy's Hill," formerly the property of his old friend, the Hon. Felix Grundy. For a few weeks, he devoted himself to the improvement of his grounds, an occupation in which he greatly delighted, and in which he was assisted by the refined taste of his amiable lady. In this congenial relaxation, he appeared to be rapidly gaining strength; and his unusual vigor and cheerfulness of spirit seemed to his friends to promise a long and happy life. But these expectations were soon disappointed. About the first of June, being detained within doors by a rainy day, he began to arrange his extensive library. The fatigue of raising the books from the floor to the shelves induced a mild fever, which the next day took the form of his old enemy. The best medical aid was procured, and for a few days his family felt little alarm. But he continued gradually to sink, until, upon the checking of the disease, his physical energy proved to be too far gone for a healthy reaction; and on the night of Friday, the 15th of June, 1849, — but a little more than three months after his retirement from office, — he expired, aged fifty-three years. He left an estate valued at about a hundred thousand dollars; the bulk of which he bequeathed to his highly educated and justly honored lady, still a resident of Nashville.

In person, Mr. Polk was of the middle stature, with quick, penetrating eye, expansive forehead, and grave expression. His public life was marked by the most diligent and faithful attendance to business, and by an amenity of manners which commanded the universal respect even of his opponents. An impartial history of his presidential career must be left to those whom the lapse of time shall enable to look back upon it with vision wholly cleared of personal and party prejudices.

In private life, Mr. Polk, by the amiability of his disposition and the purity of his morals, secured the profound esteem of all good men. His religious views and sympathies were with the Presbyterian church, of

* This treaty secured to the United States, by cession, all of New Mexico and California, for which we pay to Mexico fifteen millions of dollars, besides assuming the established claims of our citizens against that government. The newly acquired territory includes the magnificent Bay of San Francisco, on the Pacific, and the rich gold region, toward which emigrants by thousands have been hurrying since December, 1848.

which his mother and widow are most consistent and valued members. But he had never himself united with the church by a public profession of his faith, though, like the lamented Harrison, it had been his intention to do so during his administration.

A week before his death, Mr. Polk sent for the Rev. Dr. Edgar, of the Presbyterian church, and said to him, with great solemnity: "Sir, if I had suspected, twenty years ago, that I should come to my death-bed *unprepared*, it would have made me a wretched man; yet I am about to die, and have not made preparation. I have not even been baptized. Tell me, sir, can there be any ground for a man thus situated to hope?" In their subsequent conversation, Mr. Polk evinced a very thorough knowledge of the Scriptures, which he said he had read a great deal, and deeply reverenced as Divine truth; in a word, he had been theoretically a Christian.

He expressed an earnest desire to be baptized; saying that he had been accidentally prevented from it in infancy; that he had several times seriously intended it while in office; but the cares and perplexities of public life hardly allowed time for the requisite solemn preparation; and so procrastination had ripened into inaction, till it was now almost too late to act. Mr. Polk being much fatigued by the interview, the baptism was postponed to the next evening. In the mean time, he recollected that, during his governorship, he had promised his warm personal and political friend, the Rev. Mr. McFerren, of the Methodist church, that, when he made a public profession of his religious faith, he, Mr. McF., should baptize him. True to his promise, he accordingly received the sacred rite at the hands of that reverend gentleman.* About half an hour before his death, his venerable mother entered the room, and kneeling by his bedside, in the presence of Major Polk, brother of the Ex-President, and the other members of the family, she most solemnly and feelingly commended the departing soul of her son to "the King of kings and Lord of lords." The day following, the mansion of the Ex-President was shrouded in mourning, within and without; and the corpse, dressed in a plain suit of black, with a copy of the constitution of the United States at its feet, lay in one of the drawing-rooms, to receive the last look of thousands of friends and neighbors, and to give opportunity for the ceremonies with which Masonry honors the remains of members of its order.

The body was subsequently sealed in a copper coffin, and enclosed in another, bearing on a silver plate the simple inscription, "J. K. Polk, born Nov. 1795. Died June 15, 1849." In his will, Mr. Polk bequeathed to the State a lawn in front of his residence, to be kept sacred as his burial-place. Pending the erection of a tomb and appropriate cenotaph upon the spot designated by himself, his remains were deposited in the vault of the Grundy family. When the arrangements shall have been completed, "the body of the President from Tennessee will lie fittingly entombed in the heart of its capital."

* The statement made by a correspondent of the New York Herald, viz., that Mr. Polk desired baptism of Dr. Edgar, and afterwards recollected that he had previously given a promise to Rev. Mr. McFerren, is, by Dr. Edgar and Rev. Mr. McFerren, pronounced wholly destitute of truth.

ZACHARY TAYLOR.

THE immediate ancestors of General Taylor held rank among the first families in Virginia, and were connected with those whose names are enviably conspicuous in the past history of our country, such as Madison, Lee, Barbour, Conway, Gaines, Pendleton, &c.

His father, Richard Taylor, was a man of singular moral and physical courage, and when very young, he traversed the wilderness west from Virginia to the Mississippi river, a region never before trodden by the foot of the white man. He went alone, without either a companion or a guide, and having explored the Father of Waters as far south as Natchez, he turned his face eastward, and *walked* back to the Old Dominion, fearless of the perils amid mountains, and rivers, and savage beasts, or more savage men. He was afterward a colonel of the Virginia militia, and was always highly esteemed in that capacity, during the Revolution, for his courage and manliness of character. At the age of thirty-five years, he married Sarah Strother, a young lady of excellent family, and fifteen years his junior.

Their third child was the subject of this memoir, whom they named ZACHARY, in memory of a maternal ancestor. He was born in Orange county, Virginia, on the twenty-fourth day of November, 1784. In 1785, Colonel Taylor emigrated to Kentucky, in pursuance of a long-cherished design. He had been preceded by his brother, Hancock Taylor, who had made long and toilsome surveys in the valleys of the Ohio and Mississippi, and who, just previous to his death,* selected for his farm, upon which to locate, the site of the present city of Louisville.

Colonel Taylor settled in Jefferson county, about five miles from Louisville, and among the hardy emigrants and the perils of border life the childhood of Zachary was passed. As has been justly remarked, these hardships and dangers "were as familiar to him as ease and security to the child of metropolitan luxury."†

Louisville soon became a place of some note, and with its advancement the fortune of Colonel Taylor increased; and when it became a "port of entry," he was appointed collector by Washington, with whom he was personally intimate before leaving Virginia.

The sparse population of Kentucky at the period of Zachary's childhood rendered the support of efficient schools impossible, and the care of his early education devolved upon his parents. The consequence was, that his early years were more devoted to observation, and the reception of lessons in physical exploits, than to study; yet this deficiency was after-

* He was surprised and killed by a party of Indians, near the falls of the Ohio.
† Fry's Life of General Taylor.

wards compensated by an active and untiring mind, that mastered every problem presented to it.

After the successful expedition of General Wayne, in 1794, against the Western Indians, and the comparative security of the settlements, emigration rapidly increased the population of Kentucky, and agriculture and commerce started hand in hand in building up the prosperity of the Great West. Young Taylor having been trained to agriculture, pursued it perseveringly and industriously; yet he felt an irresistible desire to enter the army, as a life more congenial to his taste, for he was really a "chip of the old block," nurtured, as he had been, among the alarms and perils that excited and surrounded the hardy emigrants. A stepping-stone to the service soon offered. When Aaron Burr's operations at the West excited suspicion and alarm, young Taylor, with one or two of his brothers, formed a volunteer corps to oppose his supposed treasonable designs. Their services were not needed, and Zachary returned to his farm.

On the death of his brother, Lieutenant Taylor, who was an officer in the regular service of the United States, Zachary obtained the vacancy,* and received a commission from President Jefferson, May 3, 1808, as first lieutenant in the seventh regiment of United States infantry. He was then twenty-four years of age, and in possession of a competent fortune; but he chose to relinquish the quiet life of a farmer, and engage in the perilous vocation of a soldier. He was ordered to report himself to General Wilkinson, then at New Orleans, which act nearly cost him his life. He was attacked there by yellow fever, and was obliged to return home and recruit his health. During his parole, he devoted himself assiduously to the study of his profession, and his proficiency was soon made manifest by circumstances.

For a long time the aggressions of England had been engendering hatred in the public mind of America, and the crowning act of her indignities was the excitement of the Indian tribes against the frontier settlements, by emissaries sent among them. Tecumseh, and his brother Olliwachica, called the Prophet, had been fully won to the English interest, and our government discovered that a general league was forming against the Americans,† among the tribes hitherto apparently friendly, and it was resolved to take early steps to avert the gathering storm. General Harrison, then Governor of the North-Western Territory,‡ was ordered to march a competent force into the Indian country. To this expedition Lieutenant Taylor was attached,§ and at the bloody battle of Tippecanoe, May 7, 1811, his gallant services won the highest esteem of his commander. They were appreciated by President Madison, who soon after gave him a captain's commission.

* This was accomplished through the influence of his father, and his relatives, James Madison and Major Edmund Taylor.

† British promises and British gold had bribed the savages to prepare for a general extermination of all the whites on the frontiers. This fiendish act of the British government has ever been execrated, as one of the most inhuman on record.

‡ This territory included the present States of Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, and Illinois.

§ He was married in 1810 to Miss Smith, of one of the first families in Maryland, and sister of the late Major S. R. Smith, of the marine corps. He left his young wife and infant when he went to the camp.

During the winter, active hostilities ceased, and early in the spring of 1812 Captain Taylor was placed in command of Fort Harrison, on the Wabash, and at this period commences his career as a military commander. Fully aware of the extent of the savage league, and of the great abilities of Tecumseh and his associates, Captain Taylor at once prepared for a desperate encounter, which he knew must soon take place. He also knew that the Indians were aware of his weakness, and he used his utmost vigilance to prevent a surprise.

Three months after war with great Britain was formally declared, the tribes were banded for the service of exterminating the whites, and their minds were inflamed to the highest pitch. Fort Harrison was the first object of attack, and, although Tecumseh knew that the garrison was weak,* he preferred to exercise cunning, and gain by stratagem what he might, perhaps, have accomplished by overwhelming force.† Accordingly, on the evening of the fourth of September, 1812, a deputation from the Prophet approached the fort, with a white flag of peace. But Captain Taylor was not deceived, and he made preparations for an assault. At night a watch was set, and the remainder retired to rest. About eleven o'clock at night the report of a musket was heard, and Captain Taylor, springing from his bed, found the savage foe upon him. The sentinels were driven in from their posts, the lower building (a block house) of the fort was on fire, and the entire destruction of the garrison seemed inevitable.

The commander did not lose his self-possession, and while he directed a part of his force to extinguish the flames, the other returned the fire from the fort. It was too dark to see the foe, and many of the shot were ineffectual. For seven long hours, the savages, with hideous yells, in anticipation of triumph, maintained the attack; but at length, appalled by the continued musket shots from the fort, that thinned their ranks, and doubtless believing the garrison to be much stronger than they anticipated, they moved off down the river about six o'clock in the morning, after destroying all the provisions of the garrison, and killing or carrying off all the horses and cattle. Captain Taylor lost only three men, while the Indians evidently suffered severely. In a despatch, dated September 10th, Captain Taylor gave to General Harrison an admirable account of the battle, in which his modesty, and sound common sense, are alike conspicuous.

The Indians were dispirited at this defeat, yet the garrison expected another attack, and Captain Taylor sent to General Harrison an earnest application for relief, as they were reduced to great need by sickness and lack of provisions.‡ A large force was immediately sent, under

* Captain Taylor's force consisted of only about fifty men, and nearly two thirds of those were invalids from the effects of fever. He himself was just recovering from a severe attack.

† Captain Taylor had evidence of their proximity and intentions, by the murder of two young men in a field near the fort, on the third, whose scalps were borne away as trophies.

‡ Captain Taylor's first attempt to communicate with his general at Vincennes failed, owing to the vigilance of the foe, who kept watchfires burning upon the banks of the river. He despatched messengers by land, and they reached their destination in safety. The little garrison was rescued from starvation, four days after the battle, by Colonel Russel, and a party of Rangers, who were sent to their relief.

General Hopkins, and the gallant little band were saved from destruction.*

This battle, although few were engaged, exhibited all the types of bravery and military skill on the part of the commander which the generals of vast armies might be proud of: and the same indomitable courage and consummate management which have so distinguished General Taylor in Mexico, were there not only shadowed forth, but actually exhibited.

The whole country rang with praises of the achievement and its brave actors, and the President at once conferred upon Captain Taylor the rank of Major, by brevet.†

The Indians, although defeated at Fort Harrison, still persisted in their depredations, destroying property and murdering the inhabitants whenever opportunity offered. On the arrival of General Hopkins, he organized an expedition against them, and commenced his march about the middle of October. But his volunteers evinced insubordination, which, in a few days, became so general, that, at a council of officers, General Hopkins resolved to abandon the expedition. He resumed it, however, in the course of November, and several skirmishes ensued, in which Major Taylor was conspicuous, and was officially commended for his bravery. The winter closed in, both parties ceased hostilities, and during the remainder of the war no opportunity offered for our young officer to distinguish himself. After the close of the war, the injustice of government caused him to throw up his commission and quit the service; and he retired to his family, and reëngaged in agricultural pursuits.‡

The influence of powerful friends, and the knowledge of his great services, resulted in his being reinstated in the year 1815, by President Madison, and in 1816 he was again called from the bosom of his family to endure the privations of the camp. He was ordered to Green Bay, at which port he remained in command four years. In 1819, he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-colonel. From that period until 1832, he was in the constant service of his country on the Western and North-Western frontiers, except during temporary absences, on account of the illness of his wife. In 1822, he erected Fort Jesup, and opened a military road to that port. In 1824, he was ordered to Washington, and was made one of a board of commissioners for planning and erecting Jefferson Barracks. In 1826, he was one of a board of officers of the army and militia, (of which General Scott was president,) appointed to consider and submit to the Secretary of War a system for the organization of the militia of the United States. Soon after the adjournment of the board, he resumed his duties on the North-Western frontier, but without occasion to meet a foe

* General Harrison, in a letter to the Governor of Kentucky, said, "The firm and almost unparalleled defence of Fort Harrison, by Captain Zachary Taylor, has raised for him a fabric of character not to be effaced by eulogy."

† This is a French word, and signifies a royal act in writing, conferring some privilege or distinction. It is applied in England and America, in military affairs, to a commission giving nominal rank higher than that for which pay is received. Thus, a brevet major serves and draws pay as a captain.

‡ Many promotions made during the war were annulled at its close; and in this sweeping depreciation Major Taylor was not overlooked. He was again reduced to the rank of captain, which indignity he would not brook.

in combat. For five years he was there, but not in idleness; for when unemployed in his duties as a strict disciplinarian, he was studiously engaged in perfecting himself in his profession.

In 1832, Taylor received a commission from President Jackson, appointing him Colonel, and in this capacity his skill and bravery were distinguished in the border war known as the Black Hawk war.* That gallant chief, with his brother, the Prophet, having defeated an American volunteer force near Rock River, May 14, 1832, the people of Illinois became greatly alarmed, and the Secretary of War ordered about a thousand regular soldiers to the scene of action. General Scott took command of the army, and for three months a most bloody strife ensued. In July, General Atkinson arrived at the scene of action, with two thousand five hundred men, including four hundred regulars, under Colonel Taylor. Towards the close of the month, the Indians having commenced a retreat into the wilderness, General Atkinson ordered a pursuit, and thirteen hundred men, under Colonel Taylor, were detached for the service. With singular perseverance, he succeeded in overtaking the Indians near the junction of the Mississippi and Iowa rivers, where a desperate conflict ensued, which resulted in the total rout of the savages. In the course of a month thereafter, Black Hawk, who escaped, was betrayed into the hands of Colonel Taylor, by faithless allies, and with his capture, or rather custody, the war ended. Colonel Taylor conveyed the old chief and his fellow-prisoners to Jefferson Barracks. Taylor was soon after ordered to Prairie du Chien, to the command of Fort Crawford, a fortress built under his superintendence. There he remained until 1836, when government ordered him to Florida, to assist in reducing the Seminole Indians to submission.†

The war with the Seminoles began in 1835, and when Colonel Taylor reached Florida it had been prosecuted with indifferent success. General Jesup then had command in Florida, and had made fruitless attempts to bring the war to a close. All friendly conferences with the chiefs having failed, it was determined, in the autumn of 1837, to take more active measures against the Indians. Unlimited scope was given to Colonel Taylor to capture or destroy the savages, wherever they might be found. Accordingly, Taylor, with about eleven hundred men, left Fort Gardiner, Dec. 20, 1837, and through dense thickets of palmetto and cypress, and the luxuriant herbage of a wet soil, they made their way towards the everglades, where the foe was concealed.

* Black Hawk was a chief of the Sac Indians, and his slaughter of the white settlers upon the frontier was, in a measure, we are sorry to say, induced by the perfidy of our own people; his flag of truce having been twice fired upon, and the bearer each time killed.

† The Seminole Indians, occupying a portion of Florida, were required by the United States government to emigrate to the west of the Mississippi. They refused to comply, and a daring chief, who rose to influence from a private man of his tribe, named Osceola, took the leadership, and openly declared against the whites. Murders were committed on the frontiers, and at one time even St. Augustine was threatened by the savages. General Clinch had command of the United States troops in that section, and on the 23d of December, 1835, two companies, under Major Dade, while marching to join the camp of General Clinch, were surprised by the Indians, and were all massacred, after a terrible resistance, except three men. Open war now commenced Many Creeks joined the Seminoles, and the United States government was obliged to send a strong force there.

On the 25th of December, they reached a cypress swamp, where they had evidence that a large body of the enemy were near. They crossed the swamp, and reached a large prairie, upon the opposite side of which, in a dense "hammock," according to the statement of an Indian prisoner, the enemy were encamped. Taylor disposed his army in battle array, and hurried towards the hammock, or morass. They had penetrated but a short distance, when they were suddenly attacked by several hundred red warriors, with their rifles. The shock was a terrible one, and several officers were killed or severely wounded at the first fire. Seeing their leaders fall, the volunteers at first gave way, but their places were soon filled by the regulars, who eagerly pressed on. The sixth infantry, that engaged in the thickest of the fight, were led by Lieutenant-Colonel Thompson, as brave an officer as ever drew sword. He received two bullet wounds at the first fire, but kept on at the head of his regiment until a third ball deprived him of life.* The battle at this point lasted for more than an hour, when the savages were driven from their position, to their camp on the border of Lake Okee-cho-bee. Finding themselves hotly pursued, and likely to be overcome, the Indians fired one volley of rifle balls, and fled, closely pursued by the regulars and volunteers, until night closed in. This battle of Okee-cho-bee will ever be memorable. in our annals of Indian wars, as one of the most remarkable for bravery and skill on both sides. The loss of the Indians could not be ascertained, but it was known to be great, while our own loss amounted to fourteen officers, and one hundred and twenty-four privates, killed and wounded—about one fifth of the whole number of white troops engaged.†

Being thus pursued into their very strongholds, and there defeated, the Indians were discouraged, and the battle of Okee-cho-bee gave a death-blow to the power and daring defiance of the Seminoles. Many of them surrendered, and, although outrages were frequently committed by small parties of savages, for a year or two afterwards, they were never fully organized as a nation, or tribe, in opposition to the whites.

Colonel Taylor was highly complimented by the Secretary of War; received the thanks of the President of the United States, officially communicated by General Macomb, then commander-in-chief of the armies of the United States; and was soon after promoted to the rank of Brigadier-General, by brevet, for "distinguished services in the battle of Okee-cho-bee, in Florida."

Soon after his promotion, he was honored with the command of the troops in Florida, General Jesup having been recalled, at his own request. For two years more, he toiled on amid the morasses and fevers of that region, frequently skirmishing with the Indians, but quite unable entirely to "conquer a peace." At his own request, he was relieved from the command, and was succeeded by General Armistead, in April, 1840.‡

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* Major Sconce, Captain Childs, Lieutenants Rogers, Haas. and Gordon, were killed in the first terrible onslaught. Several others soon after perished, among whom were Adjutant Center, Captain Van Swearengin, and Lieutenant Brooks.

† The humanity and kindness of Colonel Taylor were signally manifested on this occasion in the case of the wounded and dying, and excited the love of his comrades as keenly as it did their admiration of his courage.

‡ Towards the close of 1839, General Taylor approved of the movement of the local

But relief from arduous duty in Florida did not prove relief from services less important and honorable. His distinguished talents were too well known and appreciated, to allow him to remain idle, or to be stationed at a post of inactivity. He was therefore immediately appointed to the command of the First Department of the United States army in the Southwest. This department included the four States at the extreme southwestern part of the Union, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, and Louisiana. He made his head-quarters at Fort Jesup, until 1841, when he was ordered to Fort Gibson, to relieve General Arbuckle, where he remained nearly five years, constantly engaged in the disciplining of the troops, and other services pertaining to his station.

When, on the first of March, 1845, the Congress of the United States passed an act for the admission of Texas into the Union, and the Mexican minister at Washington (General Almonte) entered his protest against the act, in the name of his government, and asked for his passports, it became evident that the adoption of the new foster child would be the cause of trouble with our sister republic. It being evident, from the character of the Mexican government, and the faithlessness of her ruler, that diplomacy could not be depended upon to produce a reconciliation, our government felt a necessity of turning its attention to the military arm as a protection for the citizens of Texas from the violence of Mexican armies, which, it was believed, would be put in motion towards the north, as soon as the final action of our government on the subject of the annexation of Texas should be known. Accordingly, early in May, 1845, General Taylor received an order from the Secretary of War, to place all the forces then under his command, or that should thereafter be put under his control, in the most eligible position for an immediate entrance into Texas, if necessary for its defence.

The instructions from the War Department to General Taylor were confidential,* and the extensive range of operations left to his discretion is a proof of the unlimited confidence which the government reposed in his judgment and ability. Another communication was sent to him in June, (which reached him early in July,) informing him that the acceptance of the terms of annexation by Texas would doubtless take place on the 4th of July ensuing, and ordering him to advance with his troops to the mouth of the Sabine river, or such other point on the Gulf of Mexico, or upon its

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authorities of Florida, in the procurement of bloodhounds from Cuba, to hunt the Indians. The nature of this act, when fully understood, exculpates General Taylor and those concerned from the charges of barbarous cruelty which, at the time, were brought against them. The dogs were used, not to worry and kill the savages, by any means, "but," in the language of General Taylor himself, in a letter to the War Department, "only to ascertain where the Indians could be found — not to injure them." They were muzzled, and in many instances controlled by leashes, and were used only to scent out the hiding-places of the foe, for it was impossible for the troops to find them, while, under cover of night, they were murdering and plundering the inhabitants along the frontier. The dogs proved incompetent for the purpose, and the scheme was abandoned.

* From the phraseology of the orders, General Taylor fully understood their meaning. The Secretary said, that the moment Texas accepted, by a convention of the people, the terms of annexation offered by the United States, she would be regarded as "a part of the United States, so far as to be entitled from this government to a *defence from foreign invasion*," &c.—*Order of Secretary Marcy, May*, 1845.

navigable tributaries, as would be most eligible for the purpose of proceeding to the western frontier of the new State, on or near the Rio Grande del Norte (the Great North river.) The order limited his operations, however, to a simple defence of the territory of Texas, but including in that territory the disputed region between the Nueces and the Rio Grande; the former being claimed by Mexico as the extreme western limit of the State of Texas.

In a letter from the War Department, sent soon after the order for his march towards the Gulf, the Secretary said, "Should Mexico assemble a large body of troops on the Rio Grande, and cross it with considerable force, such a movement must be regarded as an invasion of the United States, and the commencement of hostilities. You will, of course, use all the authority which has been, or may be, given you, to meet such a state of things. Texas must be protected from hostile invasion; and for that purpose you will of course employ, to the utmost extent, all the means you possess, or can command."

As soon as General Taylor received these instructions, he proceeded with a force of fifteen hundred men to New Orleans, where he embarked, and early in August reached St. Joseph's Island, from which point he again embarked for Corpus Christi, near the mouth of the Nueces. and there he established his head-quarters, in September, 1845.

Soon after his arrival at Corpus Christi, General Taylor was reinforced by seven companies of infantry, under Major Brown, and two volunteer artillery companies, under Major Gally. With this force, he remained at Corpus Christi during the winter.* Early in the spring, the camp at Corpus Christi was broken up, and a portion of the "Army of Occupation" proceeded to the Rio Grande, opposite Matamoras, and another portion to Point Isabel.

The winter had been spent in thorough discipline, and all the troops, regular and volunteer, had become greatly attached to their commander, and were glad of an opportunity to be employed in more active service than camp duty. The march of the army towards Matamoras was a dreary one indeed, and they suffered every endurable privation in passing over the barren prairies. They were threatened by Mexicans on the route; and when approaching Point Isabel, a deputation of citizens met them, and presented to General Taylor a protest, signed by the Prefect of the Northern District of the Department of Tamaulipas, against the presence of his army. He promised them an answer when he should arrive upon the Rio Grande, and then passed on. When he arrived at Point Isabel, he found his supplies there, which he had sent by water, and having made a proper disposition of his forces, proceeded with a large body towards the Rio Grande, opposite Matamoras, where he arrived on the 29th of March, 1846.

After pitching their tents, they began the erection of defensive works,

* In the mean while, our government made overtures to the Mexican government, proposing an amicable settlement of all existing difficulties; and to these overtures, in which an offer to send a minister to Mexico was made, a favorable answer was received. A minister was sent, but when he arrived, a revolution, headed by General Paredes, was in progress, which proved successful, and the new government, at the head of which was the successful general, refused to receive him. Negotiations were then abandoned, and defensive preparations made on our Texan frontier.

and in a few days quite a formidable fortification was raised, fronting Matamoras.* In the mean while, Paredes had sent General Ampudia to take command of the Mexican army on the Rio Grande. He arrived on the 11th of April, and the next day he sent the following communication to General Taylor, by a deputation of officers bearing a flag: —

FOURTH MILITARY DIVISION,
General-in-Chief.

To explain to you the many grounds for the just grievances felt by the Mexican nation, caused by the United States government, would be a loss of time, and an insult to your good sense; I therefore pass at once to such explanations as I consider of absolute necessity.

Your government, in an incredible manner — you will even permit me to say, an extravagant one, if the usage and general rules established and received among all civilized nations are regarded — has not only insulted, but has exasperated the Mexican nation, bearing its conquering banner to the left bank of the Rio Bravo del Norte; and in this case, by explicit and definite orders of my government, which neither can, will, nor should, receive new outrages, I require you in all form, and, at latest, in the peremptory term of twenty-four hours, to break up your camp and retire to the other bank of the Nueces river, while our governments are regulating the pending questions in relation to Texas. If you insist on remaining upon the soil of the Department of Tamaulipas, it will clearly result that arms, and arms alone, must decide the question; and in that case, I advise you that we accept the war to which, with so much injustice on your part, you provoke us, and that, on our part, this war shall be conducted conformably to the principles established by the most civilized nations; that is to say, that the law of nations and of war shall be the guide of my operations; trusting that on your part the same will be observed.

With this view, I tender you the considerations due to your person and respectable office.

God and Liberty!

PEDRO DE AMPUDIA.

HEAD-QUARTERS AT MATAMORAS,
2 *o'clock P. M., April* 12, 1846.

Sr. General-in-Chief of the U. S. Army, Don Z. TAYLOR.

General Taylor immediately replied to this communication, as follows:

HEAD-QUARTERS ARMY OF OCCUPATION,
Camp near Matamoras, Texas, April 12, 1846.

SENOR: —

I have had the honor to receive your note of this date, in which you summon me to withdraw the forces under my command from their present position, and beyond the river Nueces, until the pending question between our governments, relative to the limits of Texas, shall be settled.

* The fortification was called Fort Brown, in honor of Major Brown, the commanding officer. It was erected under the superintendence of Captain Mansfield, and was large enough to accommodate about two thousand men.

I need hardly advise you, that, charged as I am, in only a military capacity, with the performance of specific duties, I cannot enter into a discussion of the international question involved in the advance of the American army. You will, however, permit me to say, that the government of the United States has constantly sought a settlement, by negotiation, of the question of boundary; that an envoy was despatched to Mexico for that purpose, and that, up to the most recent dates, said envoy had not been received by the actual Mexican government, if indeed he has not received his passports and left the Republic. In the mean time, I have been ordered to occupy the country up to the left bank of the Rio Grande, until the boundary shall be definitely settled. In carrying out these instructions, I have carefully abstained from all acts of hostility, obeying, in this regard, not only the letter of my instructions, but the plain dictates of justice and humanity.

The instructions under which I am acting will not permit me to retrograde from the position I now occupy. In view of the relations between our respective governments, and the individual suffering which may result, I regret the alternative which you offer; but at the same time wish it understood that I shall by no means avoid such alternative, leaving the responsibility with those who rashly commence hostilities. In conclusion, you will permit me to give you the assurance that, on my part, the laws and customs of war among civilized nations shall be carefully observed.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

Z. TAYLOR,
Brevet Brig. Gen. U. S. A. Commanding.

Sr. Gen. D. PEDRO DE AMPUDIA.

Ampudia was soon after succeeded by General Arista, the commander-in-chief of the northern division of the Mexican army, whose reported reinforcements made it probable that some decisive action would soon take place; consequently the defences of Fort Brown were carried on vigorously. On the 19th, it was reported to General Taylor, that two vessels, with supplies for the Mexicans in Matamoras, were at the mouth of the Rio Grande. He immediately ordered a blockade of the river, and enforced it by placing the U. S. brig Lawrence and a revenue cutter to guard its mouth.* At this act Arista took umbrage, and having sent a note of remonstrance to General Taylor, and receiving no satisfactory answer, he prepared to make an attack upon Fort Brown.

In the mean while it became evident that Point Isabel was also a place of contemplated attack, and rumors were rife that a large Mexican force were crossing the river† for that purpose. This report, and the information received by the hands of Captain Walker, of the Texan Rangers, from Major Monroe, the commander at Point Isabel, of the attack of a party of

* When General Taylor was ordered to the Rio Grande, a small naval force was sent to the Gulf to protect the Texan coast.

† To ascertain the truth of these reports, General Taylor sent out a scouting party, under Captain Thornton, up the river, and a squadron of dragoons, under Captain Kerr, down the river. The former were surprised by a party of Mexicans, and nearly all were taken prisoners. Lieutenant Mason was killed in the affray; Captain Thornton escaped by an extraordinary leap of his horse over a hedge.

Mexicans upon a wagon train, gave General Taylor much anxiety, for all his army supplies were at the Point. He accordingly sent a despatch to the Governors of Louisiana and Texas, asking an immediate reinforcement of four regiments of volunteers from each State. Pending the result of this requisition, General Taylor resolved to march to the relief of Point Isabel with his whole army, except a sufficient force of infantry and artillery, which were to occupy Fort Brown, then placed in a position to sustain a bombardment.

On the morning of the first of May, 1846, General Taylor commenced his march toward Point Isabel, which place he reached in safety. The Mexican general supposed this movement was a retreat, and at once ordered his troops across the Rio Grande, not doubting that, if he could not cut off the retreat of the main body of the American army, he would speedily cause the handful in garrison in Fort Brown to surrender.

During the night of the 4th, the Mexicans erected a battery in the rear of Fort Brown, and the next morning opened a tremendous fire upon the fort. Simultaneously with this attack, the batteries at Matamoras poured in upon them shells in abundance. The fire was kept up incessantly from each point until the afternoon of the 6th, when Arista sent a summons to surrender.* This was refused, and the firing commenced again. For four days the fort withstood the iron storm, and on the fifth the thunder of artillery from the north-east proclaimed to the beleaguered garrison that aid was approaching in answer to their signal-guns of distress.

That booming of cannon proved to be more than mere answers to signal-guns; it was the thunder of combat upon the field of Palo Alto. General Taylor, who reached Point Isabel in safety, had heard the signals of distress at Fort Brown, and at the head of two thousand three hundred men, and a supply train of nearly three hundred wagons, he started for the relief of the gallant garrison. Early the next morning, scouts gave notice that a Mexican force was drawn up in battle array, at the verge of the prairie over which they were marching, to oppose his progress. He immediately prepared for action, and at two o'clock in the afternoon gave orders to advance. It was soon ascertained that the enemy's force was about six thousand strong; but, undaunted, the brave Taylor pressed forward to conflict. The battle was a terrible one, and lasted until nearly sunset. It resulted in the complete victory of the Americans. The Mexicans dispersed and retreated behind the chapparal,† and that night the gallant Americans slept upon the battle-field.

During the engagement, Major Ringgold, one of the bravest officers in the army, while doing terrible execution upon the enemy with his flying artillery, was struck by a cannon ball, which entered one thigh, passed through his horse, and out through his other thigh, and both horse and

* The bomb-proof shelters, erected by Major Brown, made the shots and shells of the enemy almost inefficient. The gallant commander, however, was killed at the commencement, and was succeeded by Captain Hawkins.

† Chapparal is the name given by the Mexicans to the thick undergrowth of their stunted forests, which makes an almost impenetrable barrier. The place where this battle was fought is called Palo Alto, or *high trees*, which abounded near, and which, with the undergrowth, form the chapparal. The trees are high only by comparison, for they are of stinted growth.

rider fell to the ground mortally wounded. The loss of the Americans was nine killed and forty-four wounded. That of the Mexicans was reported at six hundred.

The next morning, May 9th, General Taylor, having sent the wounded back to Point Isabel, resumed his march for the Rio Grande, but fully prepared for an expected attack from the enemy, who had rallied, and had been reinforced during the night. Passing through an opening in the chapparal, they came to a prairie, indented by a ravine, called *Resaca de la Palma.** Within that natural trench they found the Mexicans prepared for battle. They had formed a battery in such a position that it could completely sweep the road, and were otherwise strongly posted. After some very severe skirmishing, General Taylor ordered Captain May to charge the battery upon the road with his dragoons, and capture the artillery. The command was hardly given, before the gallant May, rising in his stirrups, called out, "Remember your regiment! Men, follow!" and dashing forward, amid the shower of balls that came from the battery, made his horse leap the barrier. A few of his men followed in the mighty leap; the gunners were killed or dispersed, and General La Vega, who was about applying a match to a piece, was made prisoner, and amid the iron hail of the enemy, was carried in triumph within the American lines. Still the battle raged on, and soon the combatants closed in, and the strife was terrible. The almost impenetrable chapparal was alive with the enemy, from whence they kept up a deadly fire; but at length the camp and head-quarters of General Arista, the commander-in-chief, were captured, and the enemy was completely routed.†

In this engagement, only seventeen hundred Americans took part, while the number of the enemy was about seven thousand chosen troops, and nearly two thousand irregulars. The American loss consisted of one hundred and ten, killed and wounded; that of the Mexicans was more than one thousand. Arista saved himself by flight, and, quite unattended, he made his way across the Rio Grande. General La Vega and a few other officers were sent on parole to New Orleans.

Immediately after the battle of Resaca de la Palma, General Taylor returned to Point Isabel, to make some arrangements for the future with Commodore Conner, and then proceeded to Fort Brown, to commence offensive operations. For one hundred and sixty hours the fort had withstood an almost incessant fire from the enemy, without receiving much damage. Taylor at once prepared to bombard Matamoras, where, he understood, the enemy were again collecting. On the 17th, Arista sent a deputation to Taylor, to ask for an armistice until the two governments should arrange the dispute. The pretence was too thin for the eagle eye of "Rough and Ready;" he saw through it all, and refused the boon. But during the conference of the deputation, Arista succeeded in removing a good deal of

* This ravine, which is about four feet deep and two hundred feet wide, forms the bed, in the rainy season, of continuous pools. Upon its brink the palmetto flourishes. In dry weather, the water disappears, and from this cause, and the presence of palms, the Mexicans call the place *Resaca de la Palma.*

† Never was the rout of an army more complete. The plate and other private property of Arista, correspondence, arms, ammunition, and equipments for several thousand men, and two thousand horses, fell into the hands of the victors.

ammunition and stores from the city, and during the night he retreated with his troops to the open country towards Monterey. Hearing of this, Taylor withheld his bomb-shells, and on the 18th he crossed the river with a large detachment of his army, and entered Matamoras in triumph. The American flag was unfurled upon its battlements, and for the first time the American army was encamped upon undisputed Mexican soil.

The day succeeding the occupation of Matamoras, Lieutenant-Colonel Garland, with the cavalry of the army, was sent in pursuit of Arista; but their ignorance of the country, and the general barrenness, which afforded scarcely any provender for the horses, forced them to return after pursuing the flying enemy full sixty miles, and most of the time within twenty-four hours' march of them.

General Taylor remained at Matamoras from May until September 5th, awaiting the orders of his government, receiving reinforcements, and making preparations for marching against Monterey, a strongly fortified town in the interior.* In the mean while Congress had highly approved of his course, voted an appropriation of ten millions of dollars, and authorized the raising, by volunteer enlistment, an army of fifty thousand men. By the advice and consent of the Senate, the President of the United States transmitted to General Taylor a commission as Major-General by brevet.

The force organized by General Taylor to advance on Monterey† consisted of six thousand six hundred and forty men. Besides these, he reserved about two thousand men to garrison Camargo, and more for points further in the rear, under the general command of General Patterson. General Ampudia commanded at Monterey, and hearing of the preparations of Taylor to attack it, he greatly strengthened its defences, and felt quite secure within its walls. He had eight thousand troops under his command, besides the armed citizens; and he had, also, supplies of every kind in abundance.

General Taylor arrived within sight of Monterey on the 19th of September, and, on the night of the 20th, General Worth's advanced column bivouacked on the road, with a heavy and cold rain pouring upon them, unprotected by tent or blanket. The attack commenced on the 21st by General Worth, and continued, in connection with other divisions of the army, all the next day. On the 23d, the assault became general, and a dreadful conflict ensued in the streets of the city. From the strong stone houses, volleys of musketry dealt death in all directions among our soldiers; but they were resolved on victory, and victory they achieved. On the fourth day of the siege, Ampudia sent a flag of truce, asking a brief suspension of hostilities, for the purpose of a parley. The request was granted, and the Mexican general proposed to evacuate the city. General Taylor would not consent to an evacuation, but insisted upon a complete surrender of the town and garrison, the latter as prisoners of war. It was

* On the very day that General Taylor entered Matamoras, the United States squadron arrived off Vera Cruz, and commenced the blockade of that and other ports on the Gulf.

† Monterey is the capital of the State of New Leon, and, at the time in question, it contained about fifteen thousand inhabitants. It is one of the strongest holds in Mexico, and during the revolution of 1823 it bade defiance to the royal arms of Old Spain.

finally agreed, on the 24th, that the city should be surrendered to Taylor, and the Mexican troops were allowed to evacuate the next day. As soon as they were gone, General Worth's division was quartered in the city, and quiet reigned among the inhabitants. In this siege the Americans lost, in killed, wounded, and missing, five hundred and sixty-one. The loss of the Mexicans is not correctly known, but was much more than that of the Americans.*

After the capitulation, General Taylor found his force at Monterey reduced to about five thousand five hundred effective men; and the distance between him and the volunteers at different points on the Rio Grande made it quite improbable that he could soon receive reinforcements. Having despatched an account of the siege and terms of capitulation to his government, General Taylor awaited an answer, and instructions for his future movements. He called upon his government for ample reinforcements, and recommended the landing of 25,000 troops at Vera Cruz. He finally received such instructions from the Secretary of War, that he informed the Mexican general-in-chief that the armistice would cease on the 13th of November.

On the 12th of November, General Worth's division left Monterey for Saltillo,† and General Taylor, with the rest of the army, except a sufficient garrison, took up their line of march on the 13th.‡ On the 15th of December, General Taylor set out for Victoria, intending to march to and attack Tampico; but on the evening of the 17th, he received a despatch from General Worth, announcing the rumor that Santa Anna, with a large force, was about to make a demonstration on Saltillo. He therefore deemed it prudent to return to Monterey, to be ready to reinforce General Worth at Saltillo, in case the rumor should prove true. On the 20th, he received a despatch from Saltillo, announcing the arrival of General Wool's division, and that the rumored attack of Santa Anna was a fable. He again proceeeded to Victoria, and on the 29th that place was occupied by General Quitman, without resistance.

While General Taylor was preparing for a vigorous winter campaign, and concentrating his forces for the purpose, General Scott arrived, and, under the instructions of the government, prepared for an immediate attack upon Vera Cruz. For this purpose, he was obliged to draw upon General Taylor for a large number of his best officers, and a great portion of his regular troops, leaving him in the painful position of acting only on the defensive. His force was reduced to about five thousand men, of which only five hundred were regulars.

Santa Anna, who had been elected Provisional President of Mexico in December, began immediately to concentrate a large force at San Luis Potosi, to oppose the further progress of General Taylor, should he be reinforced and attempt to penetrate the country beyond Monterey, or drive him from that strong position. In this movement he displayed great

* For details of this siege, see Fry's Life of General Taylor.

† Saltillo is the capital of the State of Coahuila, and is situated about sixty-five miles south-west from Monterey.

‡ The governor of the State offered no resistance, but sent to General Taylor a solemn protest against the act of the United States government in thus taking military possession of his domain.

energy, and before the end of January he had about twenty-one thousand troops at San Luis. On the first of February, he began his march toward Saltillo, confident in his numerical strength, and avowedly determined to drive the Americans beyond the Rio Grande. He arrived at Encarnacion on the 20th of February, and on the 21st advanced on Saltillo. General Wool, who was at Saltillo, had kept General Taylor advised of the movements of the Mexican army; and when the old hero was assured that Santa Anna was rapidly approaching, he resolved, weak as his numbers were, to have a battle with him. So, on the 31st of January, he left Monterey with all his troops, except fifteen hundred, whom he left in garrison there, and on the 2d of February he reached Saltillo. He proceeded to Agua Nueva on the 4th, twenty miles south of Saltillo, on the San Luis road, where he encamped until the 21st. Learning that the Mexicans were advancing in large force, he fell back to Angostura, a narrow defile in the mountains, directly facing the hacienda* of Buena Vista. He there encamped in battle array, and awaited the arrival of Santa Anna.†

General Taylor showed much skill and judgment in the selection of his battle-ground, it being strongly fortified by nature, the road upon which the Mexicans advanced passing through a narrow gorge in the mountains, — a sort of Thermopylæ. On the morning of the 22d of February, (the birth-day of Washington,) the vast army of Mexicans appeared in view, and about eleven o'clock they were within two miles of the American lines, where they halted. Santa Anna immediately sent a white flag to General Taylor, and the following despatch by the bearer: —

CAMP AT ENCATADA, *February* 22d, 1847.

God and Liberty!

You are surrounded by 20,000 men, and cannot, in any human probability, avoid suffering a rout and being cut to pieces with your troops; but as you deserve consideration and particular esteem, I wish to save you from such a catastrophe, and for that purpose give you this notice, in order that you may surrender at discretion, under the assurance that you will be treated with the consideration belonging to the Mexican character; to which end, you will be granted an hour's time to make up your mind, to commence from the moment that my flag of truce arrives in your camp.

With this view, I assure you of my particular consideration.

ANTONIO LOPEZ DE SANTA ANNA.

To General Z. TAYLOR, commanding the forces of the United States.

General Taylor, who is always "ready," did not take the hour allotted to him to make up his mind, but instantly sat down and wrote the following reply: —

HEAD-QUARTERS, ARMY OF OCCUPATION,
Near Buena Vista, Feb. 22*d*, 1847.

SIR: — In reply to your note of this date, summoning me to surrender

* Hacienda is the name given to a plantation or estate. The meaning of Buena Vista is *pleasant view*.

† According to Mexican accounts, Santa Anna had 21,340 men, while General Taylor had only 4073, about one-fifth as many.

my forces at discretion, I beg leave to say that I decline acceding to your request.

With high respect, I am, sir, your obedient servant,

Z. TAYLOR, Major-General U. S. Army.

This correspondence opened the ball, and very soon after the return of Santa Anna's messenger, both armies made vigorous preparations for conflict. The Mexicans unexpectedly withheld their attack until the next morning. The American troops bivouacked without fires, and slept upon their arms that night. During the night, the enemy endeavored to form a cordon of troops around our gallant little army, and detachments were posted upon the mountain-sides above them. The action commenced early on the morning of the 23d, and was kept up, with dreadful slaughter during the whole day. Until nearly night, it was a matter of great doubt who would be the victor; but the enemy was finally routed from every position, and darkness brought the conflict to a close. The weather that night was severely cold, and the exhausted Americans slept upon the battle-field without fires, expecting to renew the contest in the morning; but it was ascertained that Santa Anna had fallen back to Agua Nueva, about eight miles distant. In the course of a few days, his large army was almost totally dispersed. The dead and dying Mexicans were strewed thickly along the path of their chief's retreat, and they left more than five hundred of their comrades dead upon the field. The American loss was two hundred and sixty-seven killed, four hundred and fifty-six wounded, and twenty-three missing. The Mexican loss was nearly two thousand. The Americans lost twenty-eight officers, among whom was Captain Lincoln, assistant adjutant-general, Colonels Hardin and M'Kee, and Lieutenant-Colonel Clay, a son of the distinguished statesman, Henry Clay.

If anything had been wanting to sustain the claim of General Taylor to the character of a great general, the battle of Buena Vista* was amply sufficient to set all questions at rest. Taking into account the disparity of numbers, and the fact that a large portion of his army consisted of volunteers — many of them raw recruits — we think this battle may be inscribed upon the page of history as one of the most remarkable on record.

After a few offensive and defensive movements in the vicinity of the battle-ground of Buena Vista, General Taylor returned to his camp at Walnut Springs, where he remained quite inactive† until December, 1847, when he returned home. At New Orleans, and every other place on his route to his family at Baton Rouge, Louisiana, he was received with the most enthusiastic demonstrations of respect and admiration. The service in Mexico not needing his aid, he remained in the quiet seclusion of his

* Once before, Buena Vista was the theatre of a bloody battle. In 1823, twelve thousand Spanish regulars were cut to pieces by eighteen thousand Mexicans, in the war with Spain for Mexican independence.

† Toward the close of 1846, General Scott was ordered to take supreme command of the army in Mexico. He reached the Rio Grande about the first of January, 1847, and commenced operations by capturing Vera Cruz. From that time, all the military movements of consequence in Mexico were upon the line of Scott's expedition against the capital. General Taylor had little else to do than to maintain securely the vantage-ground he had gained in his previous battles.

family until called to fill the highest civil station in the gift of his countrymen — the Presidency of the United States.

After the brilliant achievements at Monterey and Buena Vista, so strongly did admiration for the skill, wisdom, and bravery of General Taylor take possession of the minds of his countrymen, that a spontaneous desire seemed to have been awakened in every section of the Union, to reward him by making him president of the republic, the honor of whose arms he had so nobly sustained.

Having been informally nominated very extensively by the press, and by many public meetings, with little distinction of party, General Taylor was addressed from all quarters for the purpose of drawing out his political opinions on the chief topics of interest to the country. To these letters, his replies were brief and general; at first declining any definite movement in the matter, until the country should be relieved from her difficulties with Mexico. Subsequently, however, he expressed a willingness to become a candidate, provided he were not to be considered the candidate of a party, nor bound by party pledges. In a letter to Dr. Bronson, of South Carolina, he uses the following language: — "If I were called to the presidential chair, by the general voice of the people, without regard to their political differences, I should deem it my duty to accept the office. But while I freely avow my attachment to the administrative policy of our early presidents, I desire it to be understood, that I cannot submit even in thus accepting it, to the exaction of any other pledge as to the course I should pursue, than that of discharging its functions to the best of my ability, and strictly in accordance with the requirements of the constitution. It affords me great pleasure fully to concur with you in your high and just estimate of the virtues, of both head and heart, of the distinguished citizens (Messrs. Clay, Webster, Adams, McDuffie, and Calhoun) mentioned in your letter. I have never exercised the privilege of voting; but had I been called upon, at the last presidential election, to do so, I should most certainly have cast my vote for Mr. Clay."

Several months later, in answer to earnest and repeated calls, General Taylor set forth his opinions upon several important points, in the following letter, which exerted a powerful influence in securing his nomination:

"BATON ROUGE, April 22, 1848.

"DEAR SIR: — My opinions have been so often misconceived and misrepresented, that I deem it due to myself, if not to my friends, to make a brief exposition of them upon the topics to which you have called my attention.

"I have consented to the use of my name as a candidate for the presidency. I have frankly avowed my own distrust of my fitness for this high station: but having, at the solicitation of many of my countrymen, taken my position as a candidate, I do not feel at liberty to surrender that position until my friends manifest a wish that I should retire from it. I will then most gladly do so. I have no private purposes to accomplish, no party projects to build up, no enemies to punish—nothing to serve but my country.

"I have been very often addressed by letter, and my opinions have been asked upon almost every question that might occur to the writers as affecting the interests of their country or their party. I have not always responded to these inquiries, for various reasons.

"I confess, while I have great cardinal principles which will regulate my political life, I am not sufficiently familiar with all the minute details of political legislation to give solemn pledges to exert myself to carry out this or defeat that measure. I have no concealment. I hold no opinion which I would not readily proclaim to my assem-

bled countrymen; but crude impressions upon matters of policy, which may be right to-day and wrong to-morrow, are perhaps not the best test of fitness for office. One who cannot be trusted without pledges, cannot be confided in merely on account of them.

"I will proceed, however, now to respond to your inquiries.

"1. I reiterate what I have so often said: I am a Whig. If elected, I would not be the mere president of a party. I would endeavor to act independent of party domination. I should feel bound to administer the government untrammelled by party schemes.

"2. THE VETO POWER. — The power given by the constitution to the executive to interpose his veto is a high conservative power; but, in my opinion, should never be exercised, except in cases of clear violation of the constitution, or manifest haste and want of consideration by Congress. Indeed, I have thought that for many years past the known opinions and wishes of the executive have exercised undue and injurious influence upon the legislative department of the government; and, for this cause, I have thought our system was in danger of undergoing a great change from its true theory. The personal opinions of the individual who may happen to occupy the executive chair ought not to control the action of Congress upon questions of domestic policy; nor ought his objections to be interposed where questions of constitutional power have been settled by the various departments of government, and acquiesced in by the people.

"3. Upon the subject of the tariff, the currency, the improvement of our great highways, rivers, lakes, and harbors, the will of the people, as expressed through their representatives in Congress, ought to be respected and carried out by the executive.

"4. THE MEXICAN WAR. — I sincerely rejoice at the prospect of peace. My life has been devoted to arms, yet I look upon war, at all times and under all circumstances, as a national calamity, to be avoided if compatible with the national honor. The principles of our government, as well as its true policy, are opposed to the subjugation of other nations, and the dismemberment of other countries, by conquest. In the language of the great Washington, 'Why should we quit our own to stand on foreign ground?' In the Mexican war, our national honor has been vindicated; and in dictating terms of peace, we may well afford to be forbearing, and even magnanimous, to a fallen foe.

"These are my opinions upon the subjects referred to by you, and any reports or publications, written or verbal, from any source, differing in any essential particular from what is here written, are unauthorized and untrue.

"I do not know that I shall again write upon the subject of national politics. I shall engage in no schemes, no combinations, no intrigues. If the American people have not confidence in me, they ought not to give me their suffrages. If they do not, you know me well enough to believe me, when I declare I shall be content. I am too old a soldier to murmur against such high authority.

"Z. TAYLOR.

"To Capt. J. S. ALLISON."

With this explicit avowal of Whig principles, and yet of persistent determination to keep free from mere party fetters, General Taylor's name was presented to the Whig National Convention, which assembled at Philadelphia, June 7th, 1848.

The convention embraced many strong friends of Clay, Scott, Webster, Clayton, and McLean; and it had not been generally supposed that Taylor's name would be strongly urged upon its notice.

Yet, on the first ballot, he took the lead of all others, and on the fourth, was declared the nominee of the convention, by the very decisive vote of 171 for Taylor, to 109 for all others. The Hon. Millard Fillmore, of New York, was nominated for Vice-President, by the same convention. The popular vote, at the campaign of 1848, was as follows: Taylor, 1,360,752; Cass, 1,219,962; Van Buren, 291,342; and the vote of the electors, on the 7th of November, was, Taylor 163; Cass, 127.

The 4th of March, 1849, falling upon Sunday, the ceremonies of inauguration were deferred to the 5th, when General Taylor was inducted into the presidential office and honors, with the usual ceremonies — the oath of office being administered by the Hon. Chief Justice Taney.

At twelve o'clock, he delivered to the U. S. Senate and House of Representatives, and thousands of assembled citizens, from the portico of the Capitol, the following

INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

Elected by the American people to the highest office known to our laws, I appear here to take the oath prescribed by the constitution; and, in compliance with a time-honored custom, to address those who are now assembled.

The confidence and respect shown by my countrymen, in calling me to be the Chief Magistrate of a republic holding a high rank among the nations of the earth, have inspired me with feelings of the most profound gratitude; but, when I reflect that the acceptance of the office which their partiality has bestowed imposes the discharge of the most arduous duties, and involves the weightiest obligations, I am conscious that the position which I have been called to fill, though sufficient to satisfy the loftiest ambition, is surrounded by fearful responsibilities. Happily, however, in the performance of my new duties, I shall not be without able coöperation. The legislative and judicial branches of the government present prominent examples of distinguished civil attainments and matured experience; and it shall be my endeavor to call to my assistance in the executive departments individuals whose talents, integrity, and purity of character, will furnish ample guarantees for the faithful and honorable performance of the trusts to be committed to their charge. With such aids, and an honest purpose to do whatever is right, I hope to execute diligently, impartially, and for the best interests of the country, the manifold duties devolved upon me.

In the discharge of these duties, my guide will be the Constitution which I this day swear to "preserve, protect, and defend." For the interpretation of that instrument, I shall look to the decisions of the judicial tribunals established by its authority, and to the practice of the government under the earlier presidents, who had so large a share in its formation. To the example of those illustrious patriots, I shall always defer with reverence; and especially to his example who was, by so many titles, "the Father of his Country."

To command the army and navy of the United States; with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties and to appoint ambassadors and other officers; to give to Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend such measures as he shall judge to be necessary; and to take care that the laws shall be faithfully executed: these are the most important functions intrusted to the President by the constitution; and it may be expected that I shall briefly indicate the principles which will control me in their execution.

Chosen by the body of the people, under the assurance that my administration would be devoted to the welfare of the whole country, and not to the support of any particular section or merely local interest, I this day renew the declarations I have heretofore made, and proclaim my fixed determination to maintain, to the extent of my ability, the government in its original purity, and to adopt, as the basis of my public policy, those great republican doctrines which constitute the strength of our national existence.

In reference to the army and navy, lately employed with so much distinction on active service, care shall be taken to insure the highest condition of efficiency; and, in furtherance of that object, the military and naval schools, sustained by the liberality of Congress, shall receive the special attention of the Executive.

As American freemen, we cannot but sympathize in all efforts to extend the blessings of civil and political liberty; but, at the same time, we are warned by the admonitions of history and the voice of our own beloved Washington to abstain from entangling alliances with foreign nations. In all disputes between conflicting governments, it is our interest not less than our duty to remain strictly neutral; while our geographical position, the genius of our institutions and our people, the advancing

spirit of civilization, and, above all, the dictates of religion, direct us to the cultivation of peaceful and friendly relations with all other powers. It is to be hoped that no international question can now arise which a government, confident in its own strength, and resolved to protect its own just rights, may not settle by wise negotiation; and it eminently becomes a government like our own, founded on the morality and intelligence of its citizens, and upheld by their affections, to exhaust every resort of honorable diplomacy before appealing to arms. In the conduct of our foreign relations, I shall conform to these views, as I believe them essential to the best interests and the true honor of the country.

The appointing power vested in the President imposes delicate and onerous duties. So far as it is possible to be informed, I shall make honesty, capacity, and fidelity indispensable prerequisites to the bestowal of office, and the absence of either of these qualities shall be deemed sufficient cause for removal.

It shall be my study to recommend such constitutional measures to Congress as may be necessary and proper to secure encouragement and protection to the great interests of agriculture, commerce and manufactures; to improve our rivers and harbors; to provide for the speedy extinguishment of the public debt; to enforce a strict accountability on the part of all officers of the government, and the utmost economy in all public expenditures. But it is for the wisdom of Congress itself, in which all legislative powers are vested by the constitution, to regulate these and other matters of domestic policy. I shall look with confidence to the enlightened patriotism of that body to adopt such measures of conciliation as may harmonize conflicting interests, and tend to perpetuate that Union which should be the paramount object of our hopes and affections. In any action calculated to promote an object so near the heart of every one who truly loves his country, I will zealously unite with the coördinate branches of the government.

In conclusion, I congratulate you, my fellow-citizens, upon the high state of prosperity to which the goodness of Divine Providence has conducted our common country. Let us invoke a continuance of the same Protecting Care which has led us from small beginnings to the eminence we this day occupy, and let us seek to deserve that continuance, by prudence and moderation in our councils; by well-directed attempts to assuage the bitterness which too often marks unavoidable differences of opinion; by the promulgation and practice of just and liberal principles; and by an enlarged patriotism, which shall acknowledge no limits but those of our own wide-spread Republic.

In person, the General is about the middle height, slightly inclined to corpulency. His legs are proportionably too short for his body, so that he appears a taller man on horseback than on foot. Benevolence is a striking characteristic of his countenance, and in this respect his face is the true index of his heart. He is kind, forbearing, and humane. As a single instance of the tenderness of his heart, we will mention a fact related by a correspondent of the New Orleans Picayune, and then leave the old hero to the love and veneration of the reader. "The parting scene," says the writer, "between General Taylor and the Mississippi regiment, (after the battle of Buena Vista,) was affecting in the extreme. As the men marched by him to return to their homes, overpowered with a recollection of the high deeds which had endeared them to him, and with their demonstrations of respect and affection, he attempted in vain to address them. With tears streaming down his furrowed cheeks, all he could say was, 'Go on, boys—go on—I can't speak!"

General Taylor has entered upon his administration, strong in the confidence of a large majority of his countrymen, at a time when our country is at peace with all the world, and, we will fain believe, sincerely desirous to remain so; at a time when her agricultural, mineral, manufacturing and commercial resources are being developed beyond all former precedent;

when our greatly augmented territory is offering a wide and fruitful field to domestic enterprise, and an alluring refuge to the oppressed and despairing of other lands, distracted by revolutions, or devastated by war, pestilence, or famine. He has surrounded himself with a cabinet of acknowledged honesty and ability. He has all the requisite means of success. It must be left for future historians to say whether his administration shall have fulfilled the high promise of its beginning, by devoting itself not to mere personal or party interests, but to the highest welfare of the whole country. GOD grant that it may be the ushering-in of a new era of lofty patriotism, of universal liberty protected by law, of genuine progress and abiding prosperity—an administration worthy of a land and a people so richly blest of Heaven!

LIVES OF THE SIGNERS.

SAMUEL ADAMS.

The memories of few men will perhaps be cherished, by their posterity with a more jealous and grateful admiration than those of the patriotic individuals, who first signed the political independence of our country. They hazarded by the deed not only their lands and possessions, but their personal freedom and their lives; and when it is considered that most of them were in the vigor of existence, gifted with considerable fortunes, and with all the offices and emoluments at the disposal of royalty within their reach, the sacrifice which they risked appears magnified, and their disinterested patriotism more worthy of remembrance. Although many of them can rest their sole claim to lasting distinction upon the one great act with which they were adventitiously connected, still their lives present a valuable transcript of the times in which they lived, and afford examples of inflexible honesty, heroic decision, and noble energy of mind, quite as interesting as any records of the eccentricities of genius, or the grasping efforts of ambition.

Not one of the least ardent and uncompromising asserters of the rights and liberties of his country, was the subject of our present sketch—Samuel Adams. This gentleman, descended from a respectable family, which emigrated to America with the first settlers of the land, was born at Quincy, in Massachusetts, September 22d, 1722. In 1736 he became a member of Harvard College, and took his degree of Master in 1743. On this latter occasion, he proposed the following question, in which he maintained the affirmative: "Whether it be lawful to resist the supreme magistrate, if the commonwealth cannot be otherwise preserved?"

On quitting the university, he commenced the study of the law; but soon afterwards, at the request of his mother, became a clerk in the counting-house of Thomas Cushing, at that time an eminent merchant. The genius of Adams was not suited to commercial pursuits. His devotion to politics, and his interest in the welfare of his country, diverted his attention from his own business concerns; and he retired from his mercantile connexions poorer by far than when he entered into them. In 1763, when a committee was appointed by the people of Boston to remonstrate against the taxation of the colonies by the British ministry, the instructions of that committee were drawn by Mr. Adams, and gave a powerful proof of his ability and zeal. He soon became an influential leader in the popular assemblies, and was bold in denouncing the oppressive acts of the mother country.

In 1765, he was chosen a representative to the General Court of the State, from the town of Boston. Here he soon made himself conspicuous, and became clerk of the legislative body. About this time he was the author of several spirited essays, and plans of resistance to the exactions

lative capacity, he was a determined opposer of the mercenary views of the royal Governor, John Wentworth, who, desiring to conciliate him to his interest, appointed him justice of the peace. This, though a trivial distinction, was a token of the Governor's respect for his talents and influence. Doctor Bartlett accepted the appointment, but continued firm in his opposition. His attachment to the patriotic side, and the spirit with which he resisted the royal exactions, soon afterwards produced his dismissal from the commission of justice of the peace, as also from a command which he held in the militia.

In 1774, a Convention was convoked at Exeter, for the purpose of choosing deputies to the Continental Congress, which was to meet at Philadelphia. In this Convention, Doctor Bartlett, and John Pickering, a lawyer of Portsmouth, were appointed delegates to Congress; but the former, having a little previously lost his house by fire, was obliged to decline the honor. The latter gentleman wishing likewise to be excused, others were chosen in their stead. From this time the political difficulties in New Hampshire increased. At length Governor Wentworth found it expedient to retire on board a man of war then lying in the harbor of Portsmouth; and soon after issued his proclamation, adjourning the State Assembly till the following April. This act, however, was disregarded, and soon terminated the royal government in New Hampshire, after it had existed there for a period of ninety years.

In September, 1775, Doctor Bartlett, who had been elected to the Continental Congress, took his seat in that body. Here having largely participated in an unwearied devotion to business, his health was considerably impaired: but in a second election, the ensuing year, he was again chosen a delegate to the same body. He was present on the memorable occasion of taking the vote on the question of a declaration of independence. On putting the question, it was agreed to begin with the northernmost colony. Doctor Bartlett, therefore, had the honor of being the first to vote for, and the first after the President, to sign the Declaration of Independence.

In August, 1778, a new election taking place, Doctor Bartlett was again chosen a delegate to Congress. He continued at Philadelphia, however, but a small part of the session; and his domestic concerns requiring his attention, he resided the remaining part of his life in New Hampshire. In 1779, he was appointed Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas. In 1782, he became an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, and in 1788, was advanced to the head of the bench. Doctor Bartlett was a member of the Convention which adopted the present Constitution of the State; and by his zeal greatly aided its ratification. In 1789, he was elected a Senator to Congress; but his age and infirmities induced him to decline the honor. In 1793 he was elected first Governor of the State, which office he filled with his usual fidelity and good sense, until the infirm state of his health obliged him to resign, and retire wholly from public life. He did not remain long, however, to enjoy the repose which he coveted; but died on the 19th of May, 1795, in the sixty-sixth year of his age.

The patriotism of this eminent man was of a pure and highly disinte-

rested nature He rose to distinction unaided by family influence or party connexions; and maintained through life a reputation for strict integrity, great penetration of mind, and considerable abilities.

CARTER BRAXTON.

Carter Braxton was born in Newington, Virginia, on the 10th of September, 1736. His father was a wealthy planter, and his mother the daughter of Robert Carter, who was for some time a member, and the President of the King's council.

Carter Braxton was liberally educated at the college of William and Mary; and on his father's death, he became possessed of a considerable fortune, consisting principally of land and slaves. At the early age of nineteen, he received a large accession to his estate by marriage. But having the misfortune to lose his wife, he soon after embarked for England, with the view of improving himself by travel. He returned to America in 1760; and the following year was married to a daughter of Richard Corbin, of Lannerville, by whom he had sixteen children. Mr. Braxton did not study any profession, but became a gentleman planter, and lived in a style of hospitality and splendor, which was not incommensurate with his means. Upon his return from Europe, he was called to a seat in the House of Burgesses, where he was characterized for his patriotic zeal and firmness, in all the duties which he was called upon to discharge.

In 1775, Mr. Braxton was elected a delegate to Congress. In that body he soon after took his seat, and was present on the occasion of signing the Declaration of Independence. In June, 1776, the Convention of Virginia reduced the number of their delegates in Congress, and, in consequence, he was omitted. Mr. Braxton was a member of the first General Assembly, under the republican Constitution, which met at Williamsburg. Here he had the honor of receiving, in connèxion with Thomas Jefferson, an expression of the public thanks for the "diligence ability, and integrity, with which they executed the important trust reposed in them, as delegates in the general Congress."

In 1786, he became a member of the Council of State, which office he held until the 30th of March, 1791. After an interval of a few years, during which he occupied a seat in the House of Delegates, he was re-elected into the Executive Council. He died on the 10th of October, 1797, by means of an attack of paralysis.

Mr. Braxton was a gentleman of a polished mind, of considerable conversational powers, and respectable talents. His latter days were unfortunately clouded by pecuniary embarrassments, caused by the miscarriage of his commercial speculations, and by several vexatious lawsuits. Of his numerous family, but one daughter, it is believed, survives.

CHARLES CARROLL.

Charles Carroll was a descendant of Daniel Carroll, an Irish gentleman, who emigrated from England to America about the year 1689. He settled in the province of Maryland, where, a few years after, he received the appointment of Judge, and Register of the land office, and became agent for Lord Baltimore.

Charles Carroll, the father of the subject of the present sketch, was born in 1702. His son, Charles Carroll, surnamed of Carrollton, was born September 8, 1737, O. S. at Annapolis, in the province of Maryland.

At the age of eight years, he was sent to France for the purpose of obtaining an education. He was placed at a college of English Jesuits, at St. Omer's, where he remained for six years. Afterwards he staid some time at Rheims, whence he was removed to the college of Louis le Grand. On leaving college, he entered upon the study of the civil law, at Bourges; from which place he returned to Paris, where he remained till 1757, in which year he removed to London, and commenced the study of law. He returned to America in 1764, an accomplished scholar, and an accomplished man. Although he had lived abroad, and might naturally be supposed to have imbibed a predilection for the monarchical institutions of Europe, he entered with great spirit into the controversy between the colonies and Great Britain, which, about the time of his arrival, was beginning to assume a most serious aspect.

A few years following the repeal of the Stamp Act, the violent excitement occasioned by that measure, in a degree subsided throughout all the colonies. In this calmer state of things the people of Maryland participated. But about the year 1771, great commotion was excited in that province, in consequence of the arbitrary conduct of Governor Eden and his council, touching the fees of the civil officers of the Colonial Government.

The controversy which grew out of this, became exceedingly spirited. It involved the great principles of the revolution. Several writers of distinguished character enlisted themselves on different sides of the question. Among these writers, no one was more conspicuous than Mr. Carroll. The natural consequence of his firmness in defence of the rights of the people was, that great confidence was reposed in him on their part, and he was looked up to as one who was eminently qualified to lead in the great struggle which was approaching between the colonies and the parent country.

An anecdote is related of Mr. Carroll, which will illustrate his influence with the people of Maryland. By a resolution of the delegates of Maryland, on the 22d day of June, 1774, the importation of tea was prohibited. Sometime after, however, a vessel arrived at Annapolis, having a quantity of this article on board. This becoming known, the people assembled in great multitudes, to take effectual measures to prevent its being landed. At length the excitement became so high, that the personal safety of the captain of the vessel became endangered. In

this state of things, the friends of the captain made application to Mr. Carroll, to interpose his influence with the people in his behalf. The public indignation was too great to be easily allayed. This Mr. Carroll perceived, and advised the captain and his friends, as the only probable means of safety to himself, to set fire to the vessel, and burn it to the water's edge. This alternative was indeed severe; but, as it was obviously a measure of necessity, the vessel was drawn out, her sails were set, her colors unfurled, in which attitude the fire was applied to her, and, in the presence of an immense concourse of people, she was consumed. This atonement was deemed satisfactory, and the captain was no farther molested.

In the early part of 1776, Mr. Carroll, whose distinguished exertions in Maryland had become extensively known, was appointed by Congress, in connexion with Dr. Franklin and Samuel Chase, on a commission to proceed to Canada, to persuade the people of that province to relinquish their allegiance to the crown of England, and unite with the Americans in their struggle for independence.

In the discharge of their duties, the commissioners met with unexpected difficulties. The defeat and death of Montgomery, together with the compulsion which the American troops found it necessary to exercise, in obtaining the means of support in that province, conspired to diminish the ardor of the Canadians in favor of a union with the colonies, and even, at length, to render them hostile to the measure. To conciliate their affections, and to bring to a favorable result the object of their mission, the commissioners employed their utmost ingenuity and influence. They issued their proclamations, in which they assured the people of the disposition of Congress to remedy the temporary evils, which the inhabitants suffered in consequence of the presence of the American troops, so soon as it should be in their power to provide specie, and clothing, and provisions. A strong tide, however, was now setting against the American colonies, the strength of which was much increased by the Roman Catholic priests, who, as a body, had always been opposed to any connexion with the United Colonies. Despairing of accomplishing the wishes of Congress, the commissioners at length abandoned the object, and returned to Philadelphia.

The great subject of independence was, at this time, undergoing a discussion in the hall of Congress. The Maryland delegation, in that body, had been instructed by their Convention to refuse their assent to a declaration of independence. On returning to Maryland, Mr. Carroll resumed his seat in the Convention, and, with the advocates of a declaration of independence, urged the withdrawal of the above instructions, and the granting of power to their delegates to unite in such a declaration. The friends of the measure had at length the happiness, on the 28th of June, of procuring a new set of instructions, which secured the vote of the important province of Maryland in favor of the independence of America.

On the same day on which the great question was decided in Congress, in favor of a declaration of independence, Mr. Carroll was elected a dele-

gate to that body from Maryland, and accordingly took his seat on the eighteenth of the same month.

Although not a member of Congress at the time the question of a declaration of independence was settled, Mr. Carroll had the honor of greatly contributing to a measure so auspicious to the interests of his country, by assisting in procuring the withdrawal of the prohibiting instructions, and the adoption of a new set, by which the Maryland delegates found themselves authorized to vote for independence. He had the honor, also, of affixing his signature to the declaration on the second of August, at which time the members generally signed an engrossed copy, which had been prepared for that purpose.

A signature to the declaration, was an important step for every individual member of Congress. It exposed the signers of it to the confiscation of their estates, and the loss of life, should the British arms prove victorious. Few men had more at stake in respect to property than Mr. Carroll, he being considered the richest individual in the colonies. But wealth was of secondary value in his estimation, in comparison with the rights and liberties of his country. When asked whether he would annex his name, he replied, "most willingly," and seizing a pen, instantly subscribed "to this record of glory." "There go a few millions," said some one who watched the pen as it traced the name of "Charles Carroll, of Carrollton," on the parchment. Millions would indeed have gone, for his fortune was princely, had not success crowned the American arms, in the long fought contest.

Mr. Carroll was continued a member of Congress until 1778, at which time he resigned his seat in that body, and devoted himself more particularly to the interests of his native State. He had served in her Convention in 1776, in the latter part of which year he had assisted in drafting her Constitution. Soon after, the new Constitution went into operation, and Mr. Carroll was chosen a member of the Senate of Maryland. In 1781 he was re-elected to the same station, and in 1788, on the adoption of the Federal Constitution, was chosen to the Senate of the United States.

In 1791, Mr. Carroll relinquished his seat in the National Senate, and was again called to the Senate of his native State. This office he continued to hold until 1804, at which time the democratic party was successful in electing their candidate, to the exclusion of this long tried and faithful patriot. At this time, Mr. Carroll took leave of public life, and sought in retirement the quiet enjoyment of his family circle.

Since the date of his retirement from public office, few incidents have occurred in the life of this worthy man, which demand particular notice. Like a peaceful stream, his days glided along, and continued to be lengthened out, till the generation of illustrious men, with whom he acted on the memorable fourth of July, 1776, had all descended to the tomb. He died in 1832.

"These last thirty years of his life," says a recent writer, "have passed away in serenity and happiness, almost unparalleled in the history of man. He has enjoyed, as it were, an Indian summer of existence, a tranquil and lovely period, when the leaves of the forest are richly va-

negated, but not yet seared; when the parent bird and the spring nestling are of the same flock, and move on equal wing; when the day of increase and the day of the necessity of provisions are gone; when the fruits of the earth are abundant, and the lakes of the woods are smooth and joyous as if reflecting the bowers of Eden. Such an Indian summer has this patriot enjoyed: his life has been thrice, yea, four times blessed; blessed in his birth and education, in his health, in his basket, and in his store; blessed in his numerous and honorable progeny, which extend to several generations; blessed in the protracted measure of his days, in which have been crowded the events of many centuries; and blessed in the wonderful prosperity of his country, whose population has since his birth increased from nine hundred thousand souls to more than twelve millions, enjoying the blessings of freemen. It is, perhaps, from the fact, that the world think it quite enough for one mortal that he should be virtuous, prosperous, and enjoy a green old age, that an analysis of his intellectual powers, or a description of his rare attainments, has seldom been attempted; but talents and attainments he had, that made him one of the most successful of the business men of the momentous period in which he lived—a period when that which the head conceived the hands were ready to execute. There were too few at that time, and those too zealous, to make the proper division of labor. The senator armed for the field, and the soldier met with the Conscript Fathers."

"Mr. Carroll was an orator. His eloquence was of the smooth, gentle, satisfactory kind, delighting all, and convincing many. It is not pretended that, like John Adams, he came down upon his hearers as with the thunder-blast from Sinai, raising the tables of independence on high, and threatening in his wrath to break them if they were not received by the people; nor that, like Dickinson, he exhausted rhetoric and metaphysics to gain his end, and was forever striving to be heard; but Carroll came to his subject well informed, thoroughly imbued with its spirit, and with happy conceptions and graceful delivery, and with chaste and delicate language, he, without violence, conquered the understandings, and led captive the senses of his hearers. All was natural, yet sweet and polished as education could make it. He never seemed fatigued with his labors, nor faint with his exertions. His blood and judgment were so well commingled, that his highest efforts were as easy and natural as if he had been engaged in the course of ordinary duties. This happy faculty still continues with the patriarch, for his conversation has now that elegant vivacity and delicacy that characterized the sage Nestor of elder times, whose words fell like vernal snows, as he spake to the people.

"His serenity, and in no small degree, perhaps, his longevity, may be owing to the permanency of his principles. In early life he founded his political creed on the rights of man, and reposing his faith in the religion of his fathers, he has felt none of those vacillations and changes so common in times of political or religious agitations. It were good for the nation that he should long continue among us, for in his presence all party feuds are hushed; and the demagogue, accustomed to vociferate elsewhere, in his vanity to be heard, talks not above his breath when the

aged patriot is near. In a republic where titles are not known, we ought to make a peerage of talents, virtues, patriotism, and age, that every youth may learn to admire, respect, and imitate the wise and good. With all our wishes for his stay here on earth, the patriarch must soon be gathered to his fathers, and his name given to the historian and the poet. The bard shall then strike his harp and sing, 'in strains not light nor melancholy,' but with admiration, touched with religious hope.

'Full of years and honors, through the gate
Of painless slumber he retired.
And as a river pure
Meets in its course a subterraneous void,
Then dips his silver head, again to rise,
And rising glides through fields and meadows new,
So hath Oileus in those happy climes,
Where joys ne'er fade, nor the soul's powers decay;
But youth and spring eternal bloom."

The name of Carroll is the only one on the Declaration to which the *residence* of the signer is appended. The reason why it was done in this case, is understood to be as follows:—The patriots who signed that document, did it, almost literally, with ropes about their necks, it being generally supposed that they would, if unsuccessful, be hung as rebels. When Carroll had signed his name, some one at his elbow remarked, "You'll get clear—there are several of that name—they will not know which to take." "Not so," replied he, and immediately added, "of Carrollton."

In 1827, the Editor of the Philadelphia National Gazette published a biography of Mr. Carroll, which appeared in the American Quarterly Review. He records the following fact:

In 1825, one of Mr. Carroll's grand-daughters was married to the Marquis of Wellesley, then Viceroy of Ireland; and it is a singular circumstance that one hundred and forty years after the first emigration of her ancestors to America, this lady should become vice-queen of the country from which they fled, at the summit of a system which a more immediate ancestor had risked every thing to destroy; or, in the energetic and poetical language of Bishop England, "that in the land from which his father's father fled in fear, his daughter's daughter now reigns as queen."

From the same publication, it appears that Mr. Carroll, some years before our revolutionary war, wrote to a member of the British Parliament as follows:

"Your thousands of soldiers may come, but they will be masters of the spot only on which they encamp. They will find nought but enemies before and around them. If we are beaten on the plains, we will retreat to the mountains and defy them. Our resources will increase with our difficulties. Necessity will force us to exertion: until tired of combating in vain, against a spirit which victory cannot subdue, your armies will evacuate our soil, and your country retire, an immense loser, from the contest. No, sir—we have made up our minds to abide the issue of the approaching struggle; and though much blood may be spilled, we have no doubt of our ultimate success."

His whole career, says Mr. Walsh, public and private, suited the dignity of his distinctive appellation—the Surviving Signer. He was always a model of regularity in conduct and sedateness in judgment. In natural sagacity, in refinement of tastes and pleasures, in unaffected habitual courtesy, in vigilant observation, vivacity of spirit and tone, susceptibility of domestic and social happiness in the best forms, he had but few equals during the greater part of his bright and long existence. The mind of Mr. Carroll was highly cultivated; he fully improved the advantages of an excellent classical education and extensive foreign travel; he read much of ancient and modern literature, and gave the keenest attention to contemporary events and characters. His patriotism never lost its earnestness and elevation. It was our good fortune, in our youth, to pass months at a time under his roof, and we never left his mansion without additional impressions of peculiar respect for the singular felicity of temperament and perfection of self-discipline, from which it resulted that no one, neither kindred, domestic nor guest, could feel his presence and society as in the least oppressive or irksome—exact and systematic, opulent and honored, enlightened and heedful though he was.

The announcement of the death of Charles Carroll, was made as follows in one of the Baltimore papers of the date:

"It becomes our painful duty to announce to our readers the demise of the last surviving signer of the Declaration of Independence. Charles Carroll of Carrollton is no more! He expired at 4 o'clock yesterday morning. Thus, one after another, the luminaries of the Revolution are leaving this stage of action, and soon the whole of the bright galaxy, which in those dark days adorned the land, must be numbered with the silent dead, and live only in the grateful recollection of those for whom they have purchased liberty, independence, prosperity and happiness.—Here and there a solitary star remains, to attract the eye and warm the hearts of those who love and admire them for their virtues and their services. Mr. Carroll had reached a good old age; and had the happiness to see this young republic, which he had performed so prominent a part in aiding to establish, emerge from obscurity, and take a station among the most powerful of the nations of the earth. He had lived to see her pass triumphantly through a second war with the mistress of the seas, as England has been long denominated, in which the proud lion was a second time compelled to cower beneath the power of the Eagle; to see her banner waving over every sea, and her prowess acknowledged and feared in every land. He has lived to witness the anomaly in the records of the world, of a powerful people almost entirely clear of debt, and without any dangerous or distracting controversy subsisting with any foreign power, which can be thought likely to require the expenditure of money for the maintenance of her rights. He saw the people for whom he had toiled, and pledged his life, his fortune, and his sacred honor, united, prosperous and happy, and lived to see a worthy fellow citizen elected a second time to the Chief Magistracy of the nation by an almost unanimous voice, embracing a large portion of every section of the Union; thus evincing that there is no reason to apprehend any danger

of a severance of this happy Union. In casting a retrospective glance over the path he had trodden in the course of his eventful life, how it warmed and animated his heart! It was a subject upon which he always delighted to dwell; and whenever it was touched upon, it caused him almost to forget his age and to put on the vigor and fire of youth.

"In his own immediate neighborhood, in the place of a small and obscure village, he lived to see a large and populous city spring up, and assume a station the third only in the Union in point of extent, wealth, and commercial enterprise, and inhabited by a virtuous and gallant people, partaking of his feelings, and following his bright and glorious example. What more could a mortal desire to witness? The cup of happiness with him was full to overflowing. He has fought a good fight, and his triumph has been complete. He has now run his race, and his remains repose in silence, and his grateful countrymen are showering their benedictions upon him. Peace to his ashes!—May his brilliant example long serve to animate the hearts and nerve the arms of his countrymen."

SAMUEL CHASE.

Samuel Chase was born in Somerset county, Maryland, in 1771. He was educated by his father, a distinguished clergyman, who had emigrated to America, and whose attainments in classical literature were of a very superior order. Under such instruction, the son soon outstripped most of his compeers, and at the age of eighteen was sent to Annapolis to commence the study of the law. He was admitted to the bar in that town at the age of twenty, and soon after connected himself in marriage with a lady, by whom he had two sons and two daughters.

The political career of Mr. Chase may be dated from the year 1744, when he was sent to the Congress of Philadelphia, as a delegate from his native State. This station he continued to occupy for several years. In 1776, he was appointed, in conjunction with Benjamin Franklin and Charles Carroll, to proceed to Canada, for the purpose of inducing the inhabitants to cancel their allegiance to Great Britain, and join the American Confederacy. Although the expedition proved unsuccessful, the zeal and ability of the commissioners were never, for a moment, brought into question.

On his return to Philadelphia, Mr. Chase found the question of independence in agitation, in Congress. The situation of the Maryland delegation, at this juncture, was embarrassing. They had been expressly prohibited, by their constituents, from voting in favor of a Declaration of Independence; and as they had accepted their appointments under this restriction, they did not feel at liberty to give their active support to such a measure. It was not compatible with the spirit of Mr. Chase, quietly to endure such a situation He left Congress, and proceeded to Maryland. He traversed the province, and, assisted by his colleagues,

awakened the people to a sense of patriotism and liberty, and persuaded them to send addresses to the Convention, then sitting at Annapolis, in favor of Independence. Such an expression of popular feeling the Convention could not resist, and at length gave an unanimous vote for the measure of Independence. With this vote, Mr. Chase hastened to Philadelphia, where he arrived in time to take his seat on Monday morning, having rode, on the two previous days, one hundred and fifty miles. On the day of his arrival, the resolution to issue a Declaration of Independence, came before the house, and he had the privilege of uniting with a majority in favor of it. Mr. Chase continued a bold, eloquent and efficient member of Congress throughout the war, when he returned to the practice of his profession.

In 1783, Mr. Chase visited England, on behalf of the State of Maryland, for the purpose of reclaiming a large amount of property, which, while a Colony, she had entrusted to the Bank of England. He continued in England about a year, during which time he became acquainted with many of the most distinguished men of that country, among whom were Burke, Pitt, and Fox. While in England, he was married to his second wife, the daughter of Dr. Samuel Giles, of Kentbury, with whom, in 1784, he returned to America. In the year 1786, at the invitation of his friend, Colonel Howard, who had generously presented him with a portion of land in Baltimore, he removed to that city. On this occasion, the corporation of Annapolis tendered to Mr. Chase the expressions of their respect in a flattering address, to which he made a suitable reply. In 1791, he accepted the appointment of Chief Justice of the General Court of Maryland.

In the year 1794, a circumstance took place in Baltimore, in which Judge Chase evinced considerable firmness and energy of character. Two men had been tarred and feathered in the public streets, on an occasion of some popular excitement. The investigation of the case was undertaken by him, in the issue of which he caused two respectable and influential individuals to be arrested as ringleaders. On being arraigned before the court, they refused to give bail. Upon this the Judge informed them that they must go to jail. Accordingly, he directed the sheriff to take one of the prisoners to jail. This the sheriff declared he could not do, as he apprehended resistance. "Summon the posse comitatus then," exclamed the judge. "Sir," said the sheriff, "no one will serve." "Summon me then," said Judge Chase, in a tone of lofty indignation, "I will be the posse comitatus, and I will take him to jail."

In 1796, Judge Chase was appointed by Washington an associate Judge of the Supreme Court of the United States, a station which he occupied for fifteen years, and which he supported with great dignity and ability. It was his ill fortune, however, to have his latter days embittered by an impeachment by the House of Representatives, at Washington. This impeachment originated in political animosities, from the offence which his conduct in the Circuit Court had given to the democratic party. The articles of impeachment originally reported were six in number, to which two others were afterwards added. Of five of the charges

a majority of the Senate acquitted him. On the others a majority was against him; but as a vote of two thirds is necessary to conviction, he was acquitted of the whole. This celebrated trial commenced on the second of January, and ended on the fifth of March, 1805

Judge Chase continued to exercise his judicial functions till 1811, when his health failed him, and he expired on the nineteenth of June in that year. In his dying hour he appeared calm and resigned. He was a firm believer in Christianity, and partook of the sacrament but a short time before his death, declaring himself to be in peace with all mankind. In his will, he directed that no mourning should be worn for him, and requested that only his name, with the dates of his birth and death, should be inscribed upon his tomb. He was a sincere patriot, and, though of an irascible temperament, was a man of high intellect and undaunted courage.

ABRAHAM CLARK.

The quiet and unobtrusive course of life, which Mr. Clark pursued, furnishes few materials for biography. He was born in Elizabethtown, New Jersey, on the 15th of February, 1726. He was an only child, and his early education, although confined to English branches of study, was respectable. For the mathematics and the civil law, he discovered an early predilection. He was bred a farmer, but not being of a robust constitution, he turned his attention to surveying, conveyancing, and imparting legal advice. As he performed the latter service gratuitously, he was called "the poor man's counsellor."

Mr. Clark's habits of life and generosity of character soon rendered him popular, and on the commencement of the troubles with the mother country, he was chosen one of the New Jersey delegation to the Continental Congress. Of this body he was a member for a considerable period, and was conspicuous for his sound patriotism and his unwavering decision. A few days after he took his seat for the first time, as a member of Congress, he was called upon to vote for, or against, the proclamation of independence. But he was at no loss on which side to throw his influence, and readily signed the Declaration, which placed in peril his fortune and individual safety.

Mr. Clark frequently after this time represented New Jersey in the national councils; and was also often a member of the State Legislature. He was elected a representative in the second Congress, under the Federal Constitution; an appointment which he held until a short time previous to his death. Two or three of the sons of Mr. Clark were officers in the army, during the revolutionary struggle. Unfortunately they were captured by the enemy. During a part of their captivity, their sufferings were extreme, being confined in the notorious prison-ship, Jersey. Painful as was the condition of his sons, Mr. Clark scrupulously avoided calling the attention of Congress to the subject, excepting in a single

instance. One of his sons, a captain of artillery, had been cast into a dungeon, where he received no other food than that which was conveyed to him by his fellow prisoners through a key-hole. On a representation of these facts to Congress, that body immediately directed a course of retaliation on a British officer. This had the desired effect, and Captain Clark's condition was improved.

On the adjournment of Congress in June, 1794, Mr. Clark retired from public life. He did not live long, however, to enjoy the limited comforts he possessed. In the autumn of the same year, a stroke of the sun put an end to his existence, after it had been lengthened out to sixty-nine years. The church at Rahway contains his mortal remains, and a marble slab marks the spot where they are deposited. It bears the following inscription:

Firm and decided as a patriot,
Zealous and faithful as a friend to the public,
he loved his country
and adhered to her cause
in the darkest hour of her struggles
against oppression.

GEORGE CLYMER.

George Clymer was born in the city of Philadelphia, in 1739. His father emigrated from Bristol, in England, and became connected by marriage with a lady of Philadelphia. Young Clymer was left an orphan at the age of seven years, and after the completion of his studies he entered the counting-house of his maternal uncle. At a subsequent period, he established himself in business, in connexion with Mr. Robert Ritchie, and afterwards with a father and son of the name of Meredith, a daughter of the former of whom he married.

Although engaged in mercantile pursuits for many years, Mr. Clymer was never warmly attached to them, but devoted a great part of his time to literature and the study of the fine arts. He became also well versed in the principles of law, history, and politics, and imbibed an early detestation of arbitrary rule and oppression. When all hopes of conciliation with the parent country had failed, he was one of the foremost to adopt measures necessary for a successful opposition. He accepted a captain's commission in a company of volunteers, raised for the defence of the province, and vigorously opposed, in 1773, the sale of the tea, which tended indirectly to levy a tax upon the Americans, without their consent. He was appointed chairman of a committee to wait upon the consignees of the offensive article, and request them not to sell it. The consequence was, that not a single pound of tea was offered for sale in Philadelphia.

In 1775, Mr. Clymer was chosen a member of the council of safety, and one of the first continental treasurers. On the 20th of July, of the following year, he was elected a member of the Continental Congress, Though not present when the vote was taken in relation to a declaration

of independence, he had the honor of affixing his signature to that instrument in the following month. In December, Congress, finding it necessary to adjourn to Baltimore, in consequence of the advance of the British army towards Philadelphia, left Mr. Clymer, Robert Morris, and George Walton, a committee to transact such business as remained unfinished, in that city. In 1777, Mr. Clymer was again a member of Congress; and his labors during that session being extremely arduous, he was obliged to retire for a season, to repair his health. In the autumn of the same year, his family, which then resided in the county of Chester, suffered severely from an attack of the British; escaping only, with the sacrifice of considerable property. Mr. Clymer was then in Philadelphia. On the arrival of the enemy in that place, they sought out his place of residence, and were only diverted from razing it to the ground, by learning that it did not belong to him. During the same year, he was sent, in conjunction with others, to Pittsburg, to enlist warriors from the Shawnese and Delaware tribes of Indians, on the side of the United States. While residing at Pittsburg, he narrowly escaped death from the tomahawk, by accidentally turning from a road, where he afterwards learned a party of hostile savages lay encamped.

On the occasion of the establishment of a bank by Robert Morris and other patriotic citizens of Philadelphia, for the purpose of relieving the army, Mr. Clymer, who gave his active support to the measure, was chosen director of the institution. He was again elected to Congress in 1780, and for two years was a laborious member of that body. In 1782, he removed with his family to Princeton, (N. J.,) but in 1784, he was summoned by the citizens of his native State, to take a part in their General Assembly. He afterwards represented Pennsylvania in Congress for two years; when, declining a re-election, he closed his long and able legislative career.

In 1791, Congress passed a bill imposing a duty on spirits distilled in the United States. To the southern and western part of the country, this measure proved very offensive. Mr. Clymer was placed at the head of the excise department in the State of Philadelphia; but he was soon induced to resign the disagreeable office. In 1796, he was appointed, with Colonel Hawkins and Colonel Pickins, to negociate a treaty with the Cherokee and Creek Indians, in Georgia. He sailed for Savannah, accompanied by his wife. The voyage proved extremely unpleasant and perilous; but having completed the business of the mission, they returned to Philadelphia. Mr. Clymer was afterwards called to preside over the Philadelphia bank, and the Academy of Fine Arts. He held these offices till the period of his death, which took place on the 23d of January, 1813, in the seventy-fourth year of his age. He was of a studious and contemplative cast of mind, and eager to promote every scheme for the improvement of his country. His intellect was strong and cultivated, his character amiable and pure, and his integrity inviolable. He was singularly punctual in the discharge of his duties, and was a man of extensive information and the smallest pretensions.

WILLIAM ELLERY.

William Ellery was born in Newport, Rhode Island, December 22d, 1727. He was graduated at Harvard College, in his twentieth year, and entered upon the practice of the law at Newport, after the usual preparatory course. He acquired a competent fortune from his profession, and received the esteem and confidence of his fellow citizens.

Mr. Ellery was elected a delegate to the Congress of 1776, and took his seat in that body, on the 17th of May. Here he soon became an efficient and influential member, and during the session signed the Declaration of Independence. Of this transaction he frequently spoke. He relates his having placed himself beside secretary Thompson, that he might observe how the members *looked*, as they put their names to their *death warrant*. He tasked his powers of penetration, but could discover no symptom of fear among them, though all seemed impressed with the solemnity of the occasion. In 1777, Mr. Ellery was appointed one of the marine committee of Congress, and is supposed to have first recommended the plan of preparing fireships, and sending them out from the State of Rhode Island. He shared considerably in the common loss of property, which was sustained by the inhabitants of Newport, on the occasion of the British taking possession of that town.

Mr. Ellery continued a member of Congress until the year 1785, when he retired to his native State. He was successively a commissioner of the continental loan office, a Chief Justice of the Superior Court of Rhode Island, and collector of the customs for the town of Newport. He retained the latter office till the day of his death, which occurred on the 15th of February, 1820, at the advanced age of ninety years. The springs of existence seemed to have worn out by gradual and imperceptible degrees. On the day of his death, he had risen, as usual, and rested in his chair, employed in reading "Cicero de Officiis." While thus engaged, his family physician called to see him. On feeling his pulse, he found that it had ceased to beat. A draught of wine and water quickened it into motion, however, once more, and being placed and supported on the bed, he continued reading, until his bodily functions no longer afforded a tenement to the immortal spirit, and discontinued their operations.

Mr. Ellery was a man of much humility of spirit, and manifested an uncommon disregard of the applause of men. He looked upon the world and its convulsions with religious serenity, and in times of trouble and alarm, consoled himself and others, with the pious reflection of the Psalmist, "The Lord reigneth."

WILLIAM FLOYD.

William Floyd was born on Long Island, December 17th, 1734. His father died while he was yet young, and left him heir to a large estate. His education was somewhat limited, but his native powers being respectable, he improved himself by his intercourse with the opulent and intelligent families of his neighborhood.

At an early period of the controversy between the colonies and mother country, Mr. Floyd warmly interested himself in the cause of the latter. His devotion to the popular side led to his appointment as a delegate from New York to the first Continental Congress. In the measures adopted by that body he most heartily concurred. He was re-elected a delegate the following year, and continued a member of Congress until after the declaration of Independence. On that occasion, he affixed his signature to the instrument, which gave such a momentous direction to the fate of a growing nation. He likewise served on numerous important committees, and rendered essential service to the patriotic cause.

Mr. Floyd suffered severely from the destructive effects of the war upon his property, and for nearly seven years, his family were refugees from their habitation, nor did he derive any benefit from his landed estate. In 1777, General Floyd (he received this appellation from his having commanded the militia on Long Island) was appointed a Senator of the State of New York. In 1778, he was again chosen to represent his native State in the Continental Congress. From this time, until the expiration of the first Congress, under the Federal Constitution, General Floyd was either a member of the National Assembly, or of the Senate of New York. In 1784, he purchased an uninhabited tract of land on the Mohawk river. To the improvement of this tract, he devoted the leisure of several successive summers; and hither he removed his residence, in 1803. He continued to enjoy unusal health, until a few days previous to his decease, when a general debility fell upon him, and he died August 4th, 1821, at the age of eighty-seven years. General Floyd was uniform and independent in his conduct; and if public estimation be a just criterion of his merit, he was excelled by few, since, for more than fifty years, he was honored with offices of trust and responsibility, by his fellow citizens.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

Benjamin Franklin, the statesman and philosopher, was born in Boston, on the 17th of January, 1706. His father emigrated from England, and had recourse for a livelihood to the business of a chandler and soap boiler. His mother was a native of Boston, and belonged to a respectable family of the name of Folger.

Young Franklin was placed at a grammar school at an early age, but

at the expiration of a year, was taken home to assist his father in his business. In this occupation, he continued two years, when he became heartily tired of cutting wicks for candles, filling moulds, and running errands. He resolved to embark on a seafaring life; but his parents objected, having already lost a son at sea. Having a passionate fondness for books, he was finally apprenticed as a printer to his brother, who at that time published a newspaper in Boston. It was while he was in this situation, that he began to try his powers of literary composition. Street ballads and articles in a newspaper were his first efforts. Many of his essays, which were inserted anonymously, were highly commended by people of taste. Dissatisfied with the manner in which he was treated by his relative, he, at the age of seventeen, privately quitted him, and went to Philadelphia. The day following his arrival, he wandered through the streets of that city with an appearance little short of a beggar. His pockets were distended by his clothes, which were crowded into them; and, provided with a roll of bread under each arm, he proceeded through the principal streets of the city. His ludicrous appearance attracted the notice of several of the citizens, and among others of Miss Reed, the lady whom he afterwards married. He soon obtained employment as a printer, and was exemplary in the discharge of his duties. Deluded by a promise of patronage from the Governor, Sir William Keith, Franklin visited England to procure the necessary materials for establishing a printing-office in Philadelphia. He was accompanied by his friend Ralph, one of his literary associates. On their arrival in London, Franklin found that he had been deceived; and he was obliged to work as a journeyman for eighteen months. In the British metropolis, the morals of neither of our adventurers were improved. Ralph conducted as if he had forgotten that he had a wife and child across the Atlantic; and Franklin was equally unmindful of his pledges to Miss Reed. About this period he published "A Dissertation on Liberty and Necessity, Pleasure and Pain."

In 1726, Franklin returned to Philadelphia; not long after which he entered into business as a printer and stationer, and, in 1728, established a newspaper. In 1730, he married the lady to whom he was engaged previous to his leaving America. In 1732, he began to publish "Poor Richard's Almanac," a work which was continued for twenty-five years, and which, besides answering the purposes of a calendar, contained many excellent prudential maxims, which rendered it very useful and popular. Ten thousand copies of this almanac were published every year in America, and the maxims contained in it were often translated into the languages of Europe.

The political career of Franklin commenced in 1736, when he was appointed clerk to the General Assembly of Pennsylvania. His next office was the valuable one of postmaster; and he was subsequently chosen as a representative. He assisted in the establishment of the American Philosophical Society, and of a college, which now exists under the title of the University of Pennsylvania. Chiefly by his exertions, a public library, a fire-preventing company, an insurance company, and a voluntary association for defence, were established at Philadelphia

He was chosen a member of the Provincial Assembly, to which body he was annually re-elected for ten years. Philosophy now began to attract his attention, and, in 1749, he made those inquiries into the nature of electricity, the results of which placed him high among the men of science of the age. The experiment of the kite is well known. He had conceived the idea of explaining the phenomena of lightning upon electrical principles. While waiting for the erection of a spire for the trial of his theory, it occurred to him that he might have more ready access to the region of clouds by means of a common kite. He accordingly prepared one for the purpose, affixing to the upright stick an iron point. The string was, as usual, of hemp, except the lower end, which was silk, and where the hempen part terminated, a key was fastened. With this simple apparatus, on the appearance of a thunder cloud, he went into the fields, accompanied by his son, to whom alone he communicated his intentions, dreading probably the ridicule which frequently attends unsuccessful attempts in experimental philosophy. For some time no sign of electricity presented itself; he was beginning to despair of success, when he suddenly observed the loose fibres of the string to start forward in an erect position. He now presented his knuckle to the key, and received a strong spark. On this depended the fate of his theory: repeated sparks were drawn from the key, a phial was charged, a shock given, and all the experiments made, which are usually performed with electricity. This great discovery he applied to the securing of buildings from the effects of lightning.

In 1753, Dr. Franklin was appointed deputy postmaster general of British America. In this station, he rendered important services to General Braddock, in his expedition against Fort Du Quesne, and marched at the head of a company of volunteers to the protection of the frontier. He visited England in 1757 as agent for the State of Philadelphia; and was also intrusted by the other colonies with important business. While in London, he wrote a pamphlet, pointing out the advantages of a conquest of Canada by the English; and his arguments are believed to have conduced considerably to that event. About this period, his talents as a philosopher were duly appreciated in various parts of Europe. He was admitted a fellow of the Royal Society of London, and the degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred upon him at St. Andrews, Edinburgh, and at Oxford.

In 1762 he returned to America, and in 1764 was again appointed the agent of Philadelphia, to manage her concerns in England, in which country he arrived in the month of December. About this period the stamp act was exciting violent commotions in America. To this measure Doctor Franklin was strongly opposed, and he presented a petition against it, which, at his suggestion, had been drawn up by the Pennsylvania Assembly. Among others, he was summoned before the House of Commons, where he underwent a long examination. His answers were fearless and decisive, and to his representations the repeal of the act was, no doubt, in a great measure, attributable. In the year 1766—67, he made an excursion to Holland, Germany, and France, where he met with a most flattering reception. He was chosen a member of the French

Academy of Sciences, and received diplomas from many other learned societies.

Certain letters had been written by Governor Hutchinson, addressed to his friends in England, which reflected in the severest manner upon the people of America. These letters had fallen into the hands of Doctor Franklin, and by him had been transmitted to America, where they were at length inserted in the public journals. For a time, no one in England knew through what channel the letters had been conveyed to America. In 1773, Franklin publicly avowed himself to be the person who obtained the letters and transmitted them to America. This produced a violent clamor against him, and upon his attending before the privy council, in the following January, to present a petition from the colony of Massachusetts, for the dismissal of Governor Hutchinson, a most abusive invective was pronounced against him, by Mr. Weddeburne, afterwards Lord Loughborough. Among other epithets, the honorable member called Franklin a coward, a murderer, and a thief. During the whole of this insulting harangue, Franklin sat with a composed and unaverted aspect, "as if his countenance had been made of wood." Throughout this personal and public outrage, the whole assembly seemed greatly amused at Doctor Franklin's expense. The President even laughed aloud. There was a single person present, however, Lord North, who, to his honor be it recorded, expressed great disapprobation of the indecent conduct of the assembly. The intended insult, however, was entirely lost. The coolness and dignity of Franklin soon discomposed his enemies, who were compelled to feel the superiority of his character. Their animosity caused him to be removed from the office of postmaster general, interrupted the payment of his salary as agent for the colonies, and finally instituted against him a suit in chancery concerning the letters of Hutchinson.

Despairing of restoring harmony between the colonies and mother country, Doctor Franklin embarked for America, where he arrived in 1775. He was received with every mark of esteem and admiration. He was immediately elected a delegate to the general Congress, and signed the Declaration of Independence. In 1776, he was deputed with others to proceed to Canada, to persuade the people of that province to throw off the British yoke; but the inhabitants of Canada had been so much disgusted with the zeal of the people of New England, who had burnt some of their chapels, that they refused to listen to the proposals made to them by Franklin and his associates. In 1778, he was dispatched by Congress, as ambassador to France. The treaty of alliance with the French government, and the treaties of peace, in 1782 and 1783, as well as treaties with Sweden and Prussia, were signed by him. On his reaching Philadelphia, in September, 1785, his arrival was hailed by applauding thousands of his countrymen, who conducted him in triumph to his residence. This was a period of which he always spoke with peculiar pleasure. In 1788, he withdrew from public life, and on the 17th of April, 1790, he expired in the city of Philadelphia, in the eighty fourth year of his age. Congress directed a general mourning for him. throughout the United States; and the National Assembly of France

decreed that each member should wear mourning for three days. Doctor Franklin lies buried in the north-west corner of Christ Church-yard, in Philadelphia. In his will he directed that no monumental ornaments should mark his grave. A small marble slab points out the spot where he lies.

Doctor Franklin had two children, a son and a daughter. The son, under the British government, was appointed Governor of New Jersey. On the breaking out of the revolution, he took up his residence in England, where he spent the remainder of his days. The daughter was respectably married in Philadelphia, to Mr. William Bache, whose descendants still reside in that city.

In stature, Dr. Franklin was above the middle size. He possessed a sound constitution, and his countenance indicated a placid state of mind, great depth of thought, and an inflexible resolution. In youth he took a sceptical turn with regard to religion, but his strength of mind led him to fortify himself against vice by such moral principles as directed him to the most valuable ends, by honorable means. According to the testimony of his most intimate friend, Doctor William Smith, he became in maturer years a believer in divine revelation. The following epitaph on himself was written by Doctor Franklin, many years previously to his death:

The body of
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, Printer,
like the cover of an old book,
its contents torn out,
and stript of its lettering and gilding
lies here food for worms.
Yet the work itself shall not be lost;
for it will (as he believed) appear once more
in a new
and more beautiful edition,
corrected and amended
by the Author.

ELBRIDGE GERRY.

Elbridge Gerry was born at Marblehead, in the State of Massachusetts, July 17th, 1744. He became a member of Harvard college before his fourteenth year, and on leaving the university, engaged in commercial pursuits at Marblehead, under the direction of his father. His inclination would have led him to the study of medicine; but great success attended his mercantile enterprise, and, in a few years, he found himself in the enjoyment of a competent fortune.

In May, 1772, Mr. Gerry was chosen a representative to the General Court of Massachusetts, to which office he was re-elected the following year. During this year he was appointed one of the committee of correspondence and inquiry. In June, the celebrated letters of Governor Hutchinson to persons in England were laid before the House by Mr.

Adams. In the debates on this disclosure, Mr. Gerry highly distinguished himself. He was also particularly active in the scenes of 1774. He was a member of the Provincial Congress which met at Concord, and powerfully contributed to the measures of opposition, which led to the Revolution. In 1775, the new Provincial Congress, of which he was one, assembled at Cambridge. In this body, he evinced a degree of patriotic intrepidity, which was surpassed by none.

A committee of Congress, among whom were Mr. Gerry, Colonel Orne, and Colonel Hancock, had been in session in the village of Menotomy, then part of the township of Cambridge. The latter gentleman, after the close of the session, had gone to Lexington. Mr. Gerry and Mr. Orne remained at the village; the other members of the committee had dispersed. Some officers of the royal army had passed through the villages just before dusk, and the circumstance so far attracted the attention of Mr. Gerry, that he dispatched an express to Colonel Hancock, who, with Samuel Adams, was at Lexington. Mr. Gerry and Colonel Orne retired to rest, without taking the least precaution against personal exposure, and they remained quietly in their beds, until the British advance were within view of the dwelling-house. It was a beautiful night, and the polished arms of the soldiers glittered in the moon-beams, as they moved on in silence. The front passed on. When the centre were opposite the house, occupied by the committee, an officer and file of men were detached by signal, and marched towards it. The inmates, for whom they were in search, found means to escape, half dressed, into an adjoining cornfield, where they remained concealed until the troops were withdrawn. Every part of the house was searched "for the members of the rebel Congress;" even the beds in which they had lain were examined. But their property, and, among other things, a valuable watch of Mr. Gerry's, which was under his pillow, were undisturbed.

On the 17th day of June, the memorable battle of Bunker Hill was fought. The Provincial Congress was at that time in session at Watertown. Before the battle, Doctor Joseph Warren, President of the Congress, who was the companion and room-mate of Mr. Gerry, communicated to him his intention of mingling in the approaching contest. The night preceding the Doctor's departure to the scene of battle, he is said to have lodged in the same bed with Mr. Gerry. In the morning, in reply to the admonitions of his friend, he uttered the well known words, "Dulce et decorum est, pro patria mori."* The sweetness and the glory, he but too truly experienced, and died one of the earliest victims to the cause of his country's freedom.

In 1775, Mr. Gerry proposed a law in the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, to encourage the fitting out of armed vessels, and to provide for the adjudication of prizes. This important measure was passed, and under its sanction, several of the enemy's vessels, with valuable cargoes, were captured. In 1776, Mr. Gerry was chosen a delegate to the Continental Congress, in which body he shortly after took his seat. His services in this capacity were numerous and important. Having married

* It is sweet and glorious to die for one's country.

in New York, he returned to his native State, and fixed his residence at Cambridge, a few miles from Boston. In 1787, Mr. Gerry was chosen a delegate to the Convention which assembled at Philadelphia, to revise the articles of confederation. To him there appeared strong objections to the Federal Constitution, and he declined affixing his signature to the instrument. But when that Constitution had gone into effect, and he was chosen a representative to Congress, he cheerfully united in its support, since it had received the sanction of the country.

In 1797, Mr. Gerry was appointed to accompany General Pinckney and Mr. Marshall on a special mission to France. On their arrival in Paris, the tools of the government made the extraordinary demand of a large sum of money, as the condition of any negociation. This being refused, the ridiculous attempt was made by the Directory, to excite their fears for themselves and their country. In the spring of 1798, two of the envoys, Messrs. Pinckney and Marshall, were ordered to quit the territories of France, while Mr. Gerry was invited to remain, and resume the negociation which had been suspended. He accepted the invitation to remain, but resolutely refused to resume the negociation. His object in remaining was to prevent an immediate rupture with France, which, it was feared, would result from his departure. His continuance seems to have eventuated in the good of his country. "He finally saved the peace of the nation," said the late President Adams, "for he alone discovered and furnished the evidence that X. Y. and Z. were employed by Talleyrand; and he alone brought home the direct, formal, and official assurances upon which the subsequent commission proceeded, and peace was made."

Mr. Gerry returned to America in 1798, and in 1805 was elected by the republican party, Governor of Massachusetts. In the following year he retired, but in 1810 was again chosen Chief Magistrate of that commonwealth, which office he held for the two succeeding years. In 1812, he was elected Vice-President of the United States, into which office he was inaugurated on the 4th of March, 1813. While attending to his duties at Washington, he was suddenly summoned from the scene of his earthly labors. A beautiful monument, erected at the national expense, bears the following inscription:

THE TOMB OF
ELBRIDGE GERRY,
Vice-President of the United States,
who died suddenly, in this city, on his way to the
Capitol, as President of the Senate,
November 23d, 1814.
Aged 70.

BUTTON GWINNETT.

Button Gwinnett was born in England, about the year 1732, and on coming of age became a merchant in the city of Bristol. Some time after his marriage in his native country, he removed to Charleston, South Carolina, and having continued there two years, he purchased a large tract of land in Georgia, where he became extensively engaged in agricultural pursuits.

Mr. Gwinnett had long taken a deep interest in the welfare of the colonies; but he despaired of a successful resistance to Great Britain. His sentiments on this point, however, underwent a great change, and he became a warm advocate for opposing the unjust exactions of the mother country. In 1776, he was elected a representative of the province of Georgia, in Congress. He accordingly repaired to Philadelphia, and took his seat in the National Council, to which he was re-elected the ensuing year. He was afterwards a member of the Convention held at Savannah, to frame a Constitution for the State, and is said to have furnished the outlines of the Constitution, which was finally adopted. On the death of the President of the Provincial Council, Mr. Gwinnett was elected to the vacant station. In this situation he seems to have indulged in an unbecoming hostility towards an old political rival, Colonel M'Intosh; adopting several expedients to mortify his adversary, and never divesting himself of his embittered hatred towards him. In an expedition which he had projected against East Florida, Mr. Gwinnett designed to command the continental troops and militia of Georgia himself, thereby excluding Colonel M'Intosh from the command even of his own brigade.

Just at this period, it became necessary to convene the Legislature. In consequence of his official duties, Mr. Gwinnett was prevented from proceeding on the expedition. He therefore appointed to the command a subordinate officer of M'Intosh's brigade. The expedition failed entirely, and contributed to defeat the election of Mr. Gwinnett as Governor of the State. This failure blasted his hopes, and brought his political career to a close. M'Intosh was foolish enough to exult in the mortification of his adversary. The consequence was, that Mr. Gwinnett presented him a challenge. They fought at the distance of only twelve feet. Both were severely wounded. The wound of Mr. Gwinnett proved fatal. He expired on the 27th of May, 1777, in the forty-fifth year of his age,—a melancholy instance of the misery produced by harboring in the heart the absorbing passion of rancorous envy.

In person Mr. Gwinnett was tall, and of a noble appearance. In his temper he was irritable; but in his manners, courteous, graceful, and polite.

LYMAN HALL.

Lyman Hall was born in Connecticut, about the year 1731. After receiving a collegiate education, and acquiring a competent knowledge of medicine, he removed to Georgia, where he established himself in his profession, in Sunbury, in the district of Medway. On the commencement of the struggle with Great Britain, he accepted of a situation in the parish of St. John, which was a frontier settlement, and exposed to incursions of the Creek Indians, and of the royalists of Florida. The parish of St. John, at an early period, entered with spirit into the opposition to the mother country, while the rest of Georgia, generally, maintained different sentiments. So widely opposite were the feelings of this patriotic parish to those of the other inhabitants of the province that an almost total alienation took place between them.

In 1774, the liberal party held a general meeting, at Savannah, where Dr. Hall appeared as a representative of the parish of St. John. The measures adopted, however, fell far short of his wishes, and those of his constituents. At a subsequent meeting, it was agreed to petition the King for a redress of grievances.

The parish of St. John, dissatisfied with the half-way measures of the Savannah Convention, endeavored to negociate an alliance with the committee of correspondence in Charleston, South Carolina. But this being impracticable, the inhabitants of St. John resolved to cut off all commercial intercourse with Savannah and the surrounding parishes. Having taken this independent stand, they next made an unanimous choice of Dr. Hall as their representative to Congress. In the following May, Dr. Hall appeared in the Hall of Congress, and by that body was unanimously admitted to a seat: but as he did not represent the whole of Georgia, it was resolved to reserve the question, as to his right to vote, for further deliberation. Fortunately, however, on the 15th of July, Georgia acceded to the general confederacy, and proceeded to the appointment of five delegates to Congress, three of whom attended at the adjourned meeting of that body in 1775.

Among these delegates, Dr. Hall was one. He was annually reelected until 1780, when he retired from the National Legislature. On the possession of Georgia by the British, his property was confiscated, and he obliged to leave the State. He returned in 1782, and the following year was elected to the Chief Magistracy of Georgia. After holding this office for some time, he retired from public life, and died at his residence, in Burke county, about the sixtieth year of his age.

JOHN HANCOCK.

JOHN HANCOCK was born in Quincy, Massachusetts, in the year 1737. Both his father and grandfather were clergymen. Having lost the former relative while yet a child, he was adopted by a paternal uncle, Thomas Hancock, "the most opulent merchant in Boston, and the most enterprising man in New England." A professorship had been founded in Harvard College by his liberality, and to the library of that institution he was a principal benefactor.

Under the patronage of his uncle, the nephew received a liberal education in the above university, where he was graduated in 1754. On leaving college, he was employed as a clerk in the counting-house of his uncle, where he continued till 1760, when he visited England for the purpose of extending his information and correspondence. He returned to America in 1764; shortly after which, his uncle died, leaving him the direction of his enormous business, and a fortune the largest in the province. Hancock became neither haughty nor profligate by this sudden accession of wealth. He was kind and liberal to the numerous persons dependent upon him for employment; and maintained a character for integrity and ability in the management of his vast and complicated concerns. His princely estate, added to his honorable and generous character, soon gave him influence, and ever rendered him popular.

In 1760, he was chosen a member of the Legislature of Massachusetts, and thus became intimately associated with James Otis, Samuel Adams, and other distinguished patriots. In this assembly, his genius rapidly developed itself, and he became conspicuous for the purity of his principles, and the excellence of his abilities.

The arrival of a vessel belonging to Mr. Hancock, in 1768, which was said to be loaded contrary to the revenue laws, produced a violent ebullition of popular feeling. This vessel was seized by the custom-house officers, and placed under the guns of the Romney, at that time in the harbor, for security. This seizure greatly exasperated the people, and, in their excitement, they assaulted the revenue officers, and compelled them to seek safety on board the armed vessel, or in the neighboring Castle. The boat of the collector was destroyed, and several of the houses of his partisans were razed to the ground. Mr. Hancock, although in no wise concerned in this transaction, received from it a considerable accession of popularity.

A few days after the affray, which is usually termed "the Boston Massacre," and to which we have briefly adverted in the sketch of Samuel Adams, Mr. Hancock was appointed to deliver an address in commemoration of the event. After speaking of his attachment to a just government, and his detestation of tyranny, he proceeded to describe the profligacy and abandoned life of the troops quartered amongst them Not satisfied with their own shameful debauchery, they strove to vitiate the morals of the citizens, and "thereby render them *worthy* of destruction." He spoke in terms of unmeasured indignation of the massacre of the inhabitants; and in appalling language forewarned the perpetrators of

the deed, of the vengeance which would overtake them hereafter, "if the laboring earth did not expand her jaws; if the air they breathed were not commissioned to be the immediate minister of death." He proceeded in the following spirited strain:

"But I gladly quit this theme of death. I would not dwell too long upon the horrid effects, which have already followed from quartering regular troops in this town; let our misfortunes instruct posterity to guard against these evils. Standing armies are sometimes, (I would by no means say generally, much less universally,) composed of persons who have rendered themselves unfit to live in civil society; who are equally indifferent to the glory of a George, or a Louis; who, for the addition of one penny a day to their wages, would desert from the Christian cross, and fight under the crescent of the Turkish Sultan; from such men as these what has not a State to fear? With such as these, usurping Cæsar passed the Rubicon; with such as these he humbled mighty Rome, and forced the mistress of the world to own a master in a traitor. These are the men whom sceptred robbers now employ to frustrate the designs of God, and render vain the bounties which his gracious hand pours indiscriminately upon his creatures."

The intrepid style of this address removed all doubts as to the devoted patriotism of Mr. Hancock. His manners and habits had spread an opinion unfavorable to his republican principles. His mansion rivaled the magnificence of an European palace. Gold and silver embroidery adorned his garments; and his carriage, horses, and servants in livery, emulated the splendor of the English nobility. But the sentiments expressed by him in the above address were so public, and explicit, as to cause a complete renovation of his popularity. From this time, he became odious to the Governor and his adherents. Efforts were made to get possession of his person, and he, with Samuel Adams, was excluded from the general pardon offered by Governor Gage, to all who would manifest a proper penitence for their opposition to the royal authority.

In 1774, Hancock was unanimously elected to the presidential chair of the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts. The following year, the honor of the presidency of the Continental Congress was conferred upon him. His recent proscription by Governor Gage, no doubt, contributed to his popularity in that body. In this station Hancock continued till October, 1777; when his infirm health induced him to resign his office. He was afterwards a member of the Convention appointed to frame a Constitution for Massachusetts, and in 1780 was chosen first Governor of the Commonwealth, to which station he was annually elected, until the year 1785, when he resigned. After an interval of two years, he was re-elected to the same office. He continued in it till the time of his death, which took place on the 8th of October, 1793, in the fifty-fifth year of his age.

Mr. Hancock was a firm and energetic patriot, and though possessed of immense wealth, devoted himself to the laborious service of his country. It has been remarked, that by the *force* with which he inscribed his name on the parchment, which bears the declaration of independence, he seems to have determined that his name should never be erased.

His liberality was great, and hundreds of families, in times of distress, were daily fed from his munificence. He has been accused by his enemies of a passion for popularity, but whatever may have been the truth of the charge, a fondness for being beloved can be hardly reckoned among the bad traits of a man's character. A noble instance of his contempt of wealth, in comparison with public expediency, is recorded.

At the time the American army was besieging Boston to expel the British, who held possession of the town, the entire destruction of the city was proposed by the American officers. By the execution of such a plan, the whole fortune of Mr. Hancock would have been sacrificed. Yet he readily acceded to the measure, declaring his willingness to surrender his all, whenever the liberties of his country should require it.

BENJAMIN HARRISON.

Benjamin Harrison was born in Berkley, Virginia. He was the descendant of a family distinguished in the history of the State, and was a student in the College of William and Mary, at the time of his father's death. In consequence of a misunderstanding with an officer of that institution, he left it before the regular period of graduation, and returned home.

The management of his father's estate now devolved upon him, and he displayed an unusual degree of prudence and ability in the discharge of his trust. He was summoned at an early date, even before he had attained the age required by law, to sustain the reputation acquired by his ancestors, in state affairs. He was chosen a member of the Legislature about the year 1764, a station which he may be said to have held through life, since he was always elected to a seat, whenever his other political avocations admitted of his occupying it. His fortune being ample, and his influence as a political leader very considerable, the royal government proposed to create him a member of the executive council of Virginia. Mr. Harrison was not to be seduced, however, by the attractions of rank and power. Though young, he was ardently devoted to the cause of the people, and remained steadfast in his opposition to royal oppression.

Mr. Harrison was a member of the Congress of 1774, and from that period, during nearly every session, represented his native State in that assembly. In this situation he was characterized for great firmness, good sense, and a peculiar sagacity in difficult and critical junctures. He was likewise extremely popular as chairman of the committee of the whole House. An anecdote is related of him on the occasion of the Declaration of Independence. While signing the instrument, he noticed Mr. Gerry, of Massachusetts, standing beside him. Mr. Harrison himself was quite corpulent; Mr. Gerry was slender and spare. As the former raised his hand, having inscribed his name on the roll, he turned to Mr. Gerry, and facetiously observed, that when the time of hanging

should come, *he* should have the advantage over him. "It will be over with me," said he, "in a minute; but you will be kicking in the air half an hour after I am gone."

Towards the close of 1777, Mr. Harrison resigned his seat in Congress, and returned to Virginia. In 1782, he was chosen Governor of the State, to which office he was twice re-elected; when he become ineligible by the provisions of the Constitution. In 1788, when the new Constitution of the United States was submitted to Virginia, he was returned a member of her Convention. In 1790, he was again proposed as a candidate for the executive chair; but declined in favor of his friend, Beverly Randolph. In the spring of 1791, Mr. Harrison was attacked by a severe fit of the gout, a recurrence of which malady shortly after put a period to his life.

Mr. Harrison became connected by marriage with Miss Bassett, a niece to the sister of Mrs. Washington. He had many children; and several of his sons became men of distinction. His third son, William Henry Harrison, has honorably served his country, in various official capacities.

JOHN HART.

John Hart was the son of Edward Hart, of Hopewell, in the county of Hunterdon, in New Jersey. He inherited from his father a considerable estate, and having married, devoted himself to agricultural pursuits, and became a worthy and respectable farmer.

The reputation which he acquired for integrity, discrimination, and enlightened prudence, soon brought him into notice, and he was often chosen a member of the Colonial Assembly. Although one of the most gentle and unobtrusive of men, he could not suppress his abhorrence of the aggressions of the British ministry. He maintained a fearless and uniform opinion with regard to the rights of the colonies, and did not hesitate to express it when occasion invited him. On the meeting of the Congress of 1774, Mr. Hart appeared and took his seat; having been elected by a conference of committees from several parts of the colony. During several succeeding sessions, he continued to represent the people of New Jersey, in the same assembly. When the question of a Declaration of Independence was brought forward, he was at his post, and voted for the measure with unusual zeal.

In 1776, New Jersey became the theatre of war, and Mr. Hart sustained severe losses, by the destruction of his property. His children were compelled to flee, his farm was pillaged, and great exertions were made to secure him as a prisoner. For some time he was hunted with untiring perseverance. He was reduced to the most distressing shifts to elude his enemies; being often severely pressed by hunger, and destitute of a place of repose for the night. In one instance, he was obliged to conceal himself in the usual resting-place of a large dog, who was his companion for the time.

The battles of Trenton and Princeton led to the evacuation of New Jersey by the British. On this event, Mr. Hart again collected his family around him, and began to repair the desolation of his farm. His constitution, however, had sustained a shock, which was irreparable. His health gradually failed him; and though he lived to see the prospects of his country brighten, he died before the conflict was so gloriously terminated. He expired in the year 1780. The best praise that can be awarded to Mr. Hart, is, that he was beloved by all who knew him. He was very liberal to the Baptist church of Hopewell, to which community he belonged; and his memory was hallowed by the esteem and regret of a large circle of friends.

JOSEPH HEWES.

Joseph Hewes was born near Kingston, in New Jersey, in the year 1730. His parents were Quakers, who removed from Connecticut, on account of the existing prejudices against them among the Puritans, and of the hostilities of the Indians.

At a suitable age, Joseph Hewes became a member of Princeton College; and after having graduated in due course, he was placed in the counting-house of a gentleman at Philadelphia, to be educated as a merchant. On leaving this situation, he entered into business for himself, and was highly successful in his commercial transactions. At the age of thirty he removed to North Carolina, and settled in the village of Edenton. Prosperity continued to attend him here, and he soon acquired a handsome fortune. By his probity and liberal dealings, he also gained the esteem of the people among whom he lived, and was called to represent them in the Colonial Legislature of the province. This distinction was conferred upon him for several successive years, during which he increased in popularity with his constituents.

In 1774, Mr. Hewes was chosen one of the three delegates from North Carolina to the Continental Congress. No members of that body brought with them credentials of a bolder stamp than the delegates from North Carolina. They were invested with such powers as might "make any acts done by them, or consent given in behalf of this province, obligatory in honor upon any inhabitant thereof, who is not an alien to his country's good, and an apostate to the liberties of America." On the meeting of this Congress, Mr. Hewes was nominated one of the committee appointed to "state the rights of the colonies in general, the several instances in which those rights had been violated or infringed, and the means most proper to be pursued for obtaining a restoration of them." He also assisted in preparing their celebrated report, which was drawn up as follows:

"1. That they are entitled to life, liberty, and property; and they have never ceded to any sovereign power whatever a right to dispose of either, without their consent.

"2. That our ancestors, who first settled these colonies, were, at the time of their emigration from the mother country, entitled to all the rights, liberties, and immunities of free and natural born subjects, within the realm of England.

"3. That by such emigration they by no means forfeited, surrendered, or lost, any of those rights; but that they were, and their descendants now are, entitled to the exercise and enjoyment of all such of them as their local and other circumstances enable them to exercise and enjoy.

"4. That the foundation of English liberty, and of free government, is a right in the people to participate in their legislative council; and as the English colonists are not represented, and, from their local and other circumstances, cannot properly be represented in the British Parliament, they are entitled to a free and exclusive power of legislation in their several Provincial Legislatures, where their right of representation can alone be pursued in all cases of taxation and internal polity, subject only to the negative of their sovereign, in such manner as has been heretofore used and accustomed; but if, from the necessity of the case, and a regard to the mutual interests of both countries, we cheerfully consent to the operation of such acts of the British Parliament as are *bona fide* restrained to the regulation of our external commerce, for the purpose of securing the commercial advantages of the whole empire to the mother country, and the commercial benefit of its respective members; excluding every idea of taxation, internal or external, for raising a revenue on the subjects in America, without their consent.

"5. That the respective colonies are entitled to the common law of England, and, more especially, to the great and inestimable privilege of being tried by their peers of the vicinage, according to the course of th law.

"6. That they are entitled to the benefit of such of the English statutes as existed at the time of their colonization, and which they have, by experience, respectively found applicable to their several local and other circumstances.

"7. That these his Majesty's colonies are likewise entitled to all the immunities and privileges granted and confirmed to them by royal charters, or secured by their several codes of provincial laws.

"8. That they have a right peaceably to assemble, consider of their grievances, and petition the King; and that all prosecutions, prohibitory proclamations, and commitments for the same, are illegal.

"9. That the keeping a standing army in these colonies in times of peace, without consent of the Legislature of that colony in which such army is kept, is against the law.

"10. It is indispensably necessary to good government, and rendered essential by the English Constitution, that the constituent branches of the Legislature be independent of each other; and therefore the exercise of legislative power in several colonies by a council appointed during pleasure by the crown, is unconstitutional, dangerous, and destructive to the freedom of American legislation.

"All and each of which the aforesaid deputies, in behalf of themselves and their constituents, do claim, demand, and insist on, as their indispu

table rights and liberties, which cannot be legally taken from them, altered, or abridged, by any power whatever, without their consent, by their representatives in their several Provincial Legislatures."

To the above declaration of rights was added an enumeration of the wrongs already sustained by the colonies; after stating which, the report concluded as follows:

"To these grievous acts and measures, Americans cannot submit; but in hopes their fellow subjects in Great Britain will, on a revision of them, restore us to that state in which both countries found happiness and prosperity, we have, for the present, only resolved to pursue the following peaceable measures: 1. To enter into a non-importation, non-consumption, and non-exportation agreement, or association. 2. To prepare an address to the people of Great Britain, and a memorial to the inhabitants of British America. And, 3. to prepare a loyal address to his majesty, agreeably to resolutions already entered into."

Although engaged in extensive commercial transactions, Mr. Hewes, about this time, assisted in forming the plan of the non-importation association, and readily became a member of it. He was again elected to Congress by the people of North Carolina in 1775, and remained in Philadelphia until the adjournment of that assembly in July. He continued to represent the same State, almost without intermission, for four succeeding years, and gave very general satisfaction. The last time that he appeared in Congress was on the 29th of October, 1799. After this date, an indisposition, under which he had labored for some time, confined him to his chamber, and at length, on the 10th of November, terminated his life, in the fiftieth year of his age. His funeral was numerously attended, and in testimony of their respect to his memory, Congress resolved to wear crape round the left arm for the space of one month. Mr. Hewes left a large fortune, but no children to inherit it.

THOMAS HEYWARD.

Thomas Heyward was born in St. Luke's parish, in South Carolina, in the year 1746. His father was a planter of fortune, and young Heyward received the best education that the province could afford. Having finished his scholastic studies, he entered upon those of the law, and after the usual term of application, was sent to England to complete himself in his profession. He was enrolled as a student in one of the Inns of Court, and devoted himself with great ardor to the acquirement of legal knowledge.

On completing his studies in England, he commenced the tour of Europe, which occupied him several years. After enjoying the advantages of foreign travel, he returned to his native country, and devoted himself. with great zeal for a man of fortune, to the labors of the law. In 1775, Mr. Heyward was elected to supply a vacancy in Congress; and arrived at Philadelphia in season to join in the discussion of the great question

of Independence. In 1778, he was prompted by a sense of duty to accept of an appointment as Judge of the Criminal Court of the new Government. Soon after his elevation to the bench, he was called upon to preside at the trial and condemnation of several persons charged with a treasonable correspondence with the enemy. The conviction of these individuals was followed by their execution, which took place within view of the British army, to whom it rendered the Judge particularly obnoxious.

In the spring of 1780, the city of Charleston was taken possession of by General Clinton. Judge Heyward, at that time, had command of a battalion. On the reduction of the place, he became a prisoner of war, and was transported, with some others, to St. Augustine. During his absence, he suffered greatly in respect to his property. His plantation was much injured, and his slaves were seized and carried away. He at length had leave to return to Philadelphia. On his passage thither, he narrowly escaped a watery grave. By some accident he fell overboard; but, fortunately, he kept himself from sinking, by holding to the rudder of the ship, until assistance could be rendered him. On his return to Carolina, he resumed his judicial duties; in the exercise of which, he continued till 1798. He was a member of the Convention for forming the State Constitution, in 1790; and was conspicuous for his sound judgment and unchanging patriotism. Having retired from the most arduous of his public labors and cares, he died in March, 1809, in the sixty-fourth year of his age. Mr. Heyward was twice married, and was the father of several children. He was estimable for his amiable disposition, his virtuous principles, and his extensive acquaintance with men and things.

WILLIAM HOOPER.

William Hooper was born in Boston, on the 17th of June, 1742. He entered Harvard University at the age of fifteen, and was graduated in 1760. His father, who was pastor of Trinity Church, in Boston, had destined his son for the ministerial profession; but the latter having an inclination for the law, he was placed in the office of the celebrated James Otis, to pursue the study of his choice. On being qualified for the bar, young Hooper removed to North Carolina, and having married, finally established himself in the practice of his profession at Wilmington.

He was soon placed, by his talents, among the foremost advocates of the province, and was chosen to represent the town of Wilmington, in the General Assembly. He was elected to a seat in the same body the following year, and was always one of the boldest opposers of the tyrannical encroachments of the British Government. In 1774, Mr. Hooper was chosen a delegate to the memorable Congress, which met at Philadelphia. He took an important share in the discussions of this Assem-

bly, and was remarkable for his fluent and animated elocution. He was a member of the same body the following year, and during the session, drew up, as chairman of different committees, several able addresses and reports. In 1776, the private affairs of Mr. Hooper requiring his attention in North Carolina, he did not, for some time, attend upon the sitting of Congress. He returned, however, in season to share in the honor and danger of signing the imperishable instrument which declared the Colonies of North America free and independent. Having been elected to Congress a third time, Mr. Hooper was obliged to resign his seat in February, 1777, and return to the adjustment of his own embarrassed affairs.

In 1786 he was appointed, by Congress, one of the Judges of a Federal Court, formed for the purpose of settling a controversy which existed between the States of New York and Massachusetts, in regard to certain lands. In the following year, his health being considerably impaired, he sought to restore it by private retirement. This, however, he did not live long to enjoy. He died in October, 1790, at the age of forty-eight years, leaving a wife and three children. Mr. Hooper was distinguished for his conversational powers, his good taste, and his devotion to his profession. As a politician, he was constant, judicious, and enthusiastic. He never gave way to despondency; possessing an unshaken confidence that Heaven would defend the right.

STEPHEN HOPKINS.

Stephen Hopkins was born near Providence, (R. I.) in a place now called Scituate, on the 7th of March, 1707. He was of respectable parentage, being a descendant of Benedict Arnold, the first Governor of Rhode Island. His early education was limited, but he is said to have excelled in penmanship, and in the practical branches of mathematics.

For several years he followed the profession of a farmer. He was afterwards chosen Town Clerk of Scituate, and a Representative to the General Assembly. He was subsequently appointed a Justice of the Peace, and a Justice of one of the Courts of Common Pleas. In 1733, he became Chief Justice of that court. In 1742, he removed to Providence, where he entered into commerce, and was extensively engaged in building and fitting out vessels. He was chosen a Representative from that town to the General Assembly, and became Speaker of the House of Representatives. In 1751, he was made Chief Justice of the Superior Court, and held that office till the year 1754, when he was appointed a Commissioner to the celebrated Albany Convention. The object of this Convention was the securing of the friendship of the five great Indian nations, in the approaching French war, and an union between the several colonies of America.

In 1756, Mr. Hopkins was elected Chief Magistrate of the colony of Rhode Island. This office he continued to hold, almost without inter-

mission, until 1767; discharging its duties in an efficient and highly satisfactory manner. He resolutely espoused the cause of the colonies, and in a pamphlet entitled, "The rights of colonies examined," proved the injustice of the Stamp Act, and other measures of the British ministry. In 1774, Mr. Hopkins received the appointment of Delegate from Rhode Island to the Continental Congress. In this assembly he took his seat on the first day of the session, and became one of the most zealous advocates of the measures adopted by that illustrious body of men. In the year 1775 and 1776, he again represented Rhode Island in Congress. In this latter year, he affixed his name to the Declaration of Independence. His signature was the only one upon the roll, which gave indications of a trembling hand; but it was not the tremulousness of fear. Mr. Hopkins had for some time been afflicted with a paralytic affection, which compelled him, when he wrote, to guide his right hand with his left.

In 1778, Mr. Hopkins was a Delegate to Congress for the last time: but for several years afterwards, he was a member of the General Assembly of Rhode Island. He closed his useful and honorable life on the 13th of July, 1785, in the seventy-eighth year of his age. Mr. Hopkins was enabled by the vigor of his understanding to surmount his early deficiencies, and rise to the most distinguished offices in the gift of his fellow citizens. He possessed considerable fondness for literature, and greatly excelled as a mathematician. He was an unshaken friend of his country, and an enemy to civil and religious intolerance, distinguished for his liberality, and for the correct and honorable discharge of his various duties.

FRANCIS HOPKINSON.

Francis Hopkinson was born in Philadelphia, in the year 1737. His father was an Englishman, who, a short time previous to his emigration to America, married a niece of the Bishop of Worcester. He was a man of a cultivated mind and considerable literary accomplishments; and became intimate with Benjamin Franklin, by whom he was held in high estimation. Upon the death of Mr. Hopkinson, which occurred while he was in the prime of life, the care of his family devolved upon his widow, who was eminently qualified for the task. She was a woman of a superior mind; and discovering early indications of talent in her son, she resolved to make every sacrifice, to furnish him with a good education. She placed him at the college of Philadelphia, and lived to see him graduate with reputation, and attain a high eminence at the bar.

In 1766, Francis Hopkinson embarked for England, and received, upon the occasion, a public expression of respect and affection from the Board of Trustees of the College of Philadelphia. After a residence of more than two years in the land of his forefathers, he returned to Ameri-

ca. He soon after married Miss Borden, of Bordentown, in New Jersey, where he took up his residence, and was appointed collector of the customs and executive counsellor. These offices he did not long enjoy, having sacrificed them to his attachment to the liberties of his country. He enlisted himself warmly in the cause of the people, and in 1776 was appointed a delegate from New Jersey to the Continental Congress. He voted for the Declaration of Independence, and affixed his signature to the engrossed copy of that instrument. In 1779, he was appointed Judge of the Admiralty Court of Pennsylvania, and for ten years continued to discharge with fidelity the duties of that office.

Soon after the adoption of the Federal Constitution, Mr. Hopkinson received from Washington the appointment of Judge of the United States for the district of Pennsylvania. In this station, he conscientiously avoided mingling in party politics. His life was suddenly terminated, while in the midst of his usefulness, on the 8th of May, 1791. He died of an apoplectic fit, which, in two hours after the attack, put a period to his existence.

Mr. Hopkinson was endued with considerable powers of humor and satire, which he employed effectually in rousing the feelings of the people, during the war of the Revolution. He was the author of several fugitive pieces, which were very popular in their day. His well known ballad, called "The Battle of the Kegs," gives evidence of a rich and exhaustless fund of humor, and will probably last the wear of centuries. He excelled in music, and had some knowledge of painting. His library was extensive, and his stock of knowledge constantly accumulating. In stature, Mr. Hopkinson was below the common size. His countenance was animated, his speech fluent; and his motions were unusually rapid. Few men were kinder in their dispositions, or more benevolent in their lives. He left, at his decease, a widow and five children. The eldest of these, Joseph Hopkinson, occupies an eminent rank among the advocates of the American bar.

SAMUEL HUNTINGTON.

Samuel Huntington was born in Windham, Connecticut, on the 2d of July, 1732. Being the eldest son, his father required his assistance on the farm, and his opportunities for study were accordingly brief and extremely rare. He possessed, however, a vigorous understanding, and supplied his deficiencies of instruction by an assiduous and a persevering devotion to the acquisition of knowledge. At the age of twenty-one years, he was probably equal, in point of literary attainments, to most of those who had received a collegiate education.

Conceiving a fondness for legal pursuits, he abandoned his occupation of husbandry, and resolved to enter alone and unaided upon the study of the law. He soon obtained a competent knowledge of the principles of the profession, to commence the practice of an attorney in his native town:

but in 1760, he removed to Norwich, where a wider field presented itself for the exercise of his talents. Here he soon became distinguished for his ability, his integrity, and his strict attention to business. In 1764, Mr. Huntington represented the town of Norwich in the General Assembly; and the following year was appointed to the office of King's Attorney. In 1774, he became an Associate Judge in the Superior Court, and soon after an assistant in the Council of Connecticut.

His talents and patriotism recommending him to public confidence, he was elected in 1775 a Delegate to the Continental Congress. In the subsequent July, he voted in favor of the Declaration of Independence. Mr. Huntington continued a member of Congress until the year 1781, when ill health induced him to resign. On the departure of Mr. Jay as Minister to Spain, he had been appointed to the presidency of the Congress, and had served in that honorable station with distinguished ability and dignity. In testimony of their approbation of his conduct in the chair, and in the execution of public business, Congress, soon after his retirement, accorded to Mr. Huntington the expression of their public thanks. On his return to his native State, he resumed his judicial functions, and in 1782 was re-elected to Congress. He did not attend, however, until the following year, when he resumed his seat. He continued a conspicuous member, until November, at which time he finally retired from the National Assembly.

Soon after his return to Connecticut, he was placed at the head of the Superior Court, and the following year was chosen Lieutenant-Governor of the State. In 1786, he succeeded Governor Griswold in the office of Chief Magistrate, and was annually re-elected to that station during the remainder of his life. His death took place on the 5th of January, 1796, in the sixty-fourth year of his age. Mr. Huntington was a sincere Christian, and few men possessed a greater share of mildness and equanimity of temper. He rose from the humble situation of a ploughboy by his own industry and perseverance, and without the advantage of family patronage or influence. He married in the thirtieth year of his age; but having no children, he adopted a son and daughter of his brother, the Reverend Joseph Huntington.

FRANCIS LIGHTFOOT LEE.

Francis Lightfoot Lee was born in Virginia in 1734. He was the fourth son of Thomas Lee, who for several years held the office of President of the King's Council.

Francis Lightfoot did not receive the advantage enjoyed by his elder brothers, of an education at the English Universities. He was placed, however, under the care of an accomplished domestic tutor of the name of Craig, and acquired an early fondness for literature. He became well versed in the most important branches of science, and probably obtained as good an education as the country could then afford. The fortune

bequeathed him by his father rendered the study of a profession unnecessary, and he accordingly surrendered himself, for several years, to the enjoyment of literary ease and social intercourse. He possessed, however an active mind, and warmly interested himself in the advancement of his country. In 1765, he was returned a member of the House of Burgesses from the county of Loudon, where his estate was situated. He was annually re-elected to this office until 1772, when, having married a lady of Richmond county, he removed thither, and was soon after chosen by the citizens of that place to the same station.

In 1775, Mr. Lee was appointed by the Virginia Convention a delegate to the Continental Congress. He took his seat in this assembly; and, though he seldom engaged in the public discussions, was surpassed by none in his zeal to forward the interests of the colonies. His brother, Richard Henry Lee, had the high honor of bringing forward the momentous question of independence, but no one was perhaps a warmer friend of the measure than Francis Lightfoot.

Mr. Lee retired from Congress in 1779. He was fondly attached to the pleasures of home, and eagerly sought an opportunity when his services were not essentially needed by his country, to resume the undisturbed quiet of his former life. He was not long permitted to enjoy his seclusion. He reluctantly obeyed the summons of his fellow citizens to represent them once more in the Legislature of Virginia. His duties were most faithfully discharged while a member of this body; but he soon became weary of the bustle and vexations of public life, and relinquished them for the pleasures of retirement. In the latter period of his life, he found an unfailing source of happiness to himself, in contributing largely to the enjoyment of others. His benevolence and the urbanity of his manners rendered him beloved by all. He was a practical friend to the poor, and a companion to the young or the aged, the lighthearted or the broken in spirit. Having no children, he devoted his time chiefly to reading, farming, and company. His death was occasioned by a pleurisy, which disease also terminated the life of his wife a few days after his own departure. He died in the consoling belief of the Gospel, and in peace with all mankind and his own conscience.

The brothers of Mr. Lee were all eminently distinguished for their talents and for their services to their country. Philip Ludwell, a member of the King's Council; Thomas Ludwell, a member of the Virginia Assembly; Richard Henry, as the champion of American freedom; William, as a sheriff and alderman of London, and afterwards a Commissioner of the Continental Congress at the courts of Berlin and Vienna; and Arthur as a scholar, a politician, and diplomatist.

RICHARD HENRY LEE.

Richard Henry Lee, a brother of the foregoing, was born at Stratford, in Westmoreland county, Virginia, on the 20th of January, 1732. He received his education in England, where his acquisitions were considerable in scientific and classical knowledge. He returned to his native country when in his nineteenth year, and devoted himself to the general study of history, politics, law, and polite literature, without engaging in any particular profession.

About the year 1757, he was chosen a Delegate to the House of Burgesses, where a natural diffidence for some time prevented him from displaying the full extent of his powers and resources. This impediment, however, was gradually removed, and he rapidly rose into notice as a persuasive and eloquent speaker. In 1764, he was appointed to draught an address to the King, and a memorial to the House of Lords, which are among the best state papers of the period. Some years afterwards, he brought forward his celebrated plan for the formation of a committee of correspondence, whose object was "to watch the conduct of the British Parliament; to spread more widely correct information on topics connected with the interests of the colonies, and to form a chosen union of the men of influence in each." This plan was originated about the same time in Massachusetts, by Samuel Adams.

The efforts of Mr. Lee in resisting the various encroachments of the British government were indefatigable, and in 1774 he attended the first General Congress at Philadelphia, as a delegate from Virginia. He was a member of most of the important committees of this body, and labored with unceasing vigilance and energy. The memorial of Congress to the people of British America, and the second address of Congress to the people of Great Britain, were both from his pen. The following year, he was again deputed to represent Virginia in the same assembly, and his exertions were equally zealous and successful. Among other responsible duties, he was appointed, as chairman of a committee, to furnish General Washington, who had been summoned to the command of the American armies, with his commission and instructions.

On the 7th of June, 1776, Mr. Lee introduced the measure, which declared, "That these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown; and that all political connexion between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved." This important motion he supported by a speech of the most brilliant eloquence. "Why then, Sir," said he, in conclusion, "why do we longer delay? Why still deliberate? Let this happy day give birth to an American republic. Let her arise, not to devastate and to conquer, but to re-establish the reign of peace and of law. The eyes of Europe are fixed upon us; she demands of us a living example of freedom, that may exhibit a contrast in the felicity of the citizen to the ever increasing tyranny which desolates her polluted shores. She invites us to prepare an asylum, where the unhappy may find solace, and the persecuted repose. She

invites us to cultivate a propitious soil, where that generous plant which first sprung up and grew in England, but is now withered by the poisonous blasts of Scottish tyranny, may revive and flourish, sheltering under its salubrious and interminable shade, all the unfortunate of the human race. If we are not this day wanting in our duty, the names of the American legislators of 1776 will be placed by posterity at the side of Theseus, Lycurgus, and Romulus, of the three Williams of Nassau, and of all those whose memory has been, and ever will be, dear to virtuous men and good citizens."

The debate on the above motion of Mr. Lee, was protracted until the tenth of June, when Congress resolved: "that the consideration of the resolution respecting Independence, be postponed till the first Monday in July next; and in the meanwhile, that no time may be lost, in case the Congress agree thereto, that a committee be appointed to prepare a declaration to the effect of the said resolution."

As the mover of the original resolution for Independence, it would, according to parliamentary usage, have devolved upon Mr. Lee to have been appointed chairman of the Committee selected to prepare a declaration, and, as chairman, to have furnished that important document. But on the day on which the resolution was taken, Mr. Lee was unexpectedly summoned to attend upon his family in Virginia, some of the members of which were dangerously ill; and Mr. Jefferson was appointed chairman in his place.

Mr. Lee continued to hold a seat in Congress till June, 1777, when he solicited leave of absence, on account of the delicate state of his health. In August, of the next year, he was again elected to Congress, and continued in that body till 1780, when he declined a re-election, believing that he would be more useful to his native State by holding a seat in her Assembly. In 1784, however, he again accepted an appointment as representative to Congress, of which body he was unanimously elected President In this exalted station, he presided with great ability; and on his retirement, received the acknowledgments of Congress.

Mr. Lee was opposed to the adoption of the Federal Constitution, without amendment. Its tendency, he believed, was to consolidation. To guard against this, it was his wish that the respective States should impart to the Federal Head only so much power as was necessary for mutual safety and happiness. He was appointed a Senator from Virginia, under the new Constitution.

About the year 1792, Mr. Lee was compelled, by his bodily debility and infirmities, to retire wholly from public business. Not long after, he had the pleasure of receiving from the Legislature of his native State, an unanimous vote of thanks for his public services, and of sympathy for the impaired condition of his health. He died on the 19th of June, 1794, at the age of sixty-three years.

In private life, Mr. Lee was the delight of all who knew him. He had a numerous family of children, the offspring of two marriages, who were tenderly devoted to their father. As an orator, he exercised an uncommon sway over the minds of men. His gesture was graceful and highly finished, and his language perfectly chaste. He reasoned well.

and declaimed freely and splendidly; and such was his promptitude, that he required no preparation for debate. He was well acquainted with classical literature, and possessed a rich store of political knowledge. Few men have passed through life in a more honorable and brilliant manner, or left behind them a more desirable reputation, than Richard Henry Lee.

FRANCIS LEWIS.

Francis Lewis was a native of Landaff, in South Wales, where he was born in the year 1713. Being left an orphan at the age of four or five years, the care of him devolved upon a maiden aunt, who took singular pains to instruct him in the native language of his country. He was afterwards sent to Scotland, where, in the family of a relation, he acquired a knowledge of the Gaelic. From this he was transferred to the school of Westminster, where he completed his education; and enjoyed the reputation of being a good classical scholar.

Having determined on the pursuit of commerce, he entered the counting-room of a London merchant, and in few years acquired a competent knowledge of his profession. On attaining the age of twenty-one years, he converted the whole of his property into merchandise, and sailed for New York, where he arrived in the spring of 1735. Leaving a part of his goods to be disposed of by Mr. Edward Annesly, with whom he had formed a commercial connexion, he transported the remainder to Philadelphia. After a residence of two years in the latter city, he returned to New York, and there became extensively engaged in navigation and foreign trade. He married the sister of his partner, by whom he had several children.

Mr. Lewis acquired the character of an active and enterprising merchant. In the course of his commercial transactions, he visited several of the sea-ports of Russia, the Orkney and Shetland islands, and was twice shipwrecked on the Irish coast.

During the French or Canadian war, he was agent for supplying the British troops, and was present, in 1756, at the surrender of Fort Oswego to the French general, de Montcalm. He exhibited great firmness and ability on the occasion; and his services were held in such consideration by the British Government, that at the close of the war he received a grant of five thousand acres of land.

The conditions upon which the garrison at Fort Oswego surrendered, were shamefully violated by de Montcalm. He allowed the chief warrior of the Indians, who assisted in taking the fort, to select about thirty of the prisoners, and do with them as he pleased. Of this number Mr. Lewis was one. Thus placed at the disposal of savage power, a speedy death was one of the least evils to be expected. It has been asserted, however, that Mr. Lewis discovered that he was able to converse with the Indians, by reason of the similarity of the ancient language of

Wales, which he understood, to their dialect.* His ability to communicate by words with the Chief, so pleased the latter, that he treated him kindly, and on arriving at Montreal, requested the French Governor to allow him to return to his family without ransom. The request, however, was not granted, and Mr. Lewis was sent as a prisoner to France, from which country, being some time after exchanged, he returned to America.

Although Mr. Lewis was not a native of America, yet his attachment to the country was early and devoted. He vigorously opposed the oppressive measures of Great Britain, and esteemed liberty the choicest blessing that a nation can enjoy. His intellectual powers, and uniform nobility of sentiment, commanded the respect of the people; and in 1775, he was unanimously elected a delegate to Congress. He remained a member of that body through the following year, 1776, and was among the number who signed the Declaration of Independence. For several subsequent years, he was appointed to represent New York in the National Assembly; and performed various secret and important services, with great fidelity and prudence.

In 1775, Mr. Lewis removed his family, and effects, to a country-seat which he owned on Long Island. This proved an unfortunate step. In the autumn of the following year, his house was plundered by a party of British light-horse. His extensive library and valuable papers were wantonly destroyed. His wife fell into the power of the enemy, and was retained a prisoner for several months. During her captivity, she experienced the most atrocious treatment, being closely confined, and deprived of a bed and sufficient clothing. By the influence of Washington, she was at length released; but her constitution had been so impaired by her sufferings, that in a year or two, she sank into the grave.

The latter days of Mr. Lewis were spent in comparative poverty. He died on the 30th day of December, 1803, in the ninetieth year of his age.

PHILIP LIVINGSTON.

Philip Livingston, was born at Albany, on the 15th of January, 1716. He was the fourth son of Gilbert Livingston, and his ancestors were highly respectable, holding a distinguished rank in New York, and possessing a beautiful tract of land on the banks of the Hudson. This tract, since known as the Manor of Livingston, has belonged to the family from that time to the present.

Philip Livingston received his education at Yale College, where he was graduated in 1737. He soon after engaged extensively in commerce in

* It is almost needless to remark, that such an occurrence is, to say the best of it, extremely improbable. There exists no affinity between the ancient language of Wales and that of any of the Indian tribes known in North America.

the city of New York, and was very successful in his transactions. In 1754, he was elected an Alderman, and continued in the office for nine successive years. In 1759, he was returned a member to the General Assembly of the colony, where his talents and influence were most use fully employed. His views were liberal and enlightened, and he did much to improve the commercial and agricultural facilities of the country.

Previous to the revolution, it was usual for the respective colonies to have an agent in England, to manage their individual concerns with the British Government. This agent was appointed by the popular branch of the Assembly. In 1770, the agent of the colony of New York dying, the celebrated Edmund Burke was chosen in his stead, and received for the office a salary of five hundred pounds. Between this gentleman and a committee of the Colonial Assembly, a correspondence was maintained; and upon their representations, the agent depended for a knowledge of the state of the colony. Of this committee, Mr. Livingston was a member. From his communications and those of his colleagues, Mr. Burke doubtless obtained that information of the state of the colonies, which he sometimes brought forward to the perfect surprise of the House of Commons, and upon which he often founded arguments, and proposed measures, which were not to be resisted.

Mr. Livingston regarded with patriotic indignation, the measures by which the British ministry thought to humble the spirit of the colonies. His avowed sentiments, and the prominent part he had always taken in favor of the rights of the colonies, caused him to be elected, in 1774, a Delegate to the Continental Congress. He was also a member of the distinguished Congress of 1776, and was among those whose names are enduringly recorded on the great charter of their country's freedom and national existence. He was re-elected to the same Assembly the following year, and was also chosen a Senator to the State Legislature, after the adoption of a new Constitution. He again took his seat in Congress, in May, 1778; but his health was shockingly impaired, and such was the nature of his disease, which was a dropsy in the chest, that no rational prospect existed of his recovery. Before his departure from Albany, he took a final farewell of his family and friends, and expressed his conviction that he should not live to see them again. His anticipations proved true. From the period of his return to Congress, his decline was rapid; and he closed his valuable life on the 12th of June, 1778. Suitable demonstrations of respect to his memory were paid by Congress; and his funeral was publicly attended.

Mr. Livingston married the daughter of Colonel Dirck Ten Broeck, by whom he had several children. His family has furnished many distinguished characters. Mr. Livingston was amiable in his disposition, and a firm believer in the great truths of Christianity. He died respected and esteemed by all who knew him.

THOMAS LYNCH.

Thomas Lynch was born on the 5th of August, 1749, at Prince George's Parish, in South Carolina.

Before he had reached the age of thirteen years, young Lynch was sent to England for his education. Having passed some time at the institution of Eaton, he was entered a member of the University of Cambridge, the degrees of which college he received in due course. He left Cambridge with a high reputation for classical attainments, and virtues of character; and entered his name at the Temple, with a view to the profession of law. After applying himself assiduously to the study of jurisprudence, and enriching himself both in mind and manners, with the numberless accomplishments of a gentleman, he returned to South Carolina, after an absence of eight or nine years.

In 1775, on the raising of the first South Carolina regiment of provincial regulars, Mr. Lynch was appointed to the command of a company. Unfortunately, on his march to Charleston, at the head of his men, he was attacked by a violent fever, which greatly injured his constitution, and from the effects of which, he never afterwards wholly recovered. He joined his regiment, but the enfeebled state of his health prevented him from performing the exertions, which he considered incumbent upon him. Added to this, he received afflicting intelligence of the illness of his father, at Philadelphia, and resolved to make arrangements to depart for that city. Upon applying for a furlough, however, he was denied by the commanding officer, Colonel Gadsden. But being opportunely elected to Congress, as the successor of his father, he was repaid for his disappointment, and lost no time in hastening to Philadelphia.

The health of the younger Mr. Lynch, soon after joining Congress, began to decline with the most alarming rapidity. He continued, however, his attendance upon that body, until the Declaration of Independence had been voted, and his signature affixed to it. He then set out for Carolina in company with his father; but the life of the latter was terminated at Annapolis, by a second paralytic attack.

Soon after this afflicting event, a change of climate was recommended to Mr. Lynch, as presenting the only chance of his recovery. He embarked with his wife, on board a vessel proceeding to St. Eustatia, designing to proceed by a circuitous route to the south of France. From the time of their sailing, nothing more has been known of their fate! Various rumors for a time were in circulation, which served to keep their friends in painful suspense; but the conclusion finally adopted was, that the vessel must have foundered at sea, and the faithful pair been consigned to a watery grave.

THOMAS M'KEAN.

Thomas M'Kean was of Irish descent, and born in New-London Chester county, Pennsylvania, on the 19th of March, 1734. After completing the regular course of school instruction, he was entered as a student at law, in the office of David Finney, who resided in New Castle, in Delaware. Before he had attained the age of twenty-one years, he commenced the practice of the law, in the Courts of Common Pleas, for the counties of New-Castle, Kent, and Sussex, and also in the Supreme Court. In 1757, he was admitted to the bar of the Supreme Court in Pennsylvania, and was elected Clerk of the House of Assembly.

The political career of Mr. M'Kean commenced in 1762, at which time he was returned a member of the Assembly from the county of New-Castle. This county he continued to represent in the same body for several successive years, although the last six years of that period, he spent in Philadelphia.

A Congress, usually called the Stamp Act Congress, assembled in New York in 1765, for the purpose of obtaining a redress of the grievances under which the colonies then labored. Of this memorable body, Mr. M'Kean was a member, along with James Otis, and other celebrated men.

A short time previous to the meeting of the Congress of 1774, Mr. M'Kean took up his permanent residence in the city of Philadelphia. The people of the lower counties on the Delaware, were desirous that he should represent them in that body, and he was accordingly elected as their Delegate. On the 3d of September, he took his seat in Congress. From this time until the 1st of February, 1783, a period of eight years and a half, he was annually chosen a member of the great National Council. At the same time, Mr. M'Kean represented Delaware in Congress; he was President of it in 1781, and from July, 1777, was the Chief Justice of Pennsylvania.

Mr. M'Kean was, from the first, decidedly in favor of a Declaration of Independence. He subscribed his name to the original instrument, but, by some mistake, it was omitted in the copy published in the journals of Congress.

At the time Congress passed the Declaration of Independence, the situation of Washington and his army in New Jersey, was extremely precarious. On the 5th of July, it was agreed by several public committees in Philadelphia, to dispatch all the associated militia of the State to the assistance of Washington. Mr. M'Kean was at this time Colonel of a regiment of associated militia. A few days subsequent to the Declaration of Independence, he was on his way to Perth Amboy, in New Jersey, at the head of his battalion.

The associate militia being at length discharged, Mr. M'Kean returned to Philadelphia, and was present in Congress on the 2d of August, when the engrossed copy of the Declaration of Independence was signed by the members. A few days after this, receiving intelligence of his being elected a member of the Convention in Delaware, assembled for the pur-

pose of forming a Constitution for that State, he departed for Dover. Although excessively fatigued, on his arrival, at the request of a committee of gentlemen of the Convention, he retired to his room in the public inn, where he was employed the whole night in preparing a Constitution for the future government of the State. This he did without the least assistance, and even without the aid of a book. At ten o'clock the next morning it was presented to the Convention, by whom it was unanimously adopted.

In 1777, Mr. M'Kean was chosen President of the State of Delaware, and during the same year was appointed Chief Justice of Pennsylvania. The duties of the latter station he discharged with great dignity and impartiality for twenty-two years. At the time of his accepting these offices, he was Speaker of the House of Assembly, and member of Congress. He was chosen President of Congress in 1781; and his conduct in the chair was highly honorable and satisfactory.

Mr. M'Kean was a delegate from Philadelphia, in 1787, to the Convention assembled to ratify the Constitution of the United States. He was a principal leader in this assembly, and was an able and eloquent advocate for the adoption of the Constitution; declaring it to be, in his consideration, "the best the world had yet seen."

In 1799 he was elected a Governor of the State of Pennsylvania, and his administration continued for nine years. His course was ultimately beneficial to the State; but the numerous removals from office of his political opponents produced considerable excitement, and perhaps placed his character in an unamiable light. During the years 1807 and 1808, an attempt was made to impeach him of certain crimes and misdemeanors; and an inquiry was instituted by the Legislature into his official conduct. The result was an honorable acquittal from the charges alleged, and a total vindication of his character.

In 1808, Mr. M'Kean retired from public life, having discharged the duties of a great variety of offices with much ability and reputation. He died on the 24th of June, 1817, in the eighty-third year of his age.

ARTHUR MIDDLETON.

Arthur Middleton was born in the year 1743, in South Carolina, near the banks of the Ashley. At the age of twelve years, he was sent to the school of Hackney, near London; and two years afterwards was sent to the school of Westminster. Here he soon became a proficient in classical literature, and gained the reputation of being an excellent Greek scholar. After several years spent in obtaining his education, and in foreign travel, Mr. Middleton returned to South Carolina.

Soon after his return he married, and again embarked for Europe, accompanied by his wife. He possessed a great fondness for travelling, and during this tour visited many places in England, and the principal

places of France and Spain. In 1773, Mr. Middleton again returned to America, and settled on the delightful banks of the Ashley.

In the spring of 1775, Mr. Arthur Middleton was chosen one of a secret committee, who were authorized to place the colony in a state of defence; and in June, the Provincial Assembly of South Carolina appointed him a member of the Council of Safety. In the following year he was chosen on a committee to prepare a Constitution for the colony. Shortly afterwards he was elected a delegate from South Carolina to the Congress assembled at Philadelphia. Here he had an opportunity of inscribing his name on the great charter of American liberty. At the close of the year 1777, he resigned his seat, leaving behind a character for the purest patriotism and the most fearless decision.

In 1778, Mr. Middleton was elected to the chair of Governor of South Carolina, which office had been left vacant in consequence of the resignation of John Rutledge, who had refused his assent to the new Constitution formed by the Legislature. But candidly avowing the same sentiments with the late Governor, Mr. Middleton conscientiously refused to accept the appointment, under the Constitution which had been adopted. The Assembly proceeded to another choice, and elected Mr. Lowndes to fill the vacancy, who gave his sanction to the new Constitution.

In the year 1779, many of the southern plantations were ravaged by the enemy, and that of Mr. Middleton did not escape. His valuable collection of paintings was much injured, but his family were fortunately absent from the place. On the surrender of Charleston, Mr. Middleton was taken prisoner, and, with several others, was sent by sea to St. Augustine, in East Florida, where he was kept in confinement for nearly a year. At length, in July, 1781, he was exchanged, and proceeded in a cartel to Philadelphia. On his arrival there, he was appointed a representative in Congress, to which office he was also elected the following year.

In 1783, Mr. Middleton declined accepting a seat in Congress, but was afterwards occasionally a member of the State Legislature. He died on the 1st of January, 1787.

LEWIS MORRIS.

Lewis Morris was born at the manor of Morrisania, in the State of New York, in the year 1726. He was educated at Yale College, of which institution he received the honors. On his return home, he devoted himself to agriculture. When the dissensions with the mother country began, he was in a most fortunate condition; with an ample estate, a fine family, an excellent constitution, literary taste, and general occupations, of which he was fond. He renounced at once all these comforts and attractions, in order to assert the rights of his country. He was elected a delegate from New York to the Congress of 1775, wherein he

served on the most important committees. He was placed on a committee of which Washington was chairman, to devise means to supply the colonies with ammunition; and was appointed to the arduous task of detaching the western Indians from a coalition with Great Britain. On this errand, he repaired to Pittsburg, and acted with great zeal and address. In the beginning of 1776, he resumed his seat in Congress, where he continued a laborious and very useful member.

When the subject of independence began to be openly talked of among the people of America, in none of the colonies was a greater unwillingness to the measure betrayed than among the inhabitants of New York. There were many, however, who were the determined opposers of all farther attempts at compromise; and among the latter was Mr. Morris. When he signed the Declaration of Independence, it was at the most obvious risk of his rich and beautiful estate, the dispersion of his family, and the ruin of his domestic enjoyments and hopes. He manifested on the occasion, a degree of patriotism and disinterestedness, which few had it in their power to display.

It happened as was anticipated. The beautiful manor of Morrisania was laid waste by the hostile army; and a tract of woodland of more than a thousand acres in extent was destroyed. Few men during the Revolution were called to make greater sacrifices than Mr. Morris; and none could make them more cheerfully.

He quitted Congress in 1777, and was afterwards a member of the State Legislature, and a Major General of militia. His latter years were devoted to the pursuit of agriculture; his fondness for which was an amiable trait in his character. He died, very generally esteemed, on his paternal estate, in January, 1798, at the age of seventy-one years.

ROBERT MORRIS.

Robert Morris, the great financier of the American Revolution, was born in Lancashire, England, January, 1733–4, O. S., of respectable parentage. His father embarked for America, and caused him to follow at the age of thirteen. He received a respectable education, and before he reached his fifteenth year, was placed in the counting-house of Mr. Charles Willing, at that time one of the first merchants at Philadelphia. His diligence and capacity gained him the full confidence of Mr. Willing, after whose death, he entered into partnership with his son, Thomas Willing, subsequently President of the bank of the United States. This connexion lasted from the year 1754 until 1793,—a period of thirty-nine years.

At the commencement of the American Revolution, Mr. Morris was more extensively engaged in commerce than any other merchant of Philadelphia. He zealously opposed the encroachments of the British Government on the liberties of the colonists, and embraced the popular cause, at the imminent sacrifice of his private interest and wealth. He

declared himself immediately against the stamp act, signed, without hesitation, the non-importation agreement of 1765, and, in so doing, made a direct sacrifice of trade.

In 1775, Mr. Morris was elected, by the Legislature of Pennsylvania, a delegate to the second General Congress. He was placed upon every committee of ways and means, and connected with all the deliberations and arrangements relative to the navy, maritime affairs, and financial interests. Besides aiding his country by his talents for business, his judgment, and his knowledge, he employed his extensive credit in obtaining loans, to a large amount, for the use of the Government.

In May, 1777, he was elected a third time to Congress, and continued to be the chief director of the financial operations of the Government. In 1780, he proposed the establishment of a bank, the chief object of which was, to supply the army with provisions. He headed the list with a subscription of ten thousand pounds; and others followed to the amount of three hundred thousand pounds. The institution was established, and continued until the bank of North America went into operation in the following year.

In 1781, Mr. Morris was appointed, by Congress, Superintendent of Finance. The state of the treasury, when he was appointed to its superintendence, was as bad as possible. Abroad, the public credit was every moment in danger of annihilation. At home, the greatest public, as well as private distress, prevailed. The treasury was so much in arrears to the servants of the public offices, that many of them could not without payment perform their duties, but must have gone to jail for debts they had contracted to enable them to live. It was even asserted, by some of the members of the board of war, that they had not the means of sending an express to the army. But the wasted and prostrate skeleton of public credit sprung to life and action at the reviving touch of Robert Morris. The face of things was suddenly changed. Public and private credit was restored; and it has been said, that "the Americans owe as much acknowledgment to the financial operations of Robert Morris, as to the negociations of Benjamin Franklin, or even the arms of George Washington."

The establishment of the bank of North America was one of his first and most beneficial measures; an institution which he himself planned, and to forward which, he pledged his personal credit to an immense amount.

In 1786, Mr. Morris was chosen to the Assembly of Pennsylvania; and the same year was elected a member of the Convention which framed the Federal Constitution. For the adoption of the present system, he was one of the most strenuous advocates. In 1788, the General Assembly of Pennsylvania appointed him to represent the State in the first Senate of the United States, which assembled in New York. He was a fluent and impressive speaker; and wrote with great ease and power. His conversation was replete with interest and instruction. When the Federal Government was organized, Washington offered him the post of Secretary of the Treasury, which he declined; and, being requested to designate a person for it, he named General Hamilton. At

the conclusion of the war, he was among the first who engaged in the East India and China trade. He was, also, the first who made an attempt to effect what is termed an *out of season* passage to China.

In his latter days, Mr. Morris embarked in vast land speculations, which proved fatal to his fortune. The man who had so immensely contributed to our national existence and independence, passed the closing years of his life in a prison; a beautiful commentary upon those laws which make no distinction between guilt and misfortune, and condemn the honest debtor to the punishment of the convicted felon! He died on the 8th of May, 1806, in the seventy-third year of his age.

Until the period of his impoverishment, the house of Mr. Morris was a scene of the most lavish hospitality. It was open, for nearly half a century, to all the respectable strangers who visited Philadelphia. He was active in the acquisition of money, but no one more freely parted with his gains. No one pursued a more enlightened policy, or manifested through life a greater degree of humanity, virtue, energy, and gentlemanly spirit, than Robert Morris.

JOHN MORTON.

John Morton was born in the county of Chester, (now Delaware,) in Pennsylvania. His ancestors were of Swedish extraction; and his father died a few months previous to his birth.

About the year 1764, Mr. Morton was sent as a delegate to the General Assembly of Pennsylvania, of which he continued for several years an active and distinguished member. He was also appointed to attend the General Congress at New York. In 1766, he was made sheriff of the county in which he resided, and, shortly after, was elevated to a seat on the bench, in the Superior Court of Pennsylvania. He was deputed to the Congress of 1774; and continued to represent Pennsylvania in that assembly through the memorable session of 1776. On the question of declaring independence, in the latter year, the délegation from Pennsylvania being divided, Mr. Morton gave his casting vote in the affirmative. This was an act of great intrepidity, under all the circumstances of the case; and placed upon him a fearful load of responsibility. But he did not hesitate to assume it. The enemies of the measure were exasperated at his conduct; but on his death-bed, he desired his attendants to tell his revilers, that the hour would come, when it would be acknowledged, that his vote in favor of American Independence was the most illustrious act of his life. It is needless to observe how fully and comprehensively his prophetic annunciation has been fulfilled.

In 1777, Mr. Morton assisted in organizing a system of confederation for the colonies, and was chairman of the committee of the whole, at the time when it was agreed to. During the same year, he was seized with an inflammatory fever, and died on the 15th of November, in the fifty-fourth year of his age. He left behind a character for piety, liberality, and patriotism, which his actions are sufficient to substantiate.

THOMAS NELSON, Jun.

Thomas Nelson was born at York, in Virginia, on the 26th of December, 1738. At the age of fourteen, he was sent to England, and placed at a private school in the neighborhood of London. He was afterwards removed to the University of Cambridge, where he enjoyed the instruction of the eminent Doctor Porteus, subsequently Bishop of London. About the close of 1761, he returned to his native country, and, in the following year, married the daughter of Philip Grymes, Esq., of Brandon. His ample fortune enabled him to indulge his spirit of hospitality to its fullest extent, and to live in a style of unusual elegance.

It is not determined with certainty at what period the political career of Mr. Nelson commenced. He was a member of the House of Burgesses in 1774, and during the same year was deputed to the first general Convention of the province which met at Williamsburg on the 1st of August. The next year he was again returned a member to the General Convention, and introduced a resolution for organizing a military force in the province.

In July, 1775, Mr. Nelson was appointed a delegate from Virginia to the General Congress about to assemble at Philadelphia. He retained his seat in this body until 1777. In May of that year, he was obliged to resign all serious occupation, in consequence of a disease in the head. When relieved from this malady, his energies were again called into action, and he was appointed Brigadier General and Commander in chief of the forces of the commonwealth. In this office, he rendered the most important service to his country, and in times of emergency often advanced money, to carry forward the military operations. In 1779, he was again chosen to Congress; but a close application to business produced a recurrence of his former complaint, and he was again compelled to return home.

Soon after his recovery, General Nelson entered with animation into several military expeditions against the British, who, at that time, were making the southern States the chief theatre of war. It was owing to his measures that the army was kept together, until the capture of Yorktown terminated the war. For this service, Governor Nelson had the pleasure of receiving the acknowledgments of Washington, who, in his general orders of the 20th of October, 1781, thus spoke of him: "The General would be guilty of the highest ingratitude, a crime of which he hopes he shall never be accused, if he forgot to return his sincere acknowledgments to his Excellency Governor Nelson, for the succors which he received from him, and the militia under his command, to whose activity, emulation, and bravery, the highest praises are due."

A month subsequent to the surrender of Lord Cornwallis, Governor Nelson resigned his station in consequence of ill health, and immediately afterwards was accused, by his enemies, of having transcended his powers in acting without the consent of his council; but he was honorably acquitted by the Legislature, before whom the charge was preferred. He died on the 4th of January, 1789, just after he had completed his fiftieth year.

WILLIAM PACA.

William Paca was born on the 31st of October, 1740. He was the second son of John Paca, a gentleman of large estate, who resided in Hartford county, Maryland. After receiving his degree of bachelor of arts at the College of Philadelphia, in 1759, he studied law, and, when admitted to the bar, established himself at Annapolis.

In 1771, Mr. Paca was chosen a representative of the county in the Legislature. At this time much contention existed between the proprietary government of Maryland, and the people. Mr. Paca, who represented the people in this body, proved himself a staunch and determined assertor of their rights, which no one more clearly understood. He zealously opposed the avaricious proceedings of the Proprietor and his partizans; and manifested on all occasions a settled hostility to tyranny and oppression.

Mr. Paca was a delegate from Maryland to the Continental Congress of 1774; and was re-appointed to the same station until the year 1778, at the close of which he retired. He was an open advocate for a Declaration of Independence, as were several of his colleagues. A majority of the people of Maryland, however, were not prepared for such a measure. A change was afterwards effected among the people in relation to this subject. The Convention of Maryland recalled their prohibitory instructions to their delegates; and Mr. Paca gladly received permission to vote according to the dictates of his own fearless and unshackled judgment.

In 1778, Mr. Paca was appointed Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Maryland, an office which he continued to exercise with great ability until 1780, when he was made by Congress Chief Judge of the Court of Appeals in prize and admiralty cases. In 1782, he was elected Governor of his native State. He was distinguished for great correctness and integrity in the discharge of the duties of this station, and manifested a peculiar regard for the interests of religion and literature. At the close of the year he retired to private life. In 1786, he again accepted the executive chair, and continued in it for a year. On the organization of the Federal Government, in 1789, he received from Washington the appointment of Judge of the District Court of the United States for Maryland. This office he held until the year 1799, when he died in the sixtieth year of his age.

ROBERT TREAT PAINE.

Robert Treat Paine was born in Boston, in 1731.

At the age of fourteen years, he became a member of Harvard college, and after leaving it, kept, for a period, a public school, the fortune of his father having been considerably reduced. With the view of obtaining

more ample means for the maintenance of his parents, he also made a voyage to Europe. Before entering on the study of the law, he devoted some time to the subject of theology. In 1775, he acted as chaplain to the troops of the provinces at the northward, and afterwards preached occasionally in other places. At length he applied himself earnestly to the study of the law. On being admitted to the bar, he established himself at Taunton, in the county of Bristol, where he resided for many years. In 1768, he was chosen a Delegate from that town to the Convention called by the leading men of Boston, in consequence of the abrupt dissolution of the General Court, by Governor Bernard.

In 1770, Mr. Paine was engaged in the celebrated trial of Captain Preston, and his men, for the part which they acted in the well known Boston massacre. On this occasion, in the absence of the Attorney General, he conducted the prosecution on the part of the crown. He managed the case with great credit and ability, and received from it a considerable degree of distinction. In 1773, he was elected a Representative to the General Assembly from Taunton; and was afterwards chosen a member of the Continental Congress, which met at Philadelphia. The following year he was re-elected.

Of the Congress of 1776, Mr. Paine was also a member; and to the Declaration of Independence, gave his vote and signed his name.

In 1780, Mr. Paine was sent to the Convention which met to deliberate respecting a Constitution for the State of Massachusetts; and of the committee which framed the instrument he was a conspicuous member. Under the government organized, he was appointed Attorney General, an office which he held until 1790, when he was transferred to a seat on the bench of the Supreme Judicial Court. In this station, he continued till his seventy-third year. His legal attainments were extensive; and he discharged his judicial functions with the most rigid impartiality. Indeed, his strict fidelity sometimes gave him the reputation of unnecessary severity; but the charge could only have proceeded from the lawless and licentious. His memory was uncommonly retentive; and his conversation was marked by great brilliancy of wit, and quickness of apprehension. If he sometimes indulged in raillery, he evinced no ill humor at being the subject of it in his turn. He was an excellent scholar; and to literary and religious institutions rendered important services. The death of Judge Paine occurred on the 11th of May, 1814; he having attained the age of eighty-four years.

He was a founder of the American Academy, established in Massachusetts in 1780, and continued his services to it until his death. The degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred on him by Harvard College

JOHN PENN.

John Penn was born in Caroline county, Virginia, on the 17th of May, 1741. His early education was greatly neglected; and at his father's death, in 1759, he became the sole manager of the fortune left him, which, though not large, was competent.

At the age of twenty-one, he was licensed as a practitioner of law. He rose rapidly into notice; and was soon eminently distinguished as an advocate.

In 1744, Mr. Penn moved to the province of North Carolina, where he attained as high a rank in his profession, as he had done in Virginia. The following year he was chosen a Delegate from North Carolina to the General Congress, in which body he took his seat on the 12th of October. He was successively re-elected to Congress, in the years 1777, 1778, and 1779, and was respected for his promptitude and fidelity in the discharge of the duties assigned him. He was seldom absent from his seat, and was a watchful guardian of the rights and liberties of his constituents. He was urgent in forwarding the measures which led to the total emancipation of the colonies.

After the return of peace, Mr. Penn betook himself to private retirement. The even tenor of his way was marked by few prominent incidents after this period. He departed from this world, September, 1788, at the age of forty-six years. He had three children, two of whom died unmarried.

GEORGE READ.

George Read was born in Maryland, in the year 1734. Being designed by his parents for one of the learned professions, he was placed at a seminary at Chester, in Pennsylvania. Having there acquired the rudiments of the languages, he was transferred to the care of the accomplished Dr. Allison, with whom he remained until his seventeenth year. He was then placed in the office of John Morland, Esq., a lawyer in the city of Philadelphia, for the purpose of fitting himself for the legal profession.

In 1753, at the age of nineteen years, Mr. Read was admitted to the bar. In the year following, he commenced the practice of the law, in the town of New-Castle. In 1763, he was appointed Attorney General of the three lower counties on the Delaware. In the year 1765, Mr. Read was elected a Representative from New-Castle county, to the General Assembly of Delaware, a post which he occupied for twelve years.

On the first of August, 1774, Mr. Read was chosen a Delegate from Delaware to the Continental Congress. To this station he was annually re-elected, during the whole revolutionary war. Mr. Read did not vote for the Declaration of Independence. But when, at length, the measure

had received the sanction of the great National Council, and the time arrived for signing the instrument, Mr. Read affixed his signature to it, with all the cordiality of those who had voted in its favor.

Mr. Read was President of the Convention which formed the first Constitution of the State of Delaware. In 1782, he accepted the appointment of Judge of the Court of Appeals, in admiralty cases, an office which he held until the abolition of the court. In 1787, he represented the State of Delaware, in the Convention which framed the Constitution of the United States, under which he was immediately chosen a member of the Senate. The duties of this exalted station, he discharged till 1793, when he accepted of a seat on the bench of the Supreme Court of Delaware, as Chief Justice. He died in this office, in the autumn of 1798.

The legal attainments of Mr. Read were extensive; and his decisions are still respected as precedents of no slight authority. In private life he was esteemed for an expanded benevolence to all around him.

CÆSAR RODNEY.

Cæsar Rodney was a native of Dover, in Delaware, where he was born about the year 1730. He inherited from his father a large landed estate. At the age of twenty-eight, he was appointed High Sheriff in the county where he resided, and on the expiration of his term of service, was created a Justice of the Peace and a Judge of the lower Courts. In 1762, and perhaps at an earlier date, he represented the county of Kent, in the Provincial Legislature. In the year 1765, he was sent to the first General Congress, which assembled at New York, to adopt the necessary measures for obtaining a repeal of the stamp act, and other odious measures of the British ministry.

In 1769, Mr. Rodney was elected Speaker of the House of Representatives, an office which he continued to fill for several years. About the same time, he was appointed Chairman of the Committee of Correspondence with the other colonies. He was a member of the well-known Congress of 1774; when he had for his colleagues, Thomas M'Kean, and George Read.

At the time that the question of independence came before Congress, Mr. Rodney was absent on a tour of duty, in the southern part of Delaware. Mr. M'Kean, and Mr. Read, his colleagues, were divided upon the subject. Aware of the importance of an unanimous vote, Mr. M'Kean dispatched, at his private expense, an express into Delaware, to acquaint Mr. Rodney of the delicate posture of affairs, and to hasten his return to Philadelphia. With great exertion, he arrived on the spot, just as the members were entering the door of the State-House, at the final discussion of the subject.

In the autumn of 1776, a Convention was called in Delaware, for the purpose of framing a new Constitution, and of appointing delegates to

the succeeding Congress. In this Convention, the influence of the royalists proved sufficiently strong to deprive Mr. Rodney of his seat in Congress. He remained, however, a member of the Council of Safety, and of the Committee of Inspection, in both of which offices he exerted himself with great diligence. In 1777, he repaired in person to the camp near Princeton, where he remained for nearly two months, in the most active and laborious employment. During the same year, he was reappointed a delegate to Congress, but, before taking his seat, was elected President of the State. In the latter office he continued for about four years, at the close of which period he retired from public life. He was again elected to Congress, but it does not appear that he ever after took his seat in that body. A cancer, which had afflicted him for some time, and which had greatly disfigured his face, now increased its ravages, and, in the early part of the year 1783, brought him to the grave. Mr. Rodney was distinguished for a remarkable degree of good humor and vivacity; and in generosity of character, was an ornament to human nature.

GEORGE ROSS.

George Ross was born at New-Castle, Delaware, in the year 1730. At the age of eighteen, he entered upon the study of the law, and when admitted to the bar established himself at Lancaster, Pennsylvania. Here he married, and devoted himself, with great zeal to the duties of his profession.

Mr. Ross commenced his political career in 1768, when he was sent a representative to the Assembly of his adopted State. Of this body he continued a member until the year 1774, when he was elected a Delegate to the Continental Congress. To this office he was annually reelected till January, 1777, when he retired. The high sense entertained by his constituents, of his public services and patriotism, was expressed, not merely by thanks, but by a present of one hundred and fifty pounds. This offer was respectfully but firmly declined.

Mr. Ross was an active and influential member of the Provincial Legislature. He was also a member of the Convention which assembled to prepare a declaration of rights on behalf of the State, and to define what should be considered high treason against it. In 1779, he was appointed a Judge of the Court of Admiralty, for the State of Pennsylvania. In July of the same year, he died of a sudden attack of the gout. in the fiftieth year of his age. He left behind him the reputation of a thorough and skilful lawyer, a consistent politician, and an estimable man.

BENJAMIN RUSH.

Benjamin Rush was born in Byberry, Pennsylvania, on the 24th of December, 1745. His father died when he was only six years of age, and the care of his education devolved upon his mother, whose prudent management of her son may be learned from the result.

After completing his preparatory studies, he was entered, in 1759, a student in the college of Princeton. On leaving college, he commenced the study of medicine, under the superintendence of Dr. Redman, of Philadelphia. In 1766, he went to Edinburgh, where he spent two years at the university in that city, and from which he received the degree of M. D., in 1768. The next winter after his graduation he passed in London, and having visited France, he returned, in the autumn of the same year, to Philadelphia, and commenced the practice of medicine. In 1769, he was elected professor of chemistry in the college of Philadelphia; and was afterwards appointed professor of the institutes, and practice of medicine, and of clinical practice, in the same university.

In the year 1793, Philadelphia was visited by that horrible scourge, the yellow fever. For some time after its commencement, no successful system of management was resorted to. Dr. Rush afterwards met with a manuscript, which contained an account of the yellow fever, as it prevailed in Virginia, in 1741, and which was given to him by Dr. Franklin, and had been written by Dr. Mitchell, of Virginia. In this manuscript, the efficacy of powerful evacuants was urged, even in cases of extreme debility. This plan Dr. Rush adopted, and imparted the prescription to the college of physicians. An immense accession of business was the consequence, and his mode of treatment was wonderfully successful. The following entry, dated September 10th, is found in his notebook: "Thank God, out of one hundred patients, whom I visited or prescribed for this day, I have lost none."

Between the 8th and 15th of September, Dr. Rush visited and prescribed for a hundred and a hundred and twenty patients a day. In the short intervals of business, which he spent at his meals, his house was filled with patients, chiefly the poor, waiting for his gratuitous advice. For many weeks he seldom ate without prescribing for many as he sat at table. While thus endangering his health and his life by excess of practice, Dr. Rush received repeated letters from his friends in the country, entreating him to leave the city. To one of these letters he replied, 'that he had resolved to stick to his principles, his practice, and his patients, to the last extremity."

The incessant labors of Dr. Rush, during this awful visitation, nearly prostrated his constitution; but he was finally so far restored as to resume the duties of his profession. His mode of treatment was also called into question by many of his contemporaries, notwithstanding the success which had attended it. At length the prejudices against him infected not only physicians, but a considerable part of the community. The public journals were enlisted against him, and in numerous pamphlets his system was attacked with great severity He was even called a

murderer, and was at length threatened to be prosecuted and expelled the city.

Notwithstanding the great labors of Dr. Rush as a lecturer and practitioner, he was a voluminous writer. His printed works consist of seven volumes, six of which treat of medical subjects, and the other is a collection of essays, literary, moral, and philosophical. He was a constant and indefatigable scholar. He extracted so largely from the magazine of information accumulated in the mind of Benjamin Franklin, that he once mentioned to a friend, his intention of writing a book with the title of Frankliniana, in which he proposed to collect the fragments of wisdom, which he had treasured in his memory, as they fell in conversation from the lips of that great man.

Doctor Rush was a member of the celebrated Congress of 1776, which declared these States free and independent. The impulse given to learning and science by this event he used to estimate of incalculable value. In 1777, he was appointed Physician General of the military hospital in the middle department. In 1787, he became a member of the Convention of Pennsylvania, for the adoption of the Federal Constitution. This instrument received his warmest approbation. For the last fourteen years of his life, he was Treasurer for the United States Mint, by appointment of President Adams.

Doctor Rush took a deep interest in the many private associations, for the advancement of human happiness, with which Pennsylvania abounds. He led the way in the establishment of the Philadelphia Dispensary, and was the principal agent in founding Dickinson College, in Carlisle. For some years he was President of the Society for the Abolition of Slavery, and also of the Philadelphia Medical Society. He was a founder of the Philadelphia Bible Society, and a Vice-President of the American Philosophical Society. He was an honorary member of many of the literary institutions, both of this country and of Europe. In 1805, he was honored by the King of Prussia, with a medal, for his replies to certain questions on the yellow fever. On a similar account, he was presented with a gold medal in 1807, from the Queen of Etruria; and in 1811, the Emperor of Russia sent him a diamond ring, as a testimony of his respect for his medical character.

The pen of Doctor Rush was powerfully employed against some of the vices and habits of mankind. His "Inquiry into the effects of ardent spirits upon the human body and mind," has been more read than any of his works. He was a brilliant and eloquent lecturer; and he possessed in a high degree those talents which engage the heart.

The life of Doctor Rush was terminated on the 19th of April, 1813, in the sixty-eighth year of his age. During his illness, which was but of few days' continuance, his house was beset by crowds of citizens, such was the general anxiety in respect to this excellent man. When at length he died, the news of his decease spread a deep gloom over the city, and expressions of profound sympathy were received from all parts of the country.

EDWARD RUTLEDGE.

Edward Rutledge was born in Charleston, South Carolina, November, 1749. After receiving a respectable education in the learned languages, he commenced the study of the law with his elder brother, who, at that time, was becoming the most eminent advocate at the Charleston bar.

When arrived at the age of twenty-one years, Edward Rutledge sailed for England, to complete his legal education. In 1773, he returned to his native country, and began the practice of his profession. He soon became distinguished for his quickness of apprehension, fluency of speech, and graceful delivery. The general estimation in which his talents were held, was evinced in 1774, by his appointment to the General Congress as delegate from South Carolina. He was at this time but twenty-five years of age.

In the Congress of 1776, Mr. Rutledge took a conspicuous part in the discussions, which preceded the Declaration of Independence. At a subsequent date, he was appointed, with Doctor Franklin and John Adams, a commissioner to wait upon Lord Howe, who had requested Congress to appoint such a committee to enter with him into negociations for peace. Mr. Rutledge was again elected to Congress in 1779; but in consequence of ill health, he was unable to reach the seat of government, and returned home. In 1780, during the investment of Charleston by the British, he was taken prisoner by the enemy, and sent to St. Augustine, where he was detained nearly a year before he was exchanged.

On the evacuation of Charleston by the British, he returned to the place of his nativity, and, for the space of seventeen years, was successfully engaged in the practice of his profession; rendering from time to time important services to the State, as a member of her Legislature. In 1798, he relinquished his station at the bar, and was elected Chief Magistrate of South Carolina. He continued to perform the duties of this office until within a short time before his death, which took place on the 23d day of January, 1800. Military and other honors were paid to his memory; and universal regret was expressed at his departure.

ROGER SHERMAN.

Roger Sherman was born in Newton, Massachusetts, on the 19th of April, 1721. He was early apprenticed to a shoemaker, and followed the business of one for some time after he was twenty-two years of age. The father of Roger Sherman died in 1741, leaving his family, which was quite numerous, dependent upon his son for support. He entered upon the task with great cheerfulness. Towards his mother, whose life was protracted to a great age, he always manifested the tenderest affection, and assisted two of his younger brothers to qualify themselves for clergymen.

An elder brother had established himself in New Milford, Connecticut. In 1743, the family of Mr. Sherman removed to that place, and he again commenced business as a shoemaker; but not long after, he entered into partnership with his brother, whose occupation was that of a country merchant. The mind of Roger Sherman was invincibly bent upon the acquisition of knowledge. The variety and extent of his attainments, even at this time, were almost incredible. He soon became known in the county of Litchfield, where he resided, as a man of superior talents, and of unusual skill in the science of mathematics. At the early age of twenty-four, he was appointed to the office of county surveyor. At this time, he had also made no trifling advances in the science of astronomy. As early as 1748, he supplied the astronomical calculations for an almanac, published in New York, and continued to furnish them for several succeeding years.

In 1749, he was married to Miss Elizabeth Hartwell, of Stoughton, in Massachusetts. After her decease, in 1760, he married Miss Rebecca Prescot, of Danvers, in the same State. By these wives he had fifteen children.

In 1754, Mr. Sherman was admitted as an attorney to the bar. The circumstance which led to his study of the profession was merely accidental, and an accident which, in a mind less decided and persevering than that of Sherman, would have passed away without improvement. He became rapidly distinguished as a counsellor, and the year following his admission to the bar, was appointed a Justice of the Peace for New Milford, which town he also represented in the Colonial Assembly. In 1759, he was appointed Judge of the Court of Common Pleas for the county of Litchfield, which office he held for two years. At the expiration of that time, he became a resident of New Haven, of which town he was soon after appointed a Justice of the Peace, and often represented it in the Colonial Assembly. In 1765, he was made a Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, and about the same time was appointed Treasurer of Yale College, which institution bestowed upon him the honorary degree of Master of Arts.

In 1766, Mr. Sherman was elected a member of the Upper House, in the General Assembly of Connecticut; and during the same year he was appointed a Judge of the Superior Court. He continued a member of the Upper House for nineteen years, until 1785, when the two offices which he held being considered incompatible, he relinquished his seat at the council board, preferring his station as a Judge. The latter office he continued to exercise until 1789, when he resigned it on being chosen to Congress, under the Federal Constitution.

Mr. Sherman was a delegate to the celebrated Congress of 1774, and continued uninterruptedly a member of that body, until his death in 1793 His services during his congressional career were many and important. He was employed on numerous committees, and was indefatigable in the investigation of complicated and difficult subjects. In 1776, he received the most flattering testimony of the high respect in which he was held, in being associated with Adams, Jefferson, Franklin, and Livingston, in the responsible duty of preparing the Declaration of Independence.

In the State where he resided, Mr. Sherman continued to receive repeated demonstrations of the esteem with which his fellow citizens regarded him.

Under the new Constitution, Mr. Sherman was elected a Representative to Congress from the State of Connecticut. At the expiration of two years, a vacancy occurring in the Senate, he was elevated to a seat in that body. In this office he died on the 23d of July, 1793, in the seventy-third year of his age.

A predominant trait in the character of Roger Sherman was his practical wisdom. Although inferior to many in rapidity of genius, he was surpassed by none in clearness of apprehension, energy of mind, or honesty of action. A remark of Jefferson bears testimony to the strength and soundness of his intellect. "That is Sherman," said he to a friend, to whom he was pointing out the most remarkable men of Congress, "a man who never said a foolish thing in his life." Not less honorable to the integrity of his character, is the remark of Fisher Ames, who was wont to say: "If I am absent during the discussion of a subject, and consequently know not on which side to vote, I always look at Roger Sherman, for I am sure *if I vote with him I shall vote right.*"

JAMES SMITH.

James Smith was born in Ireland, but at what period has not been ascertained. His father was a respectable farmer, who removed to America with a numerous family, and settled on the west side of the Susquehanna river.

After being qualified for the profession of the law, Mr. Smith took up his residence as a lawyer and surveyor, near the present town of Shippensburg; but he subsequently removed to the flourishing village of York, where he continued the practice of his profession during the remainder of his life. On the commencement of the difficulties with the mother country, he resolutely enlisted himself on the patriotic side, and became an uncompromising opposer of the insulting aggressions of the British Government. He was chosen a delegate to all the patriotic meetings of the Province, and was always in favor of the most vigorous and decided measures. He was the first one who raised a volunteer corps in Pennsylvania, in opposition to the armies of Great Britain; and was elected captain, and afterwards colonel of a regiment. In January, 1775, he was a delegate to the Convention for the Province of Pennsylvania, and concurred in the spirited declarations of that Assembly.

In the month of July, a Convention was held in Philadelphia, for the purpose of forming a new Constitution for Pennsylvania. Of this body, Mr. Smith was a member, and by it he was chosen a Delegate to Congress. He continued to represent his constituents for several years in the great National Assembly, and was always active and efficient in the discharge of his duties. On withdrawing from Congress, in November,

1788, he resumed his professional pursuits, which he continued to exercise until the year 1800, when he withdrew from the bar, having practised the law for about sixty years. He died in the year 1806.

RICHARD STOCKTON.

Richard Stockton was born near Princeton, New Jersey, on the first day of October, 1730, and received his education at the college in his native State, where he graduated at the age of eighteen.

On leaving college, Mr. Stockton commenced the study of the law, and on his admission to the bar, rose quickly to an enviable distinction. About the year 1767, he relinquished his professional business for the purpose of visiting Great Britain. During his tour through the united countries, he was received with great attention. On visiting Edinburgh, he was complimented with a public dinner, by the authorities of that city, the freedom of which was unanimously conferred upon him. During his stay in Scotland, he was so fortunate as to induce the Reverend Dr. Witherspoon, of Paisley, to remove to America, and accept the presidency of New Jersey College.

On his return to this country, Mr. Stockton stood high in the royal favor, and was appointed one of the Royal Judges of the Province, and a member of the Executive Council. But on the commencement of the aggravating system of oppression by which the mother country hoped to humiliate the colonists, he separated himself from the Royal Council, and joyfully concurred in all the liberal measures of the day. On the 21st of June, 1776, he was elected a Delegate to the General Congress, then sitting in Philadelphia. Here he discharged, with fidelity and energy, all the duties assigned him; and on the agitation of the great question of independence, he addressed the House in its behalf.

On the 30th of November, Mr. Stockton was unfortunately taken prisoner by a party of refugee royalists. He was dragged from his bed at night, and carried to New York. Here he was treated with the utmost rigor and indignity. Congress remonstrated with General Howe in his behalf, and he was finally released from his captivity; but the iron had entered his soul. His constitution had experienced an irreparable shock, and his ample fortune was completely reduced. He continued to languish for several years, and at length died, at his residence in Princeton, on the 28th of February, 1781, in the fifty-third year of his age. His character was in every respect estimable. He possessed a cultivated taste for literature, and was a polished and eloquent speaker.

THOMAS STONE.

Thomas Stone was born in Charles county, Maryland, in 1743. He was a descendant of William Stone, who was Governor of Maryland during the protectorate of Oliver Cromwell.

After acquiring a tolerable acquaintance with the learned languages, he entered upon the study of the law. Having obtained a competent knowledge of the profession, he commenced practice in Fredericktown, Maryland. After residing at this place two years, he removed to Charles county, in the same State. At the age of twenty-eight, he received by marriage, the sum of one thousand pounds sterling; and with it purchased a farm near the village of Port Tobacco, upon which he continued to reside during the revolutionary struggle. Although his business was by no means lucrative, nor his fortune considerable, his well known honesty and ability caused him to be sent a Delegate to the Congress of 1776, to which body he was elected for several subsequent years. After the Maryland Legislature had relieved him and his colleagues of the restrictions which bound them, he joyfully affixed his name to the Declaration of Independence.

Mr. Stone was a member of the committee appointed by Congress to prepare Articles of Confederation; and the manner in which he discharged the duties devolving upon him in that station, was highly satisfactory. After seeing the Confederation finally agreed upon in Congress, he declined a re-appointment to that body, but became a member of the Legislature of his native State. In 1783, he was again chosen to Congress; and in the session of 1784, acted for some time as President *pro tempore*. On the adjournment of Congress this year, he retired from that body, and engaged actively in the duties of his profession. His practice now became lucrative in Annapolis, whither he had removed; and he soon rose to distinction at the bar. As an advocate, he excelled in strength of argument; and was often employed in cases of great difficulty.

Mr. Stone died on the 5th of October, 1787, in the forty-fifth year of his age, and while on the point of embarking for Europe, for the benefit of his health.

GEORGE TAYLOR.

George Taylor was born in Ireland, in the year 1716. At a suitable age he commenced the study of medicine; but his genius not being adapted to his profession, he relinquished his medical studies, and soon after set sail for America. On his arrival he was entirely destitute of money, and was obliged to resort to manual labor to pay the expenses of his voyage. He was first engaged in the iron works of Mr. Savage, Durham, on the Delaware, and was afterwards taken into his count-

ing-room as a clerk. In this situation, he rendered himself very useful, and, at length, upon the death of Mr. Savage, he became connected in marriage with his widow, and consequently the proprietor of the whole establishment. In a few years, the fortune of Mr. Taylor was considerably augmented. He now purchased a handsome estate, near the river Lehigh, in the county of Northampton, where he erected a spacious mansion, and took up his permanent abode. In 1764, he was chosen a member of the Provincial Assembly, where he soon became conspicuous. In this body he continued to represent the county of Northampton until 1770; but he afterwards returned to Durham, to repair the losses of fortune, to which the change of his place of business had led.

In October, 1775, he was again chosen to the Provincial Assembly, and the following month, was appointed, in connexion with others, to report a set of instructions to the Delegates which the Assembly had just appointed to the Continental Congress. Pennsylvania was for some time opposed to an immediate rupture with the mother country; and it was only by the casting vote of Mr. Morton, that her consent to the measure of Independence was secured. On the 20th of July, 1776, the Pennsylvania Convention proceeded to a new choice of representatives. Mr. Morton, Dr. Franklin, Mr. Morris, and Mr. Wilson, who had voted in favor of the Declaration of Independence, were re-elected. Those who had opposed it were at this time dropped, and the following gentlemen were appointed in their place, viz. Mr. Taylor, Mr. Ross, Mr. Clymer, Dr. Rush, and Mr. Smith.

Mr. Taylor retired from Congress in 1777; and died on the 23d of February, 1781, in the sixty-sixth year of his age.

MATTHEW THORNTON.

Matthew Thornton was born in Ireland, about the year 1714. When he was two or three years old, his father emigrated to America, and after a residence of a few years at Wiscasset, in Maine, he removed to Worcester, in Massachusetts. Here young Thornton received a respectable education, and subsequently commenced the study of medicine. Soon after completing his preparatory course, he removed to Londonderry, in New-Hampshire, where he entered upon the practice of his profession, and soon became distinguished, both as a physician and a surgeon.

In 1745, Dr. Thornton was appointed to accompany the New-Hampshire troops, as a surgeon, in the well known expedition, planned by Governor Shirley, against Cape Breton. His professional abilities were here creditably tested; for of the corps of five hundred men, of whom he had charge as a physician, only six died of sickness, previous to the surrender of Louisburg, notwithstanding the hardships to which they were exposed.

Under the Royal Government, Dr. Thornton was invested with the

office of Justice of the Peace, and commissioned as Colonel of the militia. But when that Government was dissolved, Colonel Thornton abjured the British interest, and adhered to the patriotic cause. He was President of a Provincial Convention, assembled at Exeter, in 1775.

The next year he was chosen a Delegate to the Continental Congress, and signed his name to the engrossed copy of the Declaration of Independence. During the same year, he was appointed Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas; and shortly after was raised to the office of Judge of the Superior Court of New-Hampshire, in which office he continued until 1782. Two years previous to this latter date, he had purchased a farm, pleasantly situated on the banks of the Merrimack, near Exeter, where he principally devoted himself to agriculture. He was a member of the General Court for one or two years, and a Senator in the State Legislature, as also a member of the Council in 1785, under President Langdon. Dr. Thornton died while on a visit at Newburyport, on the 24th of June, 1803, in the eighty-ninth year of his age.

He was a man of strong powers of mind, and was remarkably entertaining and instructive in conversation.

GEORGE WALTON

George Walton was born in the county of Frederick, Virginia, about the year 1740. He was early apprenticed to a carpenter, who, being a man of contracted views, not only kept him hard at work during the day, but refused him the privilege of a candle, by which to read at night. Young Walton, however, was resolutely bent on the acquisition of knowledge, and contrived to collect, at his leisure moments, pieces of lightwood, which served at night, in place of a candle. His application was intense; and his attainments were rapid and valuable.

At the expiration of his apprenticeship, he removed to the province of Georgia, and entering upon the study of the law, commenced, in 1774, the practice of that profession. At this time the British Government was in the exercise of full power in Georgia. Mr. Walton was one of the most zealous of the few advocates of the patriotic cause. He was a member of the committee which prepared a petition to the King; and in 1776, he was elected a Delegate to the Continental Congress. In this station he continued to represent the State of Georgia, until October, 1781. He was extremely useful on many important committees, and always evinced much zeal and intelligence in the discharge of his duties.

In December, 1778, Mr. Walton received a Colonel's commission in the militia, and was present at the surrender of Savannah to the British arms. During the obstinate defence of that place, he was wounded in the thigh, in consequence of which, he fell from his horse, and was made a prisoner by the British troops. A Brigadier General was demanded in exchange for him, but in September, 1779, he was exchanged

for a Captain of the navy. In the following month, he was chosen Governor of the State; and in the succeeding January, was elected a member of Congress for two years.

The remainder of Mr. Walton's life, was filled up in the discharge of the most respectable offices within the gift of the State. He was at six different times chosen a Representative to Congress; twice appointed Governor of the State; once a Senator of the United States; and at four different periods, a Judge of the Superior Courts. He was a man of no ordinary talents; and was conspicious for his uniform devotion to liberty. He died on the 2d of February, 1804.

WILLIAM WHIPPLE.

William Whipple was born at Kittery, Maine, in the year 1730. His education was limited, and on leaving school, he entered on board a merchant vessel, and devoted himself for several years to commercial pursuits. His voyages were chiefly to the West Indies, and proving successful, he acquired a considerable fortune.

In 1759, he relinquished his seafaring occupation, and commenced business at Portsmouth. He entered with spirit into the controversy between Great Britain and the Colonies; and in 1775, represented the town of Portsmouth in the Provincial Congress, which met at Exeter. In 1776, he was appointed a Delegate to the General Congress, of which body he continued a member, until September, 1799.

In the year 1777, while Mr. Whipple was a member of Congress, the appointment of Brigadier General was bestowed upon him, and the celebrated John Stark, by the Assembly of New-Hampshire. He was present at the desperate battle of Saratoga; and his meritorious conduct on the occasion was rewarded, by his being jointly appointed with Colonel Wilkinson, as the representative of General Gates, to meet two officers from General Burgoyne, and settle the articles of capitulation. He was also selected as one of the officers, who were appointed to conduct the surrendered army to their destined encampment, on Winter Hill, in the vicinity of Boston. In 1778, General Whipple, with a detachment of New-Hampshire militia, was engaged, under General Sullivan, in executing a plan for the re-taking of Rhode Island from the British.

During the remaining years of his life, Mr. Whipple filled many important offices. As a representative to the State Legislature, he was highly popular; and in 1782, he received the appointment of Receiver of Public Moneys for New-Hampshire, from Mr. Morris, the superintendent of finance. He relinquished the office in 1784, and continued in the station of Judge of the Superior Court of Judicature. The duties of the latter office he discharged until the 28th of November, 1785, when he expired, in the 55th year of his age.

WILLIAM WILLIAMS.

William Williams was born in Lebanon, Connecticut, on the 8th of April, 1731. At the age of sixteen he entered Harvard College, and after the usual period was honorably graduated. For some time after his return home, he devoted himself to theological studies, under the direction of his father. In 1755, he belonged to the staff of Colonel Ephraim Williams, the founder of Williams College in Massachusetts, and was present at the celebrated battle fought at the head of Lake George, between the provincial troops, and the French Canadians. During the contest, Colonel Williams was shot through the head by an Indian, and killed.

Soon after this occurrence, William Williams returned to Lebanon; and in 1756 was chosen Clerk of the town, an office which he continued to hold for the space of forty-five years. About the same time, he was appointed a Representative to the General Assembly of Connecticut. In this latter capacity he served for many years, during which he was often appointed Clerk of the House, and not unfrequently filled the Speaker's chair. In 1780, he was transferred to the Upper House, being elected an Assistant; an office which he held for twenty-four years.

Mr. Williams was a member of the Continental Congress, during the years 1776 and 1777; and took an honorable part in the deliberations of that body. During his campaign at the north, he had been disgusted with the British commanders, on account of the haughtiness of their conduct, and the little attachment which they manifested for his native country. The impression was powerful and enduring; and led him to form a sincere and devoted wish for the independence of America.

The following anecdote has been related as a proof of the patriotic spirit of Mr. Williams. Towards the close of the year 1776, the military affairs of the colonies wore a gloomy aspect. In this doubtful state of things, the council of safety for Connecticut was called to sit at Lebanon. Two of the members of this council, William Hillhouse and Benjamin Huntington, quartered with Mr. Williams. One evening, the conversation turned upon the gloomy state of the country, and the probability that, after all, success would crown the British arms. "Well," said Mr. Williams, with great calmness, "if they succeed, it is pretty evident what will be my fate. I have done much to prosecute the contest, and one thing I have done which the British will never pardon—I have signed the Declaration of Independence. I shall be hung." Mr. Hillhouse expressed a confident hope, that America would yet be successful. Mr. Huntington observed, that, in case of ill success, *he* should be exempt from the gallows, as his signature was not attached to the Declaration, nor had he written any thing against the British government. To this Mr. Williams replied, his eye kindling as he spoke, "Then, Sir, you deserve to be hanged, for not having done your duty."

Mr. Williams died on the 2d day of August, 1811, in the eighty-first year of his age.

JAMES WILSON.

James Wilson was born in Scotland, about the year 1742. He received an excellent education; studying successively at Glasgow, St. Andrews, and Edinburgh, and enjoying the instruction of the distinguished Dr. Blair, and the not less celebrated Dr. Watts.

After completing his studies, he embarked for America, and arrived at Philadelphia, early in the year 1766. Here he served some time in the capacity of tutor in the College of the city, and acquired the reputation of being a fine classical scholar. He shortly after entered the law office of Mr. John Dickinson, and, at the expiration of two years, commenced practice, first at Reading and Carlisle, then at Annapolis, and finally at Philadelphia, where he continued to reside during the remainder of his life. At an early period, Mr. Wilson espoused the cause of the colonies. He was an American in principle from the time that he landed on the American shore. He became a member of the Provincial Convention of Pennsylvania, and in 1775, was unanimously elected a Delegate to Congress. His standing during the whole course of his attendance on this body, was deservedly high. He evinced great ability and fidelity in the discharge of his numerous duties, and voted in favor of Independence in opposition to a majority of his colleagues.

The high estimation in which Mr. Wilson was held, may be learned from his receiving the appointment of Advocate General for the French Government, in the United States. He continued to hold this office, which was both arduous and delicate, for several years, at the close of which, the King of France handsomely rewarded him by a gift of ten thousand livres. About the year 1782, Mr. Wilson was appointed a Counsellor and Agent for Pennsylvania, in the great controversy between that State and the State of Connecticut, relating to certain lands within the charter boundary of Pennsylvania. He discovered much legal knowledge and tact in the management of this business; and the question was finally settled in favor of Pennsylvania.

He was a member of the celebrated Convention of 1787, which assembled in Philadelphia, for the purpose of forming the Constitution of the United States. During the long deliberations on this instrument, he rendered the most important services. He was on the committee which reported the draught of the Constitution, and did much to settle, upon just principles, the great and important points which naturally arose in the formation of a new Government.

When the State Convention of Pennsylvania assembled to ratify the Federal Constitution, Mr. Wilson was returned a member of that body, and as he was the only one who had assisted in forming that instrument, it devolved upon him to explain to the Convention the principles upon which it was founded, and the great objects which it had in view.

In 1789, Mr. Wilson was appointed by Washington, a Judge of the Supreme Court, under the Federal Constitution. In this office, he continued until his death, which occurred on the 28th of August, 1798, at

Edenton, in North Carolina, while on a circuit attending to his judicial duties. Mr. Wilson was twice married; the first time to a daughter of William Bird, of Berks county, and the second time to a daughter of Mr. Ellis Gray, of Boston.

JOHN WITHERSPOON.

John Witherspoon, alike distinguished as a minister of the Gospel and a patriot of the Revolution, was born in the parish of Yester, a few miles from Edinburgh, on the 5th of February, 1722. He was lineally descended from John Knox, the celebrated Scottish reformer; and was sent at an early age to the public school at Haddington, where he applied himself closely to the study of classical literature.

At the age of fourteen, he was removed to the University of Edinburgh; and on completing his theological studies, he was ordained and settled in the parish of Beith, in the west of Scotland.

Doctor Witherspoon left behind him a sphere of great usefulness and respectability, in retiring from his native land. He arrived in America in August, 1768, and in the same month was inaugurated President of the College of New Jersey. His exertions in raising the character and increasing the funds of this institution, were successful and indefatigable.

On the occurrence of the American war, the college was broken up, and the officers and students were dispersed. Doctor Witherspoon now assumed a new attitude before the American public. On becoming a citizen of the country, he warmly espoused her cause against the British ministry. He was a Delegate to the Convention which formed the republican Constitution of New Jersey; and proved himself as able a politician as he was known to be philosopher and divine. Early in the year 1776, he was chosen a Representative to the General Congress, by the people of New Jersey. He took a part in the deliberations on the question of Independence, for which he was a warm advocate. To a gentleman, who declared that the country was not yet ripe for a Declaration of Independence, he replied: "Sir, in my judgment, the country is not only *ripe*, but *rotting*."

For the space of seven years, Doctor Witherspoon continued a Delegate from New Jersey to the Continental Congress. Few men acted with more energy or promptitude, or attended more closely and faithfully than he to the duties of his station.

At the close of the year 1779, Doctor Witherspoon voluntarily retired from Congress, and resigned the care and instruction of the students to another. His name, however, continued to add celebrity to the institution, over which he had so creditably presided. But he did not remain long in repose. In 1781, he was again chosen to Congress, and in 1783, he embarked for England, with the view of promoting the interests of the College, for which he had already done so much. He returned to America in 1784, and again withdrew from active life.

Doctor Witherspoon was an admirable model for a young preacher

"A profound theologian, perspicuous and simple in his manner; an universal scholar, acquainted with human nature; a grave, dignified. solemn speaker;—he brought all the advantages derived from these sources, to the illustration and enforcement of divine truth. His social qualities rendered him one of the most companionable of men."

Doctor Witherspoon was twice married; the first time in Scotland, at an early age, to a lady of the name of Montgomery; and the second time, at the age of seventy years, to a lady who was only twenty-three. He had several children, who all passed, or are passing, honorably through life. He died on the 15th day of November, 1794, in the seventy-third year of his age. His works have been collected in four volumes, octavo.

OLIVER WOLCOTT.

Oliver Wolcott was born in Connecticut in the year 1726. His family was ancient and distinguished; and his ancestors successively held a long list of honorable offices in the State. He was graduated at Yale College in 1747; and the same year received a commission as Captain in the army, in the French war. At the head of a company, which was raised by his own exertions, he proceeded to the defence of the northern frontiers, where he continued until the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.

At this time he returned to his native State, and entered upon the study of medicine. He never engaged in the practice of the profession, however, in consequence of receiving the appointment of Sheriff of the county of Litchfield. In 1774, he was elected an Assistant in the Council of the State, and continued in the office till 1786. He was also for some time Chief Judge of the Court of Common Pleas for the county, and Judge of the Court of Probate for the district of Litchfield. In 1776, he was chosen a Delegate from Connecticut to the National Congress, which assembled at Philadelphia. He participated in the deliberations of that body, and had the honor of recording his name in favor of the Declaration of Independence.

From the time of the adoption of that measure until 1786, he was either in attendance upon Congress, in the field in defence of his country, or, as a Commissioner of Indian affairs for the northern department, assisting in settling the terms of peace with the Six Nations. In 1786, he was chosen Lieutenant-Governor of Connecticut, an office which he continued to hold for ten years, at the expiration of which he was raised to the Chief Magistracy of the State. He died on the 1st of December, 1797, in the seventy-second year of his age.

Mr. Wolcott was possessed of great resolution of character; and his attainments in literature were of a superior order. He was also distinguished for his love of order and religion. In 1755, he was married to a Miss Collins, of Guilford, an estimable woman, with whom he enjoyed much domestic felicity, for the space of forty years.

GEORGE WYTHE.

George Wythe was born in the county of Elizabeth city, Virginia, in the year 1726. His mother, who was a woman of superior acquirements, instructed him in the learned languages, and he made considerable progress in several of the solid sciences, and in polite literature. Before he became of age, he was deprived of both his parents; and inheriting considerable property, he became addicted, for several years, to dissipated courses and habits of profligacy. But at the age of thirty, he abandoned entirely his youthful follies, and applied himself with indefatigable industry to study; never relapsing into any indulgence inconsistent with a manly and virtuous character.

Having studied the profession of law, he soon attained a high reputation at the bar, and was appointed from his native county to a seat in the House of Burgesses. He took a conspicuous part in the proceedings of this assembly, and some of the most eloquent state papers of the time were drawn up by him. The remonstrance to the House of Commons, which was of a remarkably fearless and independent tone, was the production of his pen. By his patriotic firmness and zeal, he powerfuly contributed to the ultimate success of his country.

In 1775, Mr. Wythe was elected a Delegate from Virginia to the Continental Congress in Philadelphia. He assisted in bringing forward and urging the Declaration of Independence, and affixed his name to that deathless instrument. During this latter year, he was appointed, in connexion with Thomas Jefferson, Edward Pendleton, and others, to revise the laws of the State of Virginia. In the year 1777, Mr. Wythe was chosen Speaker of the House of Delegates, and during the same year was made Judge of the High Court of Chancery. On the new organization of the Court of Equity, in a subsequent year, he was appointed sole Chancellor, a station which he filled with great ability, for more than twenty years.

In the course of the Revolution, Mr. Wythe suffered much in respect to his property. By judicious management, however, he contrived to retrieve his fortune, and preserve his credit unimpaired. Of the Convention of 1787, appointed to revise the Federal Constitution, he was an efficient member. During the debates, he acted for the most part as chairman. He was a warm advocate for the Constitution, and esteemed it the surest guarantee of the peace and prosperity of the country. He died on the 8th of June, 1806, in the eighty-first year of his age, after a short but very excruciating sickness. By his last will and testament, Mr. Wythe bequeathed his valuable library and philosophical apparatus to his friend, Mr. Jefferson, and distributed the remainder of his little property among the grand-children of his sister, and the slaves whom he had set free.

EARLY HISTORY OF AMERICA.

It is a singular fact, that the principal European nations owe their possessions in America to the enterprise and skill of Italian navigators, though not a single colony was planted by the Italians themselves. Columbus opened to Europe a new world, and acquired for Spain a dominion wide and rich enough to satisfy even Castilian ambition, and his recompense was ingratitude, imprisonment, and an old age dishonored by chains. Cabot, a Venetian in the English service, acquired claims upon the lasting remembrance of Great Britain, whose extent he never lived to realize. Verazzani, of Florence, explored America for the benefit of France, but when sailing in a second expedition to this country, perished at sea. Amerigo Vespucci, who was also a Florentine, though he associated his name in imperishable union with the new world, bought but an empty fame for himself and his country.

Columbus sailed on his first voyage of discovery, from the bar of Saltes, a small island in front of the town of Huelva, early on the morning of the 3d of August, 1492. He directed his course in a south-westerly direction, for the Canary Islands, and immediately commenced a minute journal of the voyage, in the preface to which he recounted the motives which led him to the expedition. In the conclusion of this preface, he says, "I intend to write, during this voyage, very punctually, from day to day, all that I may do, and see, and experience, as will hereafter be seen. Also, my sovereign princes, beside describing each night all that has occurred in the day, and in the day the navigation of the night, I propose to make a chart, in which I will set down the waters and lands of the Ocean sea, in their proper situations under their bearings; and, further, to compose a book, and illustrate the whole in picture by latitude from the equinoctial, and longitude from the west; and upon the whole, it will be essential that I should forget sleep, and attend closely to the navigation, to accomplish these things, which will be a great labor."

The first land that Columbus expected to meet was Cipango, which had been placed by geographers at the eastern extremity of India. This was the name given to the island now called Japan, by Marco Polo, the celebrated Venetian traveller. The most extravagant accounts of the riches of this country were given by the writers of that age, and the Admiral was anxious to proceed directly there. At sunrise, on Sunday, the 7th of October, the Nina, which had outsailed the other vessels, on account of her swiftness, hoisted a flag at her mast-head, and fired a gun, as a signal of having discovered land. There had been a reward promised by the King and Queen to the man who should first make this discovery; and each of the vessels was striving very eagerly to get ahead, and obtain the promised recompense. As they found nothing of

the land the Nina made signals for, the Admiral shifted his course, about evening, towards the west-south-west, with a determination to sail two days in that direction. The reason for making this change was from watching the flight of the birds. The Portuguese had discovered most of their islands in this manner, and Columbus noticed that the flocks which passed them all flew from the north to the south-west. He inferred from this that land was situated in that quarter. After sailing a day or two, they found the air as soft as that of Seville in April, and wonderfully fragrant; the weeds appeared very fresh, and many land birds were taken. The men, however, had lost faith in all signs of land, and did not cease to murmur and complain. The Admiral encouraged them in the best manner he could, representing the riches they were about to acquire, and adding that it was to no purpose to complain; for, having come so far, they had nothing to do but to continue, till, by the assistance of Heaven, they should arrive at the Indies.

On the 11th of October, they met with signs of land that could not be mistaken; and all began to regain spirits and confidence. The crew of the Pinta saw a cane and a log, and picked up a stick, which appeared to have been carved with an iron instrument, a small board, and abundance of weeds that had been newly washed from the banks. The crew of the Nina saw other similar signs, and found, beside, a branch of a thorn full of red berries. Convinced, by these tokens, of the neighborhood of land, Columbus, after evening prayers, made an address to his crew, reminding them of the mercy of God in bringing them so long a voyage with such fair weather, and encouraging them by signs that were every day plainer and plainer. He repeated the instructions that he had previously given, that when they had sailed seven hundred leagues to the westward without discovering land, they should lie by from midnight till daybreak. He told them that, as they had strong hopes of finding land that night, every one should watch in his place; and, besides the thirty crowns a year, which the Spanish sovereigns had promised to the first discoverer, he would give him a velvet doublet.

About ten o'clock that evening, while Columbus was keeping an anxious look-out from the top of the cabin, he thought he beheld a light glimmering at a great distance. Fearing that his hopes might deceive him, he called two of his companions to confirm him. One of them came in season to observe it, but the other was too late. It had disappeared. From this they supposed it might be the torch of some fisherman, raised up and then suddenly dropped again. They were all confident of being near land. About two o'clock in the morning, the Pinta gave the signal of land. It was first perceived by a sailor named Rodrigo de Triana; the thirty pounds a year were not granted to him, but to the Admiral, who had first seen the light in the midst of darkness. His son says, "that this signified the spiritual light he was spreading in those dark regions." When the day appeared, they perceived before them a large island, quite level, full of green trees and delicious waters, and, to all appearance, thickly inhabited. Numbers of the people immediately collected together, and ran down to the shore. They were very much astonished at the sight of the ships, which they believed to be

living creatures. The ships immediately came to anchor. The Admiral went ashore in his boat, well armed, and bearing the royal standard. The other captains each took a banner of the green cross; containing the initials of the names of the King and Queen on each side, and a crown over each letter. The Admiral called upon the two captains, and the rest of the crew who landed, to bear witness that he took possession of that island for his sovereigns. They all gave thanks to God, kneeling upon the shore, shedding tears of joy for the great mercy received. The Admiral rose, and called the island San Salvador. The Indians called it Guanahani, and it is now called Cat Island, and belongs to the group of the Bahamas. Many of the natives came down to witness this ceremony. They were very peaceable and quiet people, and the Admiral gave them some red caps, glass beads, and a few other trifles of small value, with which they were much delighted. They imagined that the strangers had descended from heaven, and valued the slightest token they could receive from them, as of immense worth.

When the Admiral and his companions returned to their vessels, the natives followed them in large numbers. Some swam; others went in

their canoes, carrying parrots, spun cotton, javelins, and other articles, to exchange for hawks' bells, and strings of beads. They went entirely naked, seeming to be very poor and simple. They were generally young, of good stature, with thick and short black hair. Their features were good, and their countenances pleasant, though an extreme highness of the forehead gave them rather a wild appearance. Some were painted black, others with white and red; some on the face only, others over the whole body. They had no knowledge of weapons, and grasped the swords which were shown to them by the blades. Their javelins were made of sticks, with points hardened at the fire, and armed with fish bones instead of iron. They easily learned the words that were spoken to them. No beasts were seen upon the island, and no birds but parrots, in which the sailors and the Indians continued trafficing till night.

Columbus pursued his voyage among the many green, fertile, and

populous islands which cluster in the seas he had reached. He had hoped to find great wealth of gold, and the information he received by signs from the Indians seemed always to confirm this opinion, and to send him on some expedition where he was confident of finding rocks sparkling with riches, and rivers flowing over golden sands. But he was continually deceived, or continually deceived himself. At an island they called Isabella, he remained several days in the vain expectation of procuring some gold. The Indians had told his people stories of a rich king dressed in splendid garments, and covered with golden ornaments and they were in hopes that he would be civil enough to visit them, and bring a great many valuable things with him. But no person of that description appeared, and they began to grow tired of waiting; and taking in a fresh supply of water, they set sail for some other island, in search of the rich king and the gold mines.

They directed their course towards Cuba, where they felt sure of finding the land of spices, silks, and precious metals, of which they were in quest. With this island they were exceedingly delighted, though they still found it by no means the promised land. On the northern coast they sailed into a beautiful river, twelve fathoms deep at its mouth. The banks of this river, upon both sides, were covered with trees of a most rich and luxuriant foliage, and with beautiful shrubs and flowers of every description. They ascended the river some distance, and the Admiral says it was exceedingly pleasant to behold the delightful verdure which presented itself, and to listen to the songs, and admire the variegated plumage, of the birds. The island was full of pleasant mountains, and the grass grew, long and green, down to the very edge of the water.

On the 24th of December, the weather being very calm, and the vessel lying about a league off the Holy Cape, Columbus, at about eleven o'clock at night, retired to rest. It was so very calm, that the man whom the Admiral had left in charge of the helm, contrary to express orders, committed it to a boy, and went to sleep. Columbus says that the sea was as still as water in a dish, so that there was not a seaman awake on board of the ship, when the current carried them directly upon breakers that were roaring with a noise that might have been heard a league off. As the rudder struck, the fellow at the helm cried out, and Columbus immediately awoke and ran upon deck. The master, whose watch it was, then came out, and the Admiral ordered him and the other sailors to take the boat, and carry out an anchor astern. Instead of obeying his command, they immediately rowed off to the other caravel, at that time half a league distant. On perceiving this desertion, Columbus ordered the masts to be cut away, and the vessel lightened as much as possible. But all was in vain; she continued fast a-ground, and was rapidly filling with water. The men on board the other caravel would not receive the deserters in the boat, but obliged them to put back to their own ship. As it was impossible, by this time, to preserve the vessel, Columbus was only anxious to save the men. They went to the other caravel, and on the succeeding day, with the assistance of the natives, and their canoes, they preserved every thing of value. The Indians were very honest and kind, every thing being guarded by them with extreme care, at the

express order of the King; they lamented as much as if the loss had been their own.

The chief King of the place gave the adventurers three houses, in which to store the articles they had saved from the wreck. Perceiving the desire of the Admiral to procure gold, he informed him there was a place in the neighborhood, where it might be found in large quantities. Columbus entertained the King on board of the caravel, and received an invitation to a feast upon shore. The Indian monarch treated the Admiral with every honor, feasting him with several sorts of shrimps, game, and other viands, and with the bread which they called cassavi. He afterwards conducted him into an arbor near his house, where they were attended by more than a thousand persons. The King wore a shirt and a pair of gloves, which Columbus had presented to him, and with which he was very much pleased. He was very neat in his manner of taking food, rubbing his hands with herbs, and washing them after the repast. They then went down to the shore, when Columbus sent for a Turkish bow and some arrows. These were given to one of his crew, who happened

to be very expert in their use. The people were astonished with this exhibition, as they knew nothing of these weapons; but they spoke of some people called *Caribs*, who were accustomed to come and attack them with bows and arrows. Upon which Columbus told the King, that the sovereigns of Castile would send people to fight against the Caribs, and take them prisoners. By order of Columbus, several guns were then fired. The King was astonished, and his followers were very much frightened, falling upon the ground in terror and wonder. Afterwards, a mask was brought, with pieces of gold at the eyes and ears, and in other places. This was given to the Admiral, together with other jewels of gold, which were placed upon his head and neck. Many other presents were also made to the Spaniards. All these things contributed to lessen the grief of the Admiral at having lost his vessel; and he began to be convinced that the accident had providentially happened, in order that this place might be selected for a settlement

Many of his crew were very desirous to remain, and the Admiral accordingly chose a situation for a fort. He thought this necessary, because the territory was at such a distance from Spain, that the natives ought to be held "in obedience, by fear as well as by love." The Spaniards were so active in building the fort, and the Indians so diligent in assisting them, that it was erected in ten days. A large vault was dug, over which a strong wooden tower was built, and the whole surrounded by a wide ditch. In the account of the voyage, drawn up for his sovereigns, Columbus says that he hopes, on his return from Castile, to find a ton of gold collected by the men left here, by trading with the natives; and that he believes they will have discovered mines and spices in such abundance, that before three years, the King and Queen may undertake the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre. "For I have before protested to your majesties," says he, "that the profits of this enterprise shall be employed in the conquest of Jerusalem, at which your majesties smiled, and said you were pleased, and had the same inclinations."

Columbus left thirty-nine men in the island, with seed for sowing, and provision to last a twelvemonth; he left there also the long boat of the ship, and goods to traffic with. To the fortress, the adjacent village, and the harbor, he gave the name of La Navidad, or the Nativity, in memory of their having escaped the perils of shipwreck on Christmas day. After cruising about among the islands till the 16th of January, they set sail directly for Spain. After one or two violent storms, a visit to St. Mary, one of the Azores, a penitential pilgrimage to a hermitage on that island, and an interview with the King of Portugal at Valparaiso, Columbus entered and anchored in the harbor of Palos, on the 15th of March.

After receiving the congratulations of his friends at Palos, Columbus immediately set out to meet his sovereigns, whom he found at Barcelona. To this place, he made a sort of triumphal entry, surrounded by the haughty nobility of Spain, vying with each other in the honors they could pay to the Discoverer. He was received publicly by the sovereigns, in a splendid saloon, seated on the throne, and encircled by a magnificent court. On his entrance they rose to greet him, and would hardly allow him to kiss their hands, considering it too unworthy a mark of vassalage. Columbus then gave an account of his discoveries, and exhibited the different articles which he had brought home with him. He described the quantity of spices, the promise of gold, the fertility of the soil, the delicious climate, the never-fading verdure of the trees, the brilliant plumage of the birds, in the new regions which his own enterprise had acquired for his sovereigns. He then drew their attention to the six natives of the New World, whom he had brought with him, and described their manners and dispositions. He exhibited their dresses and ornaments, their rude utensils, their feeble arms, which corresponded with his description of them, as naked and ignorant barbarians. To this he added, that he had observed no traces of idolatry or superstition among them, and that they all seemed to be convinced of the existence of a Supreme Being, and concluded with saying, "that God had reserved for the Spanish monarchs, not only all the treasures of the New World, but a still greater treasure, of inestimable value, in the infinite number of

souls destined to be brought over into the bosom of the Christian church."

After certain preliminary negociations with his Holiness the Pope, and with the monarch of Portugal, both of whom felt much inclined to possess a portion of the new territories, but did not know exactly how to obtain it, Columbus sailed on his second expedition to the New World, on the 25th of September, 1493. On the 3d of November he made an island, which he called Dominica, as it was first discovered on a Sunday. Other islands were soon seen, and boats were sent ashore at some of them. They were of different shapes and aspects, some green and woody, some covered with rocks of a bright azure and glittering white. To one of these groups he gave the name of the Eleven Thousand Virgins. On reaching La Navidad, at midnight, Columbus gave orders that guns should be fired to apprise the colonists of their arrival, but no answering signal was given. A canoe soon afterwards came off to the fleet, and inquired for the Admiral. The Indians refused to come on board till they had seen and recognized him. When questioned about the Spaniards who had remained there, they said that some of them had been taken sick and died, and that some had quarrelled, and gone away to a distant part of the island. The Admiral concealed his surmises in respect to their fate, and dismissed the natives with some trifling presents to their king, Guacanagari. On the next day he found but little reason to doubt as to the fate of the colonists. When the Admiral landed, he found all the houses in the neighborhood burnt, and the fort entirely destroyed. The only remaining tokens of the history of the colonists were eleven dead bodies, with some torn garments, and broken articles of furniture. They discharged all the cannon and musketry of the fleet at once, in hopes that the sound might reach the ear of some concealed wanderer, who still survived to tell the fate of his companions. But it was in vain.

Columbus was soon visited by Guacanagari, the King, who pretended to have been wounded in a descent of the Caribs, but who was suspected by the Spaniards of having been concerned in the slaughter of their countrymen. He was, however, dismissed in safety, and it was not till subsequent circumstances in some measure confirmed their suspicions, that the Admiral sent out a party to reconnoitre the island and take him prisoner. They scoured the shores, and the lighter caravels entered far into the windings of the rivers. Maldanado was at the head of this expedition, and, with his party, was going towards a high house they saw at a distance, where they supposed the cacique might have taken refuge. "And as he was going," says Peter Martyr, "there met him a man with a frowning countenance and a grim look, with a hundred men following him, armed with bows and arrows, and long and sharp stakes like javelins, made hard at the ends with fire; who, approaching towards our men, spake out aloud with a terrible voice, saying that they were Taini, that is, noble men, and not cannibals; but when our men had given them signs of peace, they left both their weapons and fierceness. Thus, giving each of them certain hawks' bells, they took it for so great a reward, that they desired to enter bonds of near friendship with us, and feared not immediately to

submit themselves under our power, and resorted to our ships with their presents."

It was learned that Guacanagari had retired to the mountains; and on this intelligence, the fleet sailed from Navidad to Monte Christi. The Admiral intended to steer towards the east, and establish a colony at the harbor of La Plata. But being detained by contrary winds, the fleet finally came to anchor in a haven about ten leagues west of Monte Christi, where there seemed to be a very fine situation for a colony. The soil was fertile, and the surrounding sea abounded in fish. Behind it were impenetrable woods, and the rocks below it might be easily crowned with a strong fortress. This was the place, therefore, chosen for the new settlement. A chapel was immediately erected, in which a Catholic festival was, for the first time, celebrated, on the 6th of January, 1494. The public buildings of the new town were erected of stone; the private houses were built of wood, and covered with grass and leaves. Seeds were sown, which sprung up with great rapidity. The neighboring Indians assisted them in building their houses, and provided them food, with the greatest diligence and zeal. Columbus called the new settlement Isabella, in honor of the distinguished patron of his expedition.

On the second of February, a fleet was dispatched to Spain, to communicate the progress of discovery, and the existing condition of affairs. The Admiral was now doomed to be the victim of new troubles. He was sick, and during his illness, a mutiny broke out among the discontented, who laid a plan to return to Spain, and prefer formal charges against Columbus. On recovering from his illness, and learning about the plot, he confined the ringleader, and inflicted some light punishment on the accomplices. Having thus arranged matters at the new settlement, he set out for the gold mines in the interior. After establishing a fortress, and leaving fifty-six men at St. Thomas, and sailing along the northern coast of Hispaniola, in the hope of obtaining an interview with Guacanagari, Columbus continued his course to Cuba, where he entered a spacious harbor, to which he gave the name of Puerto Grande. Still sailing along the coast, the Indian men, women and children, continually crowded to the shore, bringing whatever they could find to barter for beads and bells. All inquiries after gold they answered by pointing towards the south. While sailing in this direction, they reached a beautiful island, which still retains the Indian name of Jamaica. It was found to be very populous and pleasant. On attempting to land, they were met by a large number of canoes, filled with armed Indians, who resisted their approach, darting arrows and javelins, and setting up menacing shouts. Columbus ordered a few shot to be fired among them; and a large dog was let loose, which occasioned great terror and confusion.

On the following day, however, they again resorted to the shore, and engaged in trafficing with the Spaniards. Most of them were painted with various colors, wearing feathers upon their heads, and palm leaves upon their breasts. Some of their canoes were ornamented with carved

work and paintings. These boats were each made out of a single trunk, and many of them were of great size. One was found to be ninety-six feet long and eight broad. Columbus now bore off for Cuba, resolving to sail severa. hundred leagues along the coast, and discover whether it were really the continent. A large group of islands, through which his ships now passed, he called the Queen's Garden. When coasting along Cuba, he frequently sent the boats ashore, with several men, who might inform themselves of the character and products of the country, and inquire of the natives as to its extent. While thus engaged, they saw a singular manner of taking fish among the natives of one of the islands of Queen's Garden. "Like as we with greyhounds do hunt hares in the plain fields," says Peter Martyr, "so do they as it were with a hunting fish take other fishes." This fish was of a form before unknown to the Spaniards, having on the back part of the head a very rough skin. The creature is tied by a cord to the side of the boat, and let down into the water. When the Indians see any great fish or tortoise, the cord is loosened, and the hunting fish fastens upon it, retaining its hold with so much force that the prey is drawn with it to the surface of the water, and there secured.

Columbus pursued his voyage till he had sailed along the coast of Cuba three hundred and thirty-five leagues. The natives could not tell him the extent of the country, though they knew that it exceeded twenty day's travelling. Comparing these circumstances with his previous notions, he arrived at the conclusion that "this country was the beginning of India, which he had intended to come to from Spain." He caused this decision to be published on board the three ships, and all the seamen and most skilful pilots fully concurred with him in the opinion. They all declared under oath that they had no doubt upon the subject. The Admiral also swore to his belief, and the clerk formally attested it, on board of the Nina, on the twelfth of June. At this very time, a shipboy from the mast-top could have seen the open sea beyond the islands to the south; and if Columbus had continued his course in that direction but a single day more, he would have arrived at the end of his imagined continent. But in this error he lived and died: supposing Cuba the extremity of the Asiatic continent.

The Admiral relinquished all further examination of the coast, and stood south-east to an island which he named Evangelista. He here became inclosed in a large bay, which he had supposed a channel opening to the south-east. The water in some places in this sea was as white as milk; and according to one writer, there were sometimes such a multitude of tortoises that they arrested the progress of the ships. At length they were once more coasting along the beautiful and luxuriant shores of Cuba. Here Columbus sought for a pleasant and convenient harbor, where his weary crew might find refreshment and repose. An incident occurred here, while the Admiral was hearing mass upon shore, that is of considerable interest. An old man, of great dignity and gravity, came towards them, and behaved very reverently all the time that the ceremony was going on. When the mass was over, he presented

with his own hands to Columbus a basket of fruit; and when he had been some time entertained there, he requested permission to speak a

few words through the interpreter. The amount of this speech is thus given by Peter Martyr:—

"I have been advertised, most mighty prince, that you have of late with great power subdued many lands and regions hitherto unknown to you, and have brought no little fear upon all the people and inhabitants of the same; the which your good fortune you shall bear with less insolence if you remember that the souls of men have two journeys, after they are departed from this body; the one, foul and dark, prepared for such as are injurious and cruel to mankind; the other, pleasant and delectable, ordained for them which in their time loved peace and quietness. If, therefore, you acknowledge yourself to be mortal, and consider that every man shall receive condign reward or punishment for such things as he hath done in this life, you will wrongfully hurt no man."

Columbus was much pleased and affected by the eloquent wisdom of the old man, as it was conveyed to him by the interpreter. He answered that the chief cause of his coming was to instruct the islanders in the true religion; and that he had special commands from his sovereigns of Spain to subdue and punish the mischievous, and defend the innocent against violence from evil doers. The old man was delighted with the Admiral, and was desirous to accompany him upon the voyage, notwithstanding his extreme age. The entreaties of his wife and children alone prevented him. Columbus remained several days in the river, and on taking leave of his old adviser, he steered south for the open sea. Storms and adverse winds, however, detained him a few days about the island of Queen's Garden, and again visiting Jamaica, he was received with great kindness and confidence.

On the 24th of September, they had reached the eastern extremity of Hispaniola, and pursued their voyage towards the south-east. It was the design of Columbus, at the present time, to complete the discovery of the Caribbee Islands. But the fatigues which he had suffered during

the voyage had completely exhausted him. Besides his great mental exertions, he had shared in the bodily labors of the expedition, with more unwearied activity than the best of his seamen. He had shared all their privations and toils with them. His body and mind at length sunk under these continued and unintermitted labors. A deep lethargy fell upon him, and his crew were fearful that he would die. He could neither remember, nor see, nor hear; and was carried back in a state of insensibility to the harbor of Isabella. What was his surprise and joy, on recovering his faculties, to find here by his bedside, his brother Bartholomew, whom he had not before met with for thirteen years, and whom he had supposed to be dead. He had been appointed by the Spanish Government to the command of three ships, and had received orders to assist his brother in all his enterprises. He reached Isabella just after the Admiral had departed for the coast of Cuba, with supplies of provision that arrived at a fortunate moment, to allay the discontents of the Spaniards, and to alleviate the maladies under which they had been suffering. Meantime the Indians had become much incensed by the outrages of the soldiers, and several Caciques united for their destruction. This was the state of things when the Admiral reached Isabella, and it was not till the island was restored to obedience, that Columbus determined to return to Spain. His enemies at court were many, active and influential, envious and malignant; and by their influence such accusations against the Admiral were laid before his sovereigns, that they determined to send a person of trust and confidence to Hispaniola, to inquire into the alleged abuses. Columbus received this emissary with dignity, and acknowledged complete submission to the will of his monarch. On the 10th of March, 1496, he set sail from Isabella on his return to Spain, leaving his two brothers to administer the government during his absence.

When Columbus arrived at Cadiz, he found three caravels in the harbor ready to set sail for Hispaniola. By these vessels the Admiral dispatched letters to his brother, to inform him of his safe return, and to give him further instructions in respect to the government of the colony. He then immediately repaired to Burgos, at that time the ordinary residence of the court. The sovereigns were absent; but they both soon returned, not only to give him a favorable reception, but to load him with thanks and kindness. The accusations of his enemies were passed by in silence, either as entirely unfounded, or as of no weight, when compared with the great services and unquestionable fidelity of Columbus. The Admiral was encouraged by this unexpected reception. He requested the immediate equipment of six ships, three of which were to be freighted with provisions and necessary utensils and implements for the colony at Isabella, and the rest to remain under his own direction. This demand appeared very reasonable, but the sovereigns suggested that it was immediately important to found a solid establishment, on which succeeding colonies might be modelled. The propriety of this was obvious. It was arranged that the sovereigns, at their own charge, should transport a large number of sailors, soldiers, laborers, mechanics and artists to Hispaniola. To these, surgeons, physicians, and priests were added. The A lmiral also obtained permission to carry a number

of musicians, to solace their labors, and amuse their leisure hours; lawyers and advocates were expressly excluded by edict, in order to prevent quarrelling in the new dominions. Nothing could have been more prudently devised than the greater part of these regulations. There was one proposal of Columbus, however, extremely pernicious to the interests of the rising colony. He suggested the transportation of convicted criminals, and of those confined in prison for debts which they could never hope to pay, as a commutation for the punishment to which they would otherwise be subject. This advice was given in consequence of the present difficulty of procuring men willing to embark in the expedition. The evils which had befallen their countrymen deterred those who could live in peace and prosperity in Spain from going to the Indies; but the proposition of Columbus was most unwise and unjust.

Much delay occurred in the preparation for the voyage, owing to the obstacles thrown in the way by the cold-blooded enemies of Columbus; but the expedition was enabled to set sail on the 30th of May, 1498. The Admiral pursued a more southerly course than he had before taken, and on the 31st of July, made an island which he called La Trinidad. He continued coasting to the south-west point of Trinidad, to which he gave the name of Point Arenal. Near this place the ships cast anchor. A large canoe here put off from the shore, in which there were about five-and-twenty Indians, who cried out to them in a language which no one in the ships could understand. Columbus endeavored to prevail upon them to come on board, but to no purpose. They remained gazing at the ships, with the paddles in their hand, ready for instant escape. Their complexion was fairer than that of any Indians they had before seen. They were almost naked, and, besides the usual bows and arrows, they carried bucklers—a piece of armor which they had never before seen among the natives of the New World.

Columbus, having tried every other means to attract them, and in

vain, determined to try the power of music. He ordered a sort of Indian dance to be executed on the deck of his ship, while the musicians on

board sung and played upon their different instruments. The natives mistook this for a signal of battle, and immediately discharged their arrows, and on a return from a couple of cross-bows, commenced a rapid retreat.

Without knowing it, Columbus was now really in the neighborhood of the continent. While anchored at Point Arenal, the extremity of the island of Trinidad, he saw high land towards the north-west, about fifteen leagues distant, which he called Isla de Gracia. This was the province to which he afterwards gave the name of Paria, and which formed a part of the continent. They found in Trinidad the same kind of fruits that abounded in Hispaniola. There were also large quantities of oysters there, and a great number of parrots, with every variety of beautiful and brilliant plumage. In the strait formed between Trinidad and the main land, they were nearly swallowed up by the violence of the waters. Two very rapid currents, setting in from opposite quarters, lifted the ships violently to a great height, on a mountain of surges, but the waves gradually subsided, and they escaped without injury. To this pass Columbus gave the name of Boca de la Sierpe, or the Mouth of the Serpent. They soon found themselves, by the assistance of favorable breezes, in a tranquil gulf, sailing quietly beyond the reach of danger.

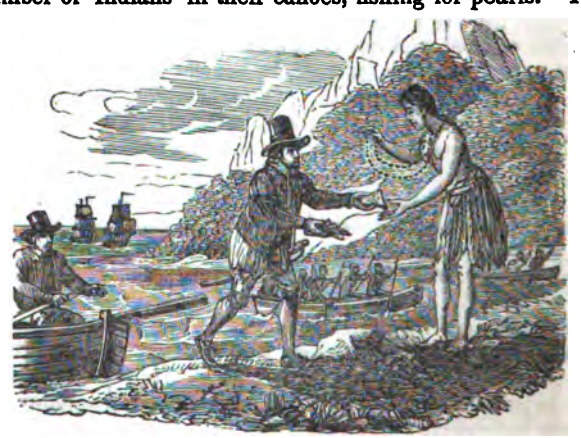
Columbus was astonished to find the water of this gulf fresh, and to observe its great smoothness and stillness. It was at a period of the year when the rain fell in large quantities, and the swollen rivers emptied themselves so copiously, as to overcome the natural saltness of the sea. He found many good harbors, as he proceeded towards the north, much cultivated land, and many rivers. Going ashore at different times, the seamen found grapes, apples, a kind of orange, and a great many monkeys.

On Monday, the 6th of August, a canoe, with five men in it, came off to the nearest caravel, and one of the Spaniards requested them to carry him ashore. Leaping into the boat, he overset it, and the Indians were taken and carried to the Admiral. Their complexion was like that of the natives they had seen in the neighborhood. The Admiral treated them kindly, and gave them hawks' bells, glass beads, and sugar. They were then sent on shore, and gave so favorable an account of their visit, that great numbers collected about the ships. These were received in a similar manner, and brought bread, and water, and a sort of green wine, to exchange for the trifles that the crews were willing to give them. They all carried bucklers, bows, and poisoned arrows. On the next day, a number of friendly Indians came on board, bringing bread, corn, and other provisions, together with pitchers of a white beverage, like wine, and a green liquor made from maize and various fruits. They set no value upon the beads, but were much pleased with the hawks' bells, and held brass in very high estimation. Columbus, on the following morning, took six Indians, to serve as guides, and continued his voyage. He next touched at a point which he called Aguja, or the Needle. The country about was very populous and highly cultivated, and so beautiful that Columbus gave it the name of the Gardens. Many of the inhabitants visited the ships, with wrought cotton cloths about their heads and

loins, and little plates of gold about their necks. These they would have been very glad to exchange for hawks' bells; but the stock of these articles was exhausted. The Spaniards procured some of them, however, and were told that there were islands in the neighborhood which abounded in gold, though they were inhabited by cannibals.

Some of the females who came on board wore strings of beads about their arms, among which were a number of pearls. These excited the curiosity and avarice of the Spaniards at once. The boat was sent on shore to ascertain the direction of the countries where they might be found. The sailors who went in the boat were received in a very hospitable manner, and conducted to a large house, where they were feasted by the natives. Various kinds of bread and fruit were set before them, and white and red liquors, resembling wine. These Indians had fairer skins, and were more kind and intelligent than any they had before met with.

On the 14th of August, the ships approached the formidable pass to which they had given the name of the Boca del Dragon, or the Dragon's Mouth. This was a strait between the extremity of Trinidad and Cape Boto, at the end of Paria, and was about five leagues in width. In the mean distance there were two islands. The sea at this pass is very turbulent, foaming as if it were breaking over rocks and shoals. The ships passed it, however, in safety, and stood for the westward, where they had been told the pearl regions were to be found. Columbus was charmed with the beauty of the coast along which their course now lay. He touched at various islands during the voyage, two of which were afterwards famous for their pearl fishery. These were called Margarita, and Cubagua. As the Admiral was approaching this latter island, he saw a number of Indians in their canoes, fishing for pearls. They im-



mediately fled towards the land. A boat was sent in pursuit, and a sailor, who saw a woman with a large number of pearls about her neck, broke up a piece of painted Valencian ware, and gave the fragments to her in exchange for them.

These were carried to the Admiral, who immediately sent the boat back with a quantity of Valencian ware and little bells. In a short time, the sailors returned with about three pounds of pearls; some were small, but others were of considerable size. It has been said that if Columbus had seen fit to remain here, he could have collected a sufficient quantity of pearls to pay all the expenses that had hitherto accrued in the discovery and settlement of the New World. But he was in haste to return to Hispaniola. His crew had become impatient, and he was himself sick, and suffering under a violent disorder in his eyes. The region which he had called Paria, Columbus supposed to have been the situation of the terrestrial paradise. He believed it to be elevated above the rest of the world, and to enjoy an equality of day and night. The fresh water which sweetened the gulf of Paria, he supposed to flow from the stream spoken of in Scripture, which had its fountain in the garden of Eden! The Admiral, however, did not long indulge this imagination, "which," says Charlevoix, "we may consider as one of those fantasies to which great men are more subject than any other."

Columbus immediately set sail for St. Domingo, where he found affairs in a state of the utmost confusion. Many of the Spaniards whom he had left at Isabella, had been slain by the natives, and disease had thinned the ranks of those whom the knife had spared. Famine threatened, distress was busy and deadly, and peril stared on them from every side. Rebellion was not idle, and numbers had taken up arms against the regular authorities. Under these circumstances, Columbus issued a proclamation denouncing the rebels, with Roldan their ringleader, and approving the government, and all the measures of Don Bartholomew, during his absence. For a considerable period, the history of the island is a repetition of successive revolts, followed by accommodations that were incessantly interrupted and broken. It possesses but little interest, as it is a mere tissue of insubordination and ingratitude.

The next grand change in the drama, represents Columbus in chains, transported as a prisoner across that ocean whose blue waters had been first disturbed by his own adventurous bark, and from whose shadows he had revealed a New World for the fading dominions of the Old. The rumor was no sooner circulated at Cadiz and Seville, that Columbus and his brothers had arrived, loaded with chains, and condemned to death, than it gave rise to an immediate expression of public indignation. The excitement was strong and universal; and messengers were immediately dispatched to convey the intelligence to Ferdinand and Isabella, who were much moved by this exhibition of popular feeling, and offended that their name and authority should have been used to sanction such dishonorable violence. They gave orders for the immediate liberation of the prisoners, and for their being escorted to Granada with the respect and honor they deserved. They annulled all the processes against them, without examination, and promised an ample punishment for all their wrongs.

Columbus was not, however, restored to his command at Hispaniola, nor was it till many months afterwards that he was placed at the head of an expedition to open a new passage to the East Indies. On the 9th

of May, 1502, Columbus again set sail from Cadiz on a voyage of discovery. He first directed his course to Arzilla, upon the coast of Africa, a Portuguese fortress at that time besieged by the Moors. He arrived too late to be of any assistance, for the siege had been raised. He sent his son and brother upon shore, to pay his respects to the Governor, and continued on his voyage.

He now touched, as usual, at the Canary Islands, from whence he proposed to sail directly for the continent. His largest vessel, however, proved so clumsy as to be unfit for service, and he determined on this account to steer for Hispaniola, where he found a fleet of eighteen ships ready to depart for Spain. Arrived at St. Domingo, Columbus wrote to the new Governor, Ovando, requesting permission to enter the harbor, as well to exchange one of his vessels, as to procure shelter from a violent tempest that was expected, recommending in the same letter, that the departure of the fleet should be delayed a few days on the same account. His request was refused, and his advice neglected. The fleet set sail, and on the next night were swallowed up by the waves. Of eighteen ships, only two or three escaped. Columbus had taken precautions against the storm, which his superior skill and experience had enabled him to foresee, and his little squadron was saved. On board of the vessels which were wrecked were Bovadilla, Roldan, and most of the vicious and discontented who had been so busy in injuring the Admiral. All their ill-gotten wealth perished with them.

Columbus soon left Hispaniola, and sailed towards the continent. Being becalmed on his voyage, the currents carried him to some small and sandy islands, near Jamaica, to which he gave the name of Los Poros, or the Wells. Sailing southward, he discovered the island of Guanaia, where he had an interview with some natives that he found in a canoe. This canoe was eight feet wide, made of one tree, with an awning of palm leaves in the middle, for the women and children. It was laden with cotton cloths, of several colors, and curiously wrought; wooden swords, edged with sharp flints; small copper hatchets; bells and plates; and the berries which they called cacao.

Continuing his voyage, on the 25th of September, Columbus came to anchor near a little island called Quiriviri, and a town on the continent, the name of which was Cariari. The country here was very beautiful, full of forests of palm trees, and fine rivers. A large number of the natives crowded from the adjacent country, some with bows and arrows, some with hard and black clubs pointed with fish bones, as if intending to defend themselves from the Spaniards. But perceiving they had nothing to fear, the Indians were very desirous to barter the articles they had with them.

Columbus proceeded upon his eastward course, stopping at a number of islands, and having various communications with the natives. Being detained by contrary winds, on the 5th of December, he determined to stand about, and go in search of some rich gold mines of which he had been told, in the province of Veragua. For a number of days, the ships were driven about by violent tempests. The rain poured down in torrents, the thunder rolled and the lightning flashed incessantly. Besides

these dangers, they escaped from a tremendous water-spout, which passed very near them, but luckily without injury. On reaching Veragua, the Admiral's brother went up the river Belem, in the boats, to find the King. Discovering a great many signs of gold, Columbus determined to leave a colony here. Eighty men were chosen to remain, and houses were built for them covered with palm leaves. One of the ships was to be left behind, with a quantity of wine and biscuit, with nets and fishing tackle. When every thing was ready for his departure, the Admiral found that the river had dried so much that there was not water enough to float the ships into the sea, and while detained here on this account, it was discovered that Quibio, the Cacique of Veragua, had laid a plan to destroy the Spaniards, and burn their settlement. They determined, therefore, to take him and his chief men prisoners. A party of seventy-six men, under the command of the Admiral's brother, were dispatched on this expedition. Arriving in the neighborhood of the house where Quibio resided, they advanced, two by two, as silently as possible, and obtained possession of the Cacique's person, together with a good deal of his wealth, and a number of his wives and children.

The prisoners were committed to Juan Sanchez, the chief pilot of the squadron, a strong and trustworthy man, who undertook to carry them safely to the ships. He was told to take special care that the Cacique did not escape; and answered, that he would give them leave to pluck out his beard, if he did not keep him from getting away. They had come within half a league of the mouth of the river, when Quibio complained that his hands suffered from the cords with which they were bound. Juan Sanchez then loosed him from the seat of the boat, to which he was tied, and held the rope in his own hand, and a little while after, Quibio threw himself into the water, and sunk to the bottom. Night was coming on, and the Spaniards could neither hear nor see what afterwards became of him. The lieutenant, on the next day, returned to the ships with his prisoners and plunder.

The river having now been swollen by the rains, Columbus was able to set sail with three of his ships for Spain. When Quibio saw that the vessels had left the coast, he immediately surrounded, with his warriors, the little colony that had remained behind. The lieutenant was a man not to be easily discouraged; he went out against the Indians with a very small number of followers, and with the assistance of a dog, put them all to flight. It so happened that, at the very time of this attack, a boat had been sent from the ships to procure water. For this purpose the captain of it was going some distance up the river, and, though warned of the danger, would not desist from his undertaking. The river was very deep, and sheltered on both sides by overhanging trees and thick bushes, which grew down to the very edge of the water. When the boat had gone about a league from the colony, the Indians rushed out from the thickets on each side, in their canoes, blowing horns, and making the most hideous noises.

The canoes could be easily managed by one man, and all the rest of the crews were busy in sending their arrows and javelins. In such a shower of darts the Spaniards were obliged to drop the oars, and protect

themselves with their targets. But there were such a multitude of Indians surrounding them from every quarter, that the seven or eight men in the boat were soon pierced with a thousand wounds. Only one of them escaped, who threw himself, unobserved, into the water, and swam to shore. Pursuing his way through the thickest of the wood, he reached the colony in safety.

The Spaniards were much terrified at the intelligence, and still more affected, when the bodies of their companions came floating down the river, covered with wounds, and followed by the birds of prey. They determined not to remain in the country, and immediately removed from the thickets, where their houses were built, to the open plain. Here they constructed a kind of bulwark with casks and chests, and planted cannon about them at convenient distances. The sea beat so heavily, that it was impossible to have any communication with the ships. Columbus was alarmed at the long absence of the boat, but was unable to send another in search of it. He remained ten days in this condition, during which time the captive Indians escaped, by bursting the hatches at night, and leaping into the water. At length one of the sailors proposed to the Admiral that he should be carried in the boat to a certain distance from shore, and that he would swim the rest of the way, and discover what had become of their companions.

This man was Pedro Ledesma, a native of Seville. Being borne to within about a musket shot of land, he plunged into the swelling and foaming waves, and succeeded in reaching the shore. He here learned what had happened—the loss of his comrades, and the determination of the colonists not to remain. With this information, Ledesma swam back to the boat that was waiting for him. As soon as the waters became more quiet, those who had been left on shore lashed a couple of Indian canoes together, loaded them with their effects, and, leaving behind them only the worm-eaten hulk of the ship, made for the little fleet of the Admiral.

The three ships then set sail, and held on their course to Porto Bello, where they were obliged to leave one of the vessels, because it was so worm-eaten and leaky. Continuing their voyage, they passed the Tortugas, and reached the cluster of islands which had been called the Queen's Garden. While at anchor in this place, about ten leagues from Cuba, with very little to eat, and their vessels exceedingly leaky, a great storm arose, and the two remaining ships were driven with such violence against each other, that it was with difficulty they escaped, even with great injury. Sailing hence, with much toil and danger, they reached an Indian village on the coast of Cuba, where they procured some water and provisions, and departed for Jamaica. They were obliged to keep continually working at three pumps in each of the vessels. With all this, however, they could not prevent the water from gaining upon them with great rapidity; and when they put into the harbor of Puerto Bueno, it almost came up to the decks. Leaving this port, they run their vessels ashore as far as possible, in the harbor of Santa Gloria, and built sheds upon the decks for the men to lie in.

They were thus situated about a bow-shot from the land. It happened

that the Indians of the island were peaceable and well disposed, and came off from all quarters, in their canoes, to traffic. They brought to the ships some little creatures like rabbits, and cakes of bread, which they called zabi, which they were glad to exchange for hawks' bells and glass beads. Sometimes the Spaniards gave a cacique a looking-glass, or a red cap, and perhaps a pair of scissors. It was now necessary to devise means to leave the island. They had no tools to build a new ship with, and it was in vain to stay in hopes that some vessel from Spain would fall in with them. The Admiral thought the best course would be to send word to Hispaniola, and request that a ship might be sent to them with ammunition and provisions. Two canoes were, accordingly, selected for this purpose, and committed to Diego Mendez and Bartholomew Fiesco, with six Spaniards and ten Indians to manage them. They went along the coast of Jamaica, to the eastern extremity, where it was thirty leagues distant from Hispaniola, and put out to sea.

Shortly after the canoes had departed, the men on shore began to grow discontented, and a violent sickness broke out among them. They became turbulent and seditious. The leaders of the sedition were two natives of Seville, brothers, by the name of Porras. One of them openly insulted the Admiral on the deck of his ship, and, turning his back on him, exclaimed, "I am for Spain, with all that will follow me." About forty of the most mutinous joined with him, and, seizing some canoes which the Admiral had purchased, departed for the eastern extremity of the island. These conspirators treated the natives very cruelly upon the way, committing various outrages, and compelling them to row their canoes for Hispaniola. The sea soon grew rough, and they threw every thing they could spare overboard, in order to lighten their slender barks. At last they threw over even the helpless natives who had been forced into their service, and left them to perish in the waves. With much difficulty the canoes reached the shore. They again ventured out once or twice, after an interval of several weeks, and were again driven back by the winds. From the many excesses committed by these men, and the increasing scarcity of provisions, the Indians at length began to neglect even those who had remained with the Admiral, and whom they had hitherto supplied with sufficient quantities of food. Columbus was desirous to awe the natives into a compliance with his requests. He knew that on a certain night there was to be an eclipse of the moon. On the day before this event, he invited all the caciques and chief men of the place to an assembly. He here told them through an interpreter, that the Spaniards believed in a God, who dwelt in Heaven, rewarding the good and punishing the evil; that this deity had been offended with the wicked who rebelled, and had raised up the winds and tempests against them; that he was angry with the Indians for their negligence in not furnishing food for the white men, and that he would that night give them a sign of his indignation in the skies. The Indians listened, and departed, some in terror, some in scorn. But when the eclipse began, as the moon was rising, they were all struck with fear and confusion. They came running with cries and lamentations from every quarter, bringing

provisions, and praying the Admiral to intercede for them. Columbus shut himself up while the eclipse lasted, and when he saw it begin to go off, he came out of his cabin, and warned them to use the Christians

well in future, and bring them all they should require of them. From that time supplies of provisions were always abundant.

Eight months passed after the departure of Mendez and Fiesco, before any notice was received of their arrival. Other desertions were on the point of taking place, when, towards dusk, one evening, a caravel was espied in the distance. It proved to have been sent from Hispaniola, under the command of Diego de Escobar. He had orders not to go on shore, nor to permit his crew to have any communication with the followers of the Admiral. Escobar went in his boat to deliver to Columbus a letter from the Governor, and a present of a cask of wine, and a couple of hams; then, returning to his caravel, he sailed away that very evening. The Admiral was very much surprised at this singular conduct, and the people thought the Governor intended to leave them there without assistance. But Columbus soothed them with such explanations as he could invent; told them that Mendez had arrived safely at Hispaniola, and gave promises of speedy relief. He now turned his attention towards arranging affairs with the rebels. Messengers were sent to them, whom they insulted and dismissed; and it was at last necessary to come to open battle with them. For this purpose fifty men, well armed, were selected from those who continued faithful to Columbus, and put under the command of the *Adelantado*. Having arrived at a small hill, about a bow-shot from the camp of the rebels, two messengers were sent before, to request a peaceable conference with their leaders. They refused to listen to them, but fell, with swords and spears, upon the party of the *Adelantado*, thinking to rout them immediately. The rebels, however, were finally dispersed with some slaughter. On the next day, all who had escaped joined in an humble petition to the Admiral, repenting of their past conduct, and declaring themselves ready to return to

their duty. Columbus granted their request, upon condition that their captain should remain a prisoner, as a hostage for their good behavior. They were accordingly quartered about the island, in such places as were most convenient, till the arrival of a ship from Hispaniola.

Some days now passed, when Diego Mendez arrived with a vessel which he had purchased and fitted out at St. Domingo, on the Admiral's credit. They immediately embarked on board of it, and, sailing with contrary winds, reached St. Domingo on the 13th of August, 1504. The Governor received the Admiral with the greatest respect and ceremony, but his kindness was only forced and treacherous. He set Porras free from his chains, and attempted to punish those who were concerned in his arrest. Columbus remained here till his ship was refitted and another hired, and in these vessels they pursued their voyage to Spain.

Setting sail on the 12th of September, the mast of one of the ships was carried by the board, when they were about two leagues from shore. This ship returned to the harbor, and the Admiral pursued his voyage in the other. The weather proved very stormy, and the remaining ship was much shattered before she arrived at St. Lucar. At this port Columbus received the sad intelligence of the death of his noble patron, Isabella. He then repaired to Seville.

But he was doomed to submit to the evils of that ingratitude, which is not the growth of republics only, but often finds a genial soil under the shadow of a throne. The discoverer of a world, and the natural master of the empire he had found, Columbus was obliged, in his old age, to submit to the caprices and insults of a narrow-minded monarch, to whose insignificance his own magnanimity was a continual reproach. Deluded with promises, foiled with disappointments, exhausted with the toil and hardship of momentous and ill requited enterprise, mortified by undeserved neglect, disgusted by the baseness and meanness of a servile court, and an ungrateful King, oppressed with infirmity, and cares, and wretchedness, Columbus died at Valladolid, on the 20th of May, 1506. His death was worthy of his character and his fame; marked by no violent emotion, calm, composed, and happy; blessed by the memory of what he had done for mankind, and cheered by the hopes of a holy faith. A fit end to the great drama of his life!*

* "Columbus could never forget the ignominy of his chains. He preserved the fetters, hung them up in his apartment, and ordered them to be buried in his grave. In compliance with his request, his body was removed from Seville to the island of St. Domingo, and deposited, with his chains, in a brass coffin, on the right of the high altar of the Cathedral of St. Domingo. There his bones remained, until the Spanish part of the island was ceded to France, in 1795. In consequence of this cession, the descendants of Columbus requested that his remains might be removed to Cuba. On the 19th of January, 1796, the brass coffin which contained the ashes of this great man, together with a chain which served as a memorial of his sovereign's weakness, was carried down to the harbor in procession, under fire of the forts, and put on board a brig of war, to be removed to Havana. The brig arrived safely in the harbor of Havana, and the remains of the discoverer of America were buried with all the pomp and ceremony that could be bestowed upon them."

EARLY ADVENTURES IN NORTH AMERICA.

The exploits of Columbus having excited a great sensation among the English merchants, and at the Court of Henry VII., the adventurous spirit of John Cabot, heightened by the ardor of his son Sebastian, led him to propose to the King to undertake a voyage of discovery, with the twofold object of becoming acquainted with new territories, and of realizing the long-desired object of a western passage to China and the Indies. A commission was accordingly granted, on the 5th of March, 1497, to him and his three sons, giving them liberty to sail to all parts of the east, west, and north, under the royal banners and ensigns, to discover countries of the heathen, unknown to Christians; to set up the King's banners there; to occupy and possess, as his subjects, such places as they could subdue; giving them the rule and jurisdiction of the same, to be holden on condition of paying to the King one fifth part of all their gains. By virtue of this commission, a small fleet was equipped, partly at the King's expense, and partly at that of private individuals, in which the Cabots embarked with a company of three hundred mariners. Our knowledge of this voyage is collected from many detached and imperfect notices of it in different authors, who, while they establish the general facts in the most unquestionable manner, differ in many particular circumstances. The most probable account is, that Cabot sailed north-west a few weeks, until his progress was arrested by floating icebergs, when he shaped his course to the south-west, and soon came in sight of a shore named by him Prima Vista, and generally believed to be some part of Labrador, or Newfoundland. Thence he steered northward again to the sixty-seventh degree of latitude, where he was obliged to turn back by the discontent of his crew. He sailed along the coast in search of an outlet as far as the neighborhood of the Gulf of Mexico, when a mutiny broke out in the ship's company, in consequence of which the farther prosecution of the voyage was abandoned. Cabot reached England with several savages and a valuable cargo, although some writers deny that he ever landed in America, and it is certain that he did not attempt any conquest or settlement there.

This voyage was not immediately followed by any important consequences; but it is memorable as being the first that is certainly ascertained to have been effected to this continent, and as constituting the title by which the English claimed the territories that they subsequently acquired here. Through a singular succession of causes, during more than sixty years from the time of this discovery of the northern division of the continent by the English, their monarchs gave but little attention to this country, which was destined to be annexed to their crown, and to be

one principal source of British opulence and power, till, in the march of events, it should rise into an independent empire. This remarkable neglect is in some measure accounted for by the frugal maxims of Henry VII., and the unpropitious circumstances of the reign of Henry VIII., of Edward VI., and of the bigoted Mary; reigns peculiarly adverse to the extension of industry, trade, and navigation.

While English enterprise slumbered, both France and Spain were active and successful. Francis I. sent a vessel called the Dauphin, to the American coast, commanded by Juan Verazzano, a Florentine, who had distinguished himself by his successful cruises against the Spaniards. In this voyage he discovered Florida, and sailed seven hundred leagues on the North American coast, which he named New France. He made another voyage in the following year, when he landed with some of his crew, was seized by the savages, and killed and devoured in the presence of his companions on board, who sought in vain to give him any assistance. The gloomy impression produced by the tragic fate of Verazzano seems to have deterred others, for some time, from such enterprises, and for several succeeding years neither the King nor the nation seems to have thought any more of America.

After a lapse of ten years, these enterprises were renewed, and Jacques Cartier, a bold seaman of Malo, who proposed another voyage, was readily supplied with two ships under the direction of the Vice-Admiral of France. His first voyage resulted in the discovery of the Baye des Chaleurs, and the Gulf of St. Lawrence. In the following spring, a large expedition was equipped, and proceeded direct to Newfoundland. Discovering the river afterwards called the St. Lawrence, he sailed up this stream three hundred leagues, to a great and swift fall, made friends of the natives on its banks, took possession of the territory, built a fort, and wintered in the country, which he called New France. The next spring Cartier returned with the remains of his crew, which had been much diminished by the scurvy. He carried with him Donnacona, the Indian King of the country, whom he had made captive partly by force, and partly by stratagem. On his return, he represented to the King the immense advantages which might result from a settlement in that country, for the purpose of carrying on the fur trade; but his advice was slighted, and the proposed establishment delayed. Francis I. afterwards became aware of the importance of the enterprise, and dispatched Cartier with the appointment of Captain-General, and with five ships. After a long and boisterous passage, Cartier arrived at Newfoundland, thence proceeded to Canada, and on the 23d of August, 1535, arrived at the harbor of St. Croix. But this enterprise was also infelicitous in its issue, and for half a century the French made no further attempt to establish themselves in Canada.

To give a brief narrative of the Spanish attempts at colonization in North America, it was in the year 1528 that Pamphilo de Narvaez, having obtained from Charles V. the grant of all the land lying from the River of Palms to the Cape of Florida, sailed from Cuba, in March, with five ships, on board of which were four hundred foot, and twenty horse, for the conquest of the country. Landing at Forida, he marched to Apa-

lache, a village consisting of forty cottages, where he arrived on the 5th of June. Having lost many of his men by the natives, who harassed the troops on their march, and with whom they had a sharp engagement, he was obliged to direct his course towards the sea. Sailing to the westward, he was lost, with many others, in a violent storm, about the middle of November, and the enterprise was frustrated. Calamitous as was the issue of this expedition, it did not extinguish the Spanish passion for adventure, and Fernando de Soto, a distinguished companion of Pizarro, was created *Adelantado* of Florida, combining the offices of Governor-General, and Commander in chief. On the 18th of May, 1539, Soto set sail from Havana on this expedition, with nine vessels, nine hundred soldiers, two hundred and thirteen horse, and a herd of swine. This army met with various disasters, and suffered much from disease and the attacks of the savages. Soto died, and to conceal his loss from the Indians, his body was put into a hollowed oak, and sunk in a river. The small remains of his army, consisting of three hundred and eleven men, arrived at Panaco on the 10th of September, 1543, and all concerned in this great expedition were reduced to poverty and distress.

About the year 1562, the Huguenots made an effort to colonize Florida, but after suffering deeply from shipwreck, sickness, and Spanish cruelty, they were completely destroyed. The expeditions of Laudonniere and Ribault entirely failed. Ribault was massacred with his troops, by the Spaniards, after a pledge of safety, and their bodies were not only covered with repeated wounds, but were cut in pieces and treated with the most shocking indignities. A number of the mangled limbs of the victims were then suspended to a tree, to which was attached the following inscription:—"Not because they are Frenchmen, but because they are heretics, and enemies of God." To revenge this barbarous massacre, Dominique de Gourgues determined to devote himself and his fortune.

He found means to equip three small vessels, and to put on board of them eighty sailors, and one hundred and fifty troops. Having crossed the Atlantic, he sailed along the coast of Florida, and landed at a river about fifteen leagues distance from the May. The Spaniards, to the number of four hundred, were well fortified, principally at the great fort, begun by the French, and afterwards repaired by themselves. Two leagues lower towards the river's mouth, they had made two smaller forts, which were defended by a hundred and twenty soldiers, well supplied with artillery and ammunition. Gourgues, though informed of their strength, proceeded resolutely forward, and, with the assistance of the natives, made a vigorous and desperate assault. Of sixty Spaniards in the first fort, there escaped but fifteen; and all in the second fort were slain. After a company of Spaniards, sallying out from the third fort, had been intercepted, and killed on the spot, this last fortress was easily taken. All the surviving Spaniards were led away prisoners, with the fifteen who escaped the massacre at the first fort; and, after having been shown the injury that they had done to the French nation, were hung on the boughs of the same trees on which the Frenchmen had been previously suspended. Gourgues, in retaliation for the label Menendez had

attached to the bodies of the French, placed over the corpses of the Spaniards the following declaration:—"I do not this as to Spaniards, nor as to mariners, but as to traitors, robbers, and murderers." Having razed the three forts, he hastened his preparation to return; and on the 3d of May, embarked all that was valuable in the forts, and set sail for La Rochelle. In that Protestant capital he was received with the loudest acclamations. At Bordeaux these were reiterated, and he was advised to proceed to Paris, where, however, he met with a very different reception. Philip had already an embassy demanding his head, which Charles and Catharine were not disinclined to give, and had taken steps for bringing him to trial, but they found the measure so excessively unpopular, that they were obliged to allow him to retire into Normandy. Subsequently he regained royal favor, and found ample employment in the service of his country.

Thus terminated the attempts of the French Protestants to colonize Florida. Had the efforts of Ribault or Laudonniere been supported by the Government, France might have had vast colonial dependencies before Britain had established a single settlement in the New World, instead of inscribing on the pages of history a striking instance of the ruinous and enduring effects of religious hatred, alike on individual and national fortune.

One of the most important objects of maritime enterprise in the reign of Elizabeth, was the discovery of a passage to India by the north of America; but notwithstanding the utmost exertions of the most eminent naval characters, Frobisher, Davis, and Hudson, the attempt proved utterly abortive. In the same year, however, in which Frobisher's third voyage terminated so unsuccessfully, Sir Walter Raleigh, with his half brother and kindred spirit, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, projected the establishment of a colony in that quarter of America which the Cabots had visited in the reign of Henry VII., and a patent for this purpose was procured without difficulty, from Elizabeth. One enterprise under Gilbert failed, from tempestuous weather, but by the aid of Sir George Peckham, Sir Walter Raleigh, and other persons of distinction, he was enabled to equip another expedition, with which, in 1583, he again put to sea.

On the 30th of July, Gilbert discovered land in about fifty-one degrees north latitude; but, finding nothing but bare rocks, he shaped his course to the southward, and on the 3d of August arrived at St. John's harbor, at Newfoundland. There were at that time in the harbor, thirty-six vessels, belonging to various nations, and they refused him entrance; but, on sending his boat with the assurance that he had no ill design, and that he had a commission from Queen Elizabeth, they submitted, and he sailed into the port. Having pitched his tent on shore, in sight of all the shipping, and being attended by his own people, he summoned the merchants and masters of vessels to be present at the ceremony of his taking possession of the island. When assembled, his commission was read and interpreted to the foreigners. A turf and twig were then delivered to him; and proclamation was immediately made, that, by virtue of his commission from the Queen, he took possession of the harbor of St. John, and two hundred leagues every way around it, for the crown of England

He then, as the authorized Governor, proposed and delivered three laws, to be in force immediately; by the first, public worship was established according to the church of England; by the second, the attempting of any thing prejudicial to her Majesty's title was declared treason; by the third, if any person should utter words to the dishonor of her Majesty, he should lose his ears, and have his ship and goods confiscated. When the proclamation was finished, obedience was promised by the general voice, both of Englishmen and strangers. Not far from the place of meeting, a pillar was afterwards erected, upon which were engraved the arms of England. For the better establishment of this possession, several parcels of land were granted by Sir Humphrey, by which the occupants were guaranteed grounds convenient to dress and dry their fish, of which privilege they had often been debarred, by those who had previously entered the harbor. For these grounds they covenanted to pay a certain rent and service to Sir Humphrey Gilbert, his heirs or assigns, for ever, and to maintain possession of them, by themselves or assignees. This formal possession, in consequence of the discovery by the Cabots, is considered the foundation of the right and title of the crown of England to the territory of Newfoundland, and to the fishery on its banks. Gilbert, intending to bring the southern parts of the country within his patent, the term of which had now nearly expired, hastened to make farther discoveries before his return to England. He therefore embarked from St. John's harbor with his little fleet, and sailed for the Isle of Sable, by the way of Cape Breton. After spending eight days in the navigation from Cape Race towards Cape Breton, the ship Admiral was cast away on some shoals, before any discovery of land, and nearly one hundred persons perished; among those was Stephen Parmenius Budeius, a learned Hungarian, who had accompanied the adventurers, to record their discoveries and exploits. Two days after this disaster, no land yet appearing, the waters being shallow, the coast unknown, the navigation dangerous, and the provisions scanty, it was resolved to return to England. Changing their course accordingly, they passed in sight of Cape Race on the 2d of September, but when they had sailed more than three hundred leagues on their way home, the frigate commanded by Sir Humphrey Gilbert himself, foundered in a violent storm, at midnight, and every soul on board perished.

SETTLEMENT OF THE SOUTHERN STATES.

VIRGINIA.

Terrible as was the fate of Gilbert and his associates, the ardor of Raleigh was not daunted, nor his energies depressed. High in favor with Elizabeth, he found no difficulty in procuring a patent similar to that which had been granted to his unfortunate brother. Prompt in the execution, as intrepid in the projection of his plans, he speedily equipped two small vessels, under Amadas and Barlow, to obtain further information of the coasts, the soil, and the inhabitants of the regions he designed to colonize. Approaching America by the Gulf of Florida, they touched first at the island of Ocakoke, which runs parallel to the greater part of North Carolina, and then at Roanoke, near the mouth of Albemarle sound. In both they had some intercourse with the natives, whom they found to be savages, with all the characteristic qualities of uncivilized life—bravery, aversion to labor, hospitality, a propensity to admire, and a willingness to exchange their rude productions for English commodities, especially for iron, or any of the useful metals of which they were destitute. After spending a few weeks in this traffic, and in visiting some parts of the adjacent continent, Amadas and Barlow returned to England, and gave a most fervid description of the country they had been sent to explore. Their own words, as contained in their report to Sir Walter Raleigh, will convey a better idea of the mode of narrative adopted, and the effect produced, than any language of ours. "The soile," say they, "is the most plentifull, sweete, fruitfull and wholesome of all the worlde; there are above fourteene severall sweete smelling timber trees, and the most part of their underwoods are bayes and such like; they have those okes that we have, but farre greater and better. After they had bene divers times aboord our shippes, myselfe, with seven more, went twentie mile into the river that runneth towarde the citie of Skicoak, which river they call Occam; and the evening following, we came to an island, which they call Raonoak, distant from the harbor by which we entered seven leagues; and at the north end thereof was a village of nine houses, built of cedar, and fortified round about with sharpe trees to keep out their enemies, and the entrance into it made like a turnpike, very artificially; when we came towardes it, standing neere unto the waters' side, the wife of Granganimo, the king's brother, came running out to meete us very cheerfully and friendly; her husband was not then in the village; some of her people shee commanded to drawe our boate on shore for the beating of the billoe, others she appointed to cary us on their backes to the dry ground and others to bring our oares into the house for feare of steal-

ing. When we were come into the utter roome, having five roomes in her house, she caused us to sit downe by a greate fire, and after tooke off our clothes and washed them, and dried them againe; some of the women plucked off our stockings, and washed them, some washed our feete in warm water, and she herself tooke great paines to see all things ordered in the best manner she could, making great haste to dresse some meate for us to eate. After we had thus dryed ourselves, she brought us into the inner roome, where shee set on the boord standing along the house, some wheate like furmentie; sodden venison and roasted; fish, sodden, boyled and roasted; melons, rawe and sodden; rootes of divers kindes; and divers fruites. Their drinke is commonly water, but while the grape lasteth, they drinke wine, and for want of caskes to keepe it, all the yere after they drink water, but it is sodden with ginger in it, and black sinamon, and sometimes sassaphras, and divers other wholesome and medicinable hearbes and trees. We were entertained with all love and kindnesse, and with as much bountie, after their maner, as they could possibly devise. We found the people most gentle, loving, and faithfull, voide of all guile and treason, and such as live after the manner of the golden age. The people onley care howe to defend themselves from the cold in their short winter, and to feed themselves with such meat as the soile affordeth; their meat is very well sodden, and they make broth very sweete and savorie; their vessels are earthen pots, very large, white, and sweete; their dishes are wooden platters of sweete timber. Within the place where they feede was their lodging, and within that their idoll, which they worship, of whom they speake incredible things. While we were at meate, there came in at the gates two or three men with their bowes and arrowes from hunting, whom, when we espied, we beganne to looke one towardes another, and offered to reach our weapons; but as soone as shee espied our mistrust, shee was very much mooved, and caused some of her men to runne out, and take away their bowes and arrowes and breake them, and withall, beate the poore fellowes out of the gate againe. When we departed in the evening, and would not tarry all night, she was very sory, and gave us into our boate our supper half dressed, pottes and all, and brought us to our boate side, in which we lay all night, removing the same a prettie distance from the shoare; shee perceiving our jealousie, was much grieved, and sent divers men and thirtie women to sit all night on the banke-side by us, and sent us into our boates five mattes, to cover us from the raine, using very many wordes to intreate us to rest in their houses; but because we were fewe men, and if we had miscarried the voyage had bene in very great danger, we durst not adventure any thing, although there was no cause of doubt, for a more kinde and loving people there cannot be found in the worlde, as far as we have hitherto had triall."

Delighted with the prospect of possessing a territory so far superior to any hitherto visited by her subjects, Elizabeth was p eased to honor both the newly discovered country and herself, by bestowing upon it the title of Virginia.

Soon after the return of the two ships, Sir Walter Raleigh was elected a member of Parliament from Devonshire. He was also knighted by

the Queen; and his patent was confirmed by an act of Parliament. Seven ships were immediately prepared for a second expedition, and placed under the command of Ralph Lane and Sir Richard Granville. This little squadron reached the American coast on the 26th of July, 1585, and dropped their anchors outside of the bar, at Wococon. Lane and Granville, with fifty or sixty officers and men, immediately crossed the sound in boats, to explore the country.

Under the guidance of Mantee, an Indian who had sailed for England with the first expedition, and now returned, they made several excursions upon the coast, and discovered some Indian villages. They next ventured about eighty leagues, as they supposed, to the southward. In this direction, the utmost limits of their discoveries was an Indian place called Socotan, near the present site of Beaufort, where they were civilly entertained by Winginn, an Indian chieftain. Here the water became so full of flats and shoals, that the English pinnaces could go no further. As they had but one small boat, and this could carry but four oars and fifteen men, with provisions for a few days, they concluded to turn back. Some of the party proceeded to Wococon by the shortest course; but Granville, with the rest, returned to Aquascosack, a town on the waters of the Neuse. His object there was to demand a silver cup, which was stolen from him when he had first visited that town on his late circuit. He obtained the promise of its return, but the promise was not kept; and the Indians, apprehending danger, in consequence of his expected anger, fled to the woods. This drew upon them the indiscriminate vengeance of the English commander. The town of Aquascosack was burnt, and the standing corn and other crops utterly destroyed. This was a rash proceeding, to speak of it in the mildest terms; and it afterwards cost the English settlers very dear, by enraging the natives.

After this outrage, Granville sailed to the island of Roanoke, where he left behind him one hundred and eight persons, as the foundation of a colony. Mr. Lane was appointed Governor; and Armidas, one of the captains in the former voyage, was appointed Admiral. Thomas Heriot, a famous mathematician, and particular friend of Sir Walter Raleigh, also remained with the colony.

On the 18th of September, Granville arrived at Plymouth, bringing in with him a rich Spanish prize, which he had the good fortune to take on his passage. The chief employment of the colony at Roanoke, meanwhile, was to explore the country for the purpose of acquiring a knowledge of its geography and its productions. Governor Lane made various excursions along the coast during the fall and winter. He was accompanied by Mr. Wythe, a skilful English painter, sent out by Raleigh, to take sketches of the situation of the country, and the figures and fashions of the natives. To the north, Lane advanced as far as the territories of the Chesapeakes, an Indian nation seated on a small river, now called Elizabeth, which falls into the great bay of Chesapeake, below Norfolk. To the north-west, he went up Albemarle sound and the river Chowan, more than one hundred miles, to the settlements of a nation of Indians called the Chowanokes. These lived a little beyond the fork of the river, where one branch now takes the name of Nottoway, and the other of Meherrin.

But as Governor Lane undertook to effect his purposes among the natives by force always, instead of persuasion, he met with indifferent success. The Indians had by this time become a little jealous of the colonists; and the best friend of the latter, Granganimo, died in the spring of this year, 1586. Gold was the idol of the adventurers, and to the neglect of every thing else they pursued this continually elusive phantom. Their provisions were exhausted, and they had taken no measures to renew them by agriculture. Reduced to the utmost distress, they were on the point of dispersing to various quarters in search of food, when Sir Francis Drake, who had been engaged in a successful expedition against the Spaniards in the West Indies, appeared unexpectedly to their relief, and carried the fatigued and famishing colonists to England.

One consequence of this abortive attempt to found a colony, is of sufficient importance to make it celebrated in history. Lane and his companions had acquired from the Indians the habit of smoking tobacco, and carrying a specimen of this new luxury to England, the use of it was soon adopted by Raleigh and other young men of fashion. Fashion, and a capricious notion of its salutary influence, soon diffused a general fondness for this disagreeable weed, till the demand for it has become universal.

Raleigh still remained attached to his scheme of colonizing, and in 1587 dispatched another body of adventurers, incorporated under the title of the Borough of Raleigh in Virginia. The bay of Chesapeake was designated as the spot for the erection of a fort, and the settlement of the company. On the 16th of July, after a passage of about seventy days, the expedition made the coast of Virginia, and arriving at Hatteras, the Governor with a select party visited the island of Roanoke, to ascertain what vestiges might be found of the party left there the preceding year. The bones of a man were the sole relics of the colony. Dwelling-houses and a fort had been erected by Lane in the northern quarter of the island; but the fort was razed, and deer were feeding quietly in the houses which had been overgrown with creepers and weeds. This sight filled the adventurers with the saddest apprehensions, and they could only speculate on the probable means by which their companions had come to their death. Orders were immediately given for the erection of new, and the repair of the old cottages, and a second plantation was immediately commenced by a colony of one hundred and seventeen persons.

Before the close of the month of August, the Governor, Mr. John White, in whom, with a council of twelve, the legislative power of the colony was vested, sailed for England to procure supplies. At this time the nation was engrossed by the expected invasion of the Spanish armada, but Raleigh still contrived to send out White with two more vessels, which were unfortunately attacked by the enemy, and so shattered as to be compelled to return. It was not till 1590, that another expedition succeeded in reaching Virginia, when they found a scene of similar tragic character with that which had been before displayed. No living trace of the colony was to be found. The palisades were still standing about their houses, and their unconsumed stores were found hidden in the earth; but no

voice told their story, and no certain though silent testimony was found of their fate. If they had been slain by savage incursion, every trace of blood and fire was carefully removed, and not a bleached bone was left to bear witness of the tragedy. They had perished beyond a doubt, but whether by the sea or land, by the war of the elements, or the still more cruel war of the human passions, was and remains a mystery. Thus terminated the noble efforts of the generous and accomplished Raleigh, to plant a colony in the western hemisphere. In four several expeditions he had expended forty thousand pounds, without any return; and he was without much difficulty induced to surrender the privileges of his patent to other hands. The mercantile company into whose possession this patent fell, carried on a slight traffic in a few small barks, but made no effort to make a settlement in the country. Thus, after more than a century after the discovery of North America by Cabot, not an individual English resident remained in the new world. Shipwreck and famine, savage warfare and domestic dissensions, had frustrated every effort to establish an English colony beyond the ocean, as if it were indeed the "dissocial" waste imagined by the ancients, whose waters it were impious to violate and impossible to pass.

The colonization of America awaited the energy of a new impulse, and the first permanent settlement in Virginia was made in 1606, by an expedition under the command of Christopher Newport. He entered the magnificent bay of Chesapeake, the spacious reservoir of innumerable waters, and gave the names of Henry and Charles to its southern and northern promontories. Every object which met the eyes of the adventurers as they sailed up the broad and shining bosom of the great Chesapeake, excited

their imaginations and their hopes. The banks of the bay, upon all sides, as far as sight could reach, were covered with the fresh green beauty of spring. There were large and majestic navigable rivers, and between them a variety of mountains, plains and valleys stretching far away in the distance. Bright rivulets came dashing down the hills, and fell into the bay. Innumerable birds sported and sang in the green woods upon

the shore and the islands; the fish leaped from the sunny waters around them; and all nature seemed to welcome the coming of the new colony with smiles.

The adventurers were employed in seeking a place for settlement until the 13th of May, when they took possession of a peninsula, on the north side of the river Powhatan, called by the emigrants James river, about forty miles from its mouth. To make room for their projected town, they commenced clearing away the forest, which had for centuries afforded shelter and food to the natives. The members of the Council, while they adhered to their orders in the choice of their President, on the most frivolous pretences excluded from a seat among them the individual, who was probably of all others the best fitted for the office, Captain Smith, though nominated by the same instrument from which they derived their authority. His superior talents, and the fame he had previously acquired in war, excited their envy, while possibly they induced him to assume, that a greater deference was due to his opinion than his coadjutors were willing to admit. At length, however, by the prudent exhortations of Mr. Hunt, their chaplain, the animosities which had arisen were composed, Smith was admitted into the Council, and they all turned their undivided attention to the government of the colony. In honor of their monarch, they called the town, the erection of which they now commenced, Jamestown. Thus was formed the first permanent colony of the English in America.

The vicinity of the settlement was a vast wilderness, though a luxuriant one, inhabited by a race of Indian savages, possessing both the virtues and the vices peculiar to their state. At first they treated the colonists with kindness; but misunderstandings, from various causes, ere long interrupted the peace, and annoyed the proceedings of the English. Nor was the hostility of the natives the only occasion of discomfort; the extreme heat of summer, and the intense cold of the succeeding winter, were alike fatal to the colonists. From May to September, fifty persons died, among whom was Bartholomew Gosnold, a member of the Council. The storehouse at Jamestown accidentally taking fire, the town, thatched with reeds, burned with such violence, that the fortifications, arms, apparel, bedding, and a great quantity of private goods and provision, were consumed.

These distresses naturally led them to reflect upon their situation; and having become sensible of their injustice to Smith, his personal talents and activity were, in their adversity, appealed to with that regard and deference which, in prosperous times, are yielded only to vested authority and official station. From some unaccountable jealousy on the part of the Governor, the fort had been left in an unprotected state, but, by the advice of Smith, it was now put into a state to defend them against the attacks of the Indians. To procure provisions and explore the country, he made frequent and distant excursions into the wilderness. In one of these, he seized an Indian idol, made with skins stuffed with moss, for the redemption of which as much corn was brought him as he required. Some tribes he gained by caresses and presents, and procured from them a supply of provisions; others he attacked with open force, and defeat-

ing them on every occasion, whatever their superiority in numbers might be, compelled them to impart to him some portion of their winter stores. As the recompense of all his toils and dangers, he saw abundance and contentment re-established in the colony, and hoped that he should be able to maintain them in that happy state, until the arrival of ships from England in the spring. But in the midst of his energetic measures, while exploring the source of the river Chickahominy, he was surprised and attacked by a party of Indians. He defended himself bravely until his companions were killed, when he took to flight; but running incautiously, he sunk up to his shoulders in a swamp and was taken prisoner. The exulting savages conducted him in triumph through several towns to Werowocomoco, where Powhatan, their King, resided in state, with a strong guard of Indians around him. When the prisoner entered the apartment of the sovereign, all the people gave a shout. The queen of Appamatuck was appointed to bring him water to wash his hands; and another person brought a bunch of feathers, instead of a towel, to dry them. Having feasted him in their best manner, and exhibited some of

their Indian dances before him, they held a long consultation, at the conclusion of which, two great stones were brought before Powhatan. Smith had now reason to consider his career as drawing to a close; by the united efforts of the attendants, he was forcibly dragged, his head laid upon one of the stones, and the mighty club upraised, a few blows from which were to terminate his existence. But a very unexpected interposition now took place. Pocahontas, the favorite daughter of Powhatan, was seized with emotions of tender pity, and ran up to her father, pathetically pleading for the life of the stranger. When all entreaties were lost on that stern and savage potentate, she hastened to Smith, snatched his head in her arms, and laid her own on his, declaring that the first blow must fall upon her. The heart even of a savage father was at last melted, and Powhatan granted to his favorite daughter the life of Smith.

During his captivity among the Indians, Smith found many opportunities of witnessing their peculiar manners and ceremonies, and has described

them, in some respects, with much minuteness. Among other things, he describes the magical performances to which they had recourse, in order to ascertain whether Smith intended them good or evil; for they were still greatly in awe of him. Early one morning, therefore, a great fire was made in a log-house, and a large mat spread on two opposite sides. They made Smith sit down upon one; and his guard, still consisting of some twenty or thirty stout Indians, then left the house.

Presently a large grim looking savage came skipping and flourishing in, like a wire-dancer. He was all painted over with coal, mingled with oil

On this creature's head, to complete his attractions, was a large ornamental bunch of snake and weasel skins, stuffed with moss, and their tails so tied together, as to meet on the crown of his head, like a tassel. The skins hung down about his face and shoulders, and a coronet of long feathers streamed round about from his tassel. This character now began his invocation. He shouted like a fiend, with all possible gestures, postures, and grimaces. He carried a tremendous rattle in his hand, moreover, to complete the concert. This being over, three more people of the same description, painted half red and half black, came rushing in like the first, and performed nearly the same kind of dance; but the eyes of the last three were painted white; and some rough strokes of paint were daubed along their jaws, as an imitation of English mustachios and whiskers. These men having skipped and howled round about Smith till he was nearly stunned with their noise, retired into the ante-chamber, probably to refresh themselves. But the ceremony was not yet over. Three more now leaped into the room, not a whit less ugly than the others, with red eyes and white mustachios, painted upon faces as black as a kettle. At last, all the dancers seated themselves on the mat opposite to Smith—three on one side of the chief performer, and three on the other. He soon commenced a song, accompanied with the noise of rattles. The chief man then laid down five grains of wheat, and commenced an oration, straining his arms and hands with such violence, that his veins swelled. At the conclusion of this performance, they all gave a short

groan, by way of assent to what was said, and laid down three grains more. Smith was then entertained with another song and oration, the grain being laid down as before. All this continued till night, neither he nor they having a morsel of food. The Indians then feasted merrily upon all the provisions they could muster, giving Smith a good share of them. The ceremonies just described were repeated the two following days. Some maize meal which they strewed around him in circles, represented their country, they said; the wheat, the bounds of the sea; and something else was used to signify the country of the whites. They gave Smith to understand, that the earth was flat and round, like a trencher, themselves being situated, they said, precisely in the middle. After this they showed him a bag of English gunpowder, which they had taken from some of his men. They said they were going to preserve it carefully till the next spring, supposing it to be some new kind of grain which would yield them a harvest.

After an absence of seven weeks, Smith arrived at the colony just in season to prevent its abandonment; and it was with much difficulty that he could dissuade his companions from their determination to return to England. Pocahontas continued to display her partiality towards the whites, by furnishing the colony with supplies of provisions, till the arrival of a vessel from the other side of the water. In the course of the year 1608, Smith made an exploring voyage up the Potomac. Here three or four thousand Indians, having a hint of his coming, lay in wait to kill him. They were frightened into peace, however, by a discharge of Smith's musketry, and even confessed that Powhatan had persuaded them to take up arms.

At the mouth of the Rappahannock river, Smith saw a fish, called the stingray, lying among the reeds near the bank. He struck at the fish with his sword, and received a severe wound in the wrist from the thorn in the tail of the stingray. The pain produced by the wound was so violent, that Smith's life was for a time despaired of. But he recovered, returned to Jamestown, and was chosen President of the colony the same season. Smith made another voyage, of more than three thousand miles, along the coast and up the rivers, in August and September of this same year. He spent some time with the Susquehannock Indians, a tribe which knew nothing of Powhatan but his name. They had iron hatchets and other tools, which they had obtained from the French in Canada. These Indians are represented as giants in stature, the leg of one of them being three quarters of a yard round; but there was probably some mistake about this.

In 1609, Smith went to see the Indians again, and Powhatan endeavored to get possession of his person; but his life was saved by Pocahontas, who came through the woods in the night, to his camp, and warned him of his danger. After this, Smith visited Opechancanough, the Indian King, at Pamunkey. They had agreed upon a place where they might meet to trade; but when Smith came there, he was beset by seven hundred savages. He boldly seized Opechancanough by the hair, and led him, trembling, into the midst of his people. The latter laid down their arms, and ransomed their prisoner by a large present of corn to

Smith. He left them the next day. At another time, as Smith was straying alone in the woods, he was attacked by the King Paspahey, a giant savage. After a violent struggle, Smith succeeded in getting him to the ground, bound him, and carried him on his shoulders to Jamestown.

Soon after this occurrence, Smith received a dangerous wound from an accidental explosion of some gunpowder, and was compelled to return to England for the purpose of obtaining medical assistance. "It was natural," observes the historian, Grahame, "that he should abandon with regret the society he had so often preserved, the settlement he had conducted through difficulties as formidable as the infancy of Carthage or Rome had to encounter, and the scenes he had dignified by so much wisdom and virtue. But our sympathy with his regret is abated by the reflection, that a longer residence in the colony would speedily have consigned him to a very subordinate office, and might have deprived the world of that stock of valuable knowledge, and his own character of that accession of fame, which the publication of his travels has been the means of perpetuating." Unfortunately, Smith never returned to Virginia, and his loss, as might have been anticipated, was a most lamentable circumstance for the colony. At the end of six months from the time of his departure, sixty only of five hundred colonists remained alive. They were soon after so disheartened that they embarked on board their vessels, with all their stores, and actually dropped down the James river as far as Mulberry island, with the intention of leaving the country forever. But, as they lay anchored at the island, a boat suddenly came in sight, which brought the news that Lord de la War was close at hand with an English fleet, and a supply of stores. With this fleet the colonists returned to Jamestown.

Pocahontas afterwards married an Englishman, and went with her husband to his native country, where she was for several years an object of great curiosity and attention. She died at Gravesend, in 1616. The old King, Powhatan, died at a later period, at the age of nearly one hundred years.

In the year 1622, about sixteen months after the landing of the pil-

grims at Plymouth, Jamestown, and the smaller English settlements in Virginia, were simultaneously threatened with a general massacre. This was on the 22d of March, the tribes round about having all been drawn together by Opechancanough, the brother of Powhatan. They had assembled from various parts of the country, marching secretly through the woods by night. The English were in perfect security, meanwhile, supposing the Indians to be friendly as ever. Opechancanough was so artful as to send presents of venison and wild fowl to the English on the morning of the fatal day. "Sooner shall the sky fall," said this deceitful old sachem, "than the peace shall be violated on my part."

But the terrible hour soon came. At mid-day the savages rushed out in immense numbers from the woods, all around the villages and houses of the whites, falling upon man, woman, and child, without mercy, mangling even the dead bodies of the murdered English, with the most ferocious cruelty. In one hour, three hundred and forty-seven of the English were killed. So sudden was the attack, that the people hardly knew who were their enemies, or where they had come from. It was mere chance that saved the colony from entire ruin. A Christian Indian, named Chanco, lived with one Richard Pace, and was kindly treated by him and his family. The night before the massacre, a brother of Chanco came and slept with him, told him the whole Indian plot, and directed him to undertake the murder of his master the next day. Poor Chanco was shocked, and the moment his brother had gone, disclosed the scheme to his master. Notice was immediately given in all directions among the English; and thus Jamestown and some other places were saved. The Indians were severely punished for this massacre within a few years, and never after gave the colony much trouble.

After the massacre just related, nothing of great interest occurred in Virginia till the period of the revolutionary struggle. The settlements increased, village after village sprung up in the wilderness, and the colony became rich and powerful; the Indians gradually retired to the interior, as the white people encroached upon their hunting grounds, and, after many years, there were only a few scattered remnants of the mighty tribes who once threatened to drive the English emigrants away from the country.

NORTH AND SOUTH CAROLINA.

The final and effectual settlement of Carolina originated with the Earl of Clarendon, and other courtiers of Charles II. On their application for a charter, he granted them all the lands lying between the thirty-first and thirty-sixth degrees of north latitude, to hold in absolute proprietorship, only reserving the sovereign dominion to the crown. The first grant was made in 1663. A second and more definite charter was given to them in 1665, at which date there were two settlements within what is now North Carolina. The principal one was located a little north of Albe-

marle sound. The other was a small colony, which had removed from Massachusetts in 1660, and settled on what is now called Oldtown creek, near the south side of Clarendon river. They deserted their habitations in less than two years, and returned home, leaving many hogs and neat cattle in the hands of the Indians. The latter had quarrelled with them, and killed and stolen their cattle, for having sent off a few of their Indian children, to be educated in Massachusetts, as the colonists said, but as the Indians suspected, for the purpose of making them slaves. The loss of this colony was soon supplied by another of English planters from the island of Barbadoes. These planters, wishing to settle on the American continent, employed one Captain Hitten to explore the coast, in a small vessel, with a crew of fifteen or twenty men. He was ordered to be particular in examining the lands which the Massachusetts people had just left. In September, 1663, he landed within Cape Fear, and proceeded up Clarendon river with his boat, till his progress was stopped by floating logs. Soon after this, he purchased from the Indians a large tract of land, for which he paid them in kettles and beads.

Proprietary governments have seldom been known to flourish. Several colonies were established in different parts of the country, and various regulations were made for their management; and it is worthy of remark, that a Constitution of an aristocratic character, framed by the celebrated John Locke, was found to be entirely impracticable. In 1680, Charleston was founded, and emigration to Carolina from different parts of Europe became frequent; but by the neglect and incapacity of the Governors, the affairs of the colony were often involved in confusion.

The colonists of Carolina suffered but little from the Indians, till about the year 1703. At that time Governor Daniel stipulated by the treaty with the Indian chiefs, that no rum should be sold to an Indian by any trader. The young Indians, however, complained of this, as a restraint upon their natural liberty. Some time afterwards, they demanded and obtained the usual supply of rum, unawed by the great havoc which strong drink had occasioned among the tribes.

The Chowanoke Indians, who could bring three thousand bowmen into the field in Smith's time, were now reduced to fifteen men, and lived in a single miserable village on Bennett's creek. The Mangoacks had equally diminished in strength, and the powerful Muatocks had wholly disappeared. Fifteen hundred volunteers, living on the north side of Albemarle sound, had assembled at Dasamonquipo, in 1585, for the massacre of the English colony on Roanoke island; but all the tribes to which these Indians belonged, were now reduced to forty-six fighting men.

In fact, the Tuscaroras, who lived on the Neuse river, were now the only powerful tribe in North Carolina; they could muster one thousand two hundred fighting men; the Waccon Indians one hundred and twenty; and about a dozen other tribes together might muster half as many more. These Indians had observed, with natural indignation, the encroachments of the whites upon the reserved squares of the various tribes. Their temper was soured, too, by the frequent impositions of fraudulent traders.

The first white man who fell a sacrifice to their jealousy, was one John Lawson, well known among them as Surveyor-General of the province of North Carolina. He had marked off some of their lands, and among the rest, a tract of five thousand acres, and another of ten thousand, had been lately surveyed for Graffenried. Soon after this, Lawson and Graffenried, together, undertook to explore the waters of the Neuse. They took a small boat at Newbern, and ascended the river. In the evening of the first day, they stopped at Coram, an Indian village, where they intended to lodge. Here they met two Tuskaroras, though Lawson had assured Graffenried, that the banks were uninhabited. These two were soon after joined by a great number more, well armed. The Baron now grew uneasy. He whispered to Lawson, that they had better proceed up the river. Lawson assented, not liking the looks of the Indians himself; and they began to move off from the fire they had made, towards the river. They had no sooner reached their boats, however, than such a press of the savages followed close after them, that it became impossible to keep them off. They took the arms and provisions of the two travel

ers, and then stripped them of every thing else. The Indians afterwards compelled them to accompany them to an Indian village, at a considerable distance from the river. There the two captives were delivered to the sachem of the village, who immediately called a council, at which one of the Indians delivered a long and violent speech. The question was then put, whether the whites should be bound: this was decided in the negative. The reason given was, that the guilty should always have an opportunity to defend and explain their conduct.

The next morning, the captives, anxious as to their fate, desired to know what the Indians intended to do with them. They were told, that the sachem would that evening invite a number of neighboring sachems to an entertainment, who would also assist in the trial, and the decision of the prisoners' fate. In the evening, accordingly, upwards of two hundred Indians collected, forty of whom were chiefs or leading men. By these forty, the prisoners were interrogated very closely, as to their

intention in ascending the river. The latter replied, that they were endeavoring to find and lay out some shorter and better road to Virginia than the present one travelled by the Carolina settlers. Such a road, they said, would accommodate the Indians as much as the English.

The sachems were still dissatisfied. They complained much of the conduct of the Carolina colonies towards them, and charged Lawson, in particular, with having stolen their land. The result of this unfortunate affair was the execution of Lawson, and the detention of Graffenried.

Fears of punishment for this outrage led to still further cruelties on the part of the Indians. A plan of general massacre was laid, and carried into too successful execution. About Roanoke, one hundred and thirty-seven of the whites were slain in a single evening. The Indian force amounted to twelve hundred bowmen, dispersed in small bands through the settlements. North Carolina did not contain two thousand fighting men in all, at this time. An express, therefore, had been immediately dispatched to the southern province for assistance.

Governor Craven lost no time in sending a force, as requested. The Charleston Assembly voted four thousand pounds for the service of the war; and a body of militia, under Colonel Barnwell, marched against the savages. Directly after, were sent two hundred and eighteen friendly Cherokee Indians, seventy-nine Creeks, forty-one Catabaws, and twenty-eight Yamassees, well furnished with arms, and commanded by five Carolinian captains. In this expedition, nearly one thousand of the enemy were slain But the savages still continued to cause great alarm, and the settlers on the Neuse and Pamlico rivers were almost ruined by their incursions.

In 1719, South Carolina ceased to be governed by the Proprietors, and became a royal province, subject, like Massachusetts and most of the other colonies, only to the King, through the Governor by him appointed. Carolina was divided into Northern and Southern about the same time. This revolution was effected by the people, taking their own cause into their own hands. They were dissatisfied with the Proprietors, and abjured their authority. The King afterwards sanctioned their doings, and declared the rights of the Proprietors forfeited. In 1715, South Carolina was devastated by an Indian war. Even in the large and fortified town of Charleston, they excited great apprehensions. Martial law was proclaimed there by the Governor, and all vessels were forbidden to leave the harbor. Agents were dispatched to Virginia and to England for assistance, and bills stamped for the payment of the troops, within a few days. Governor Craven marched out into the back country, at the head of the militia, against the largest body of savages.

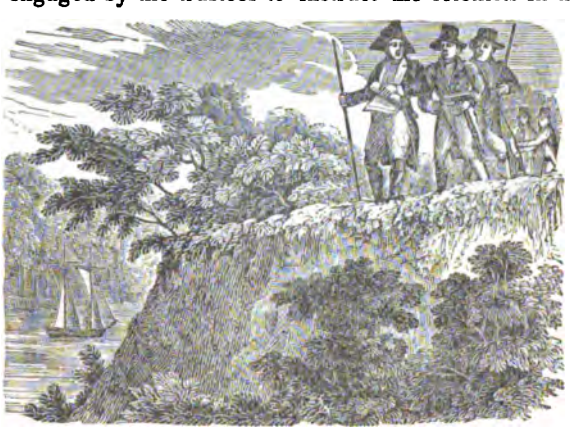
Meanwhile, the more northern Indians had advanced to within fifty miles from Charleston. Thomas Barker, a militia captain, collected ninety horsemen, and advanced against the enemy. But he was led, unfortunately, by the treachery of an Indian guide, into an ambuscade, where a large party of savages lay concealed on the ground. He advanced into the midst of them without suspecting his danger. They then suddenly sprang up from the bushes all around him, raised the war whoop, and

fired upon his men. The captain and several more of the whites fell at the first onset, and the remainder retreated in disorder. In this war four

hundred Carolinians were massacred, and the loss of the Indians was very considerable.

Georgia—as well as what are now Mississippi and Alabama, both which have been cut off from it into separate States—was included in the patent granted to the Proprietors of Carolina. It was not till June 9, 1732, indeed, that a separate charter was granted by King George II. to a company of twenty-one English gentleman, entitled "Trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia in America."

James Edward Oglethorpe, one of the trustees, was among the emigrants. So also was Mr. Herbert, an Episcopal English clergyman, and an Italian, engaged by the trustees to instruct the colonists in the art of



winding silk. They left England, November 16, 1732, in the ship Anne, Captain Thomas, and arrived at Charleston, January 13th of the next

year. There Oglethorpe and his colony were very kindly treated, and furnished with all possible aid. Many of the Carolinians sent them provisions, and hogs, and cattle, to begin their stock. The Assembly voted to furnish them one hundred and four head of breeding cattle, twenty-five hogs, and twenty barrels of rice. Some scout boats were also ordered, with a body of rangers, to protect the new adventurers from the savages in Georgia, while they should be preparing houses, or exploring the Georgian coast.

Oglethorpe now set sail again from Charleston, and landed, in a few days, near Yamacraw bluff. Here he tarried to examine the country; and, being pleased with the high spot of ground just named, situated on a large navigable river, he fixed on it for his new settlement. He marked out a town on the hill, and, from the Indian name of the river which ran past it, called it Savannah.

The company for the settlement of Georgia was incorporated by George II. for exporting to this part of America, free of expense, families laboring under the hardships of poverty. The design was laudable, but the execution of the project was not well managed. Impolitic restrictions laid upon the colonists, produced a languor from which their affairs never recovered while they continued to be proprietary. In 1752, the charter was surrendered to the King, and the government modelled according to that of the other colonies.*

* Virginia, and North and South Carolina, engaged at an early period in the war of the Revolution; Georgia did not join the confederation till the year 1775.

Virginia was originally much more extensive than it is at present. It included what now constitutes the State of Kentucky; this became a separate district in 1786, and in 1792 was admitted as one of the United States.

Tennessee was a part of the two Carolinas until 1729; these colonies then being divided into North and South Carolina, Tennessee was attached to the former; in 1789, it was ceded to the United States, and in 1796 became an independent State

SETTLEMENT OF THE NORTHERN STATES.

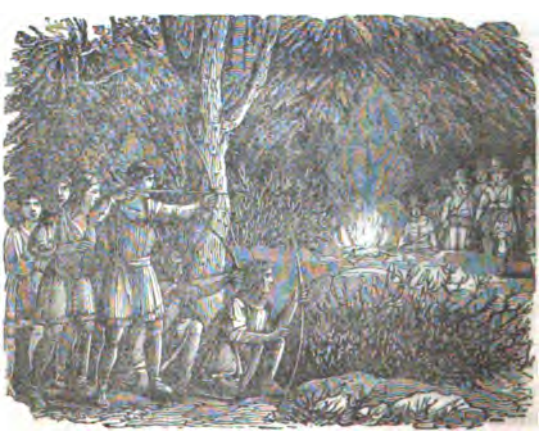
Queen Mary the Catholic ascended the throne of England in 1553, and in less than six years, two hundred and seventy persons were burned, and more than twelve thousand Protestant or Puritan clergymen were driven from their pulpits. The persecuted religion, however, still found thousands to profess it; for there never was a creed or faith which has not flourished from being trampled on. A congregation of two hundred persons were in the habit of holding their meetings in the very heart of London. These assemblies were held in secret, and under the cover of night. No secresy, however, could elude the vigilance of the Catholics, and the meeting was discovered. The house in which it was held, overhung the Thames, and it was watched only on the land side. This circumstance saved the congregation. A seaman belonging to it discovered the danger, leaped into the river, and procured

a boat, in which the Puritans were in a few hours conveyed to a place of safety.

When the spirited and absolute Elizabeth succeeded to the crown, she persecuted vast numbers for refusing to conform to the ceremonies of the English church. In 1602, a large company of those who refused to obey these rites, determined to leave England, for the Netherlands. They assembled, for this purpose, at a place near Boston, the capital of Lincolnshire, and a seaport. Their intended enterprize was discovered, and prevented by the interposition of public authority. In the following

year, a number of them resolved upon a second trial, and agreed with a Dutch captain to carry them to Holland. After various accidents, they reached the place of their destination, and after remaining a year at Amsterdam, they removed to Leyden. Here they remained twelve years, when they procured a patent for land of the Virginia company in England, and on the 5th of August, 1620, set sail for the New World. They intended to settle at the mouth of the river Hudson, but as was supposed, through the connivance of the captain, they were carried much further north, and on the 11th of November, anchored in the harbor of Cape Cod. The very day they landed, an armed party was sent to make discoveries. They returned at night, having found nothing but water, woods, and sand hills. The next day was the Sabbath, and they all rested. On Monday, the men went on shore to refresh themselves; the women to wash, attended by a guard; and the carpenter began to repair the shallop for the purpose of coasting. On Wednesday, Captain Miles Standish took a party of sixteen men, well armed, and went to make further discoveries. About a mile from the sea, they saw five Indians who fled. They pursued them ten miles; but, night coming on, they stationed sentinels, kindled a fire, and rested quietly around it.

On Wednesday, the 6th of December, the pilgrims sent out a fourth expedition. The ground was now covered with snow; and the cold wind froze the salt water on the clothes of the men, like coats of mail. Having landed, they made a fire, and slept in the woods the first night. The next day, they discovered an Indian burying-yard, surrounded by palisadoes. Many of the graves were staked around with a circle of wood. At five in the morning of the next day, there was a cry of "Indians! Indians!" by the guard they had set, and a shower of arrows fell



in among them, followed by horrible yells. But the noise of the English guns was still more terrible to the savages. They thought the report a sort of thunder and lightning, and fled in great fear. Their ar-

rows were kept, by the white men, as curiosities. They were pointed with deers' horn and eagles' claws.

On the 22d of December, the whole party of the pilgrims landed at the place afterwards called Plymouth, and having determined to plant a settlement there, began to cut timber for building. The rock on which they first stepped in landing, still exists, and strangers from all quarters visit it, as they pass through the town. When they left England, the whole number of the emigrants was one hundred and one. When the spring came, forty-six were dead. All these had died from the various hardships to which they had been exposed. But by the 3d of March, those who remained rejoiced to find that the winter was past. There were now warm showers the spring having set in earlier than usual. The settlers had laid out the town into streets and lots, and erected buildings of considerable size. They deposited their provisions and ammunition in a storehouse, with a thatched roof. Though this was constantly guarded, the roof took fire during the winter; but the lower part of the building, with its contents, was saved. They could scarcely have preserved life, had their stores been consumed.

The English soon formed an acquaintance with Massassoit, a powerful Indian chieftain, and entered into a treaty of peace, which was preserved by him and his successors for fifty years. Through his influence, nine of the petty sachems, or Indian chiefs, in his neighborhood, who had been jealous of the English, came to Plymouth, and subscribed a treaty of submission to the King of England. Others, from the island Capawoc, since called Martha's Vineyard, sent messengers for the same purpose.

In September, 1621, a shallop, with ten men, was sent to explore Massachusetts Bay, in which they found numerous fertile and beautiful

islands, mostly cleared of wood. The Indians seemed to lead a very happy life here, and it was a subject of regret to the settlers, at Plymouth.

that this vicinity had not been selected for the site of the new colony.

In November, 1621, a ship, with thirty-five passengers, arrived from England. Unfortunately she was out of provisions, and the colonists were obliged to victual her home. They were without bread in consequence, for two months of the winter.

The summer of 1622 being dry, the harvest was scanty, and the colonists were compelled to procure a supply from the Indians. Governor Bradford travelled among the tribes for this purpose, and obtained twenty-eight hogsheads of corn, which he paid for in knives, blankets, beads,

and other things of that kind. Squanto, a friendly Indian, who guided him upon this route, fell sick and died. He asked the Governor, on his death-bed, to pray for him, "that he might go to the Englishman's heaven." This Indian was of great service to the colony, but was a fellow of great cunning and deceit. He sometimes sent word to a tribe, secretly, that the English were coming to kill them, assuring them, at the same time, that he could obtain peace for them, and he only. The tribe would send him presents, accordingly, to procure peace, when, in fact, no war had been thought of. They considered him a very great man, supposing that he prevented the war. He now and then frightened them by telling rather large stories about the English gunpowder. He told them, also, that the colonists kept the plague barrelled up in a cellar under the Plymouth meeting-house, ready to send among the Indian tribes, whenever they wished to destroy them. It is probable that these dishonest accounts had some effect in keeping the Indians peaceable.

The aborigines of this part of the continent lived together in tribes of a few hundreds, and sometimes a few thousands, procuring their subsistence chiefly by hunting and fishing. Flesh and fish they roasted on a stick or broiled on the fire. Sometimes they boiled their meat and corn by putting hot stones into water; but the latter was usually parched. They

also raised peas, beans, and pumpkins. There was generally a sort of rude garden near each wigwam, with a small cornfield. The women cultivated the land; they used large oyster and other shells for hoes, till the whites supplied them with iron ones. They performed all the

drudgery about the house. The men were usually abroad, engaged in hunting, fishing, or fighting; when at home, they lounged lazily about the wigwams. In fishing, they used crooked bones for hooks, and made nets of the bark of the Indian hemp, or of the sinews of the moose and deer. Those who lived along the coast were skilful fishermen, and caught great numbers of seal.

It does not come within our plan to give any detailed narrative of the events of the Indian wars. The most formidable of these was that known as King Philip's War. The capture of Fort Mystic from the Pequots at the mouth of Mystic river, near the present site of Stonington, was an achievement of some note on the part of the settlers. Ninety men were mustered for this purpose in Connecticut, and placed under the command of Captain Mason of Massachusetts; these were joined by a large party of friendly Indians, and the whole body entered the Pequot territory, and commenced their march towards the fort.

The number of the Indian allies was near five hundred. They marched in one body before the English force, and were constantly boasting how gallantly they should fight. But when Captain Mason informed them he was resolved to attack the Pequots in their fort, they were horror-struck, and quite a number of the Narragansetts took the liberty to return home. Mason, however, marched on through the wilderness, till he came to a small swamp between two hills, just at dusk. The camp was pitched, that night, near two large rocks in Groton, since called Porter's rocks. The soldiers were tired, and slept soundly on the ground, with stones for their pillows. Guards were kept watching in advance, who could hear the Pequots at the fort, yelling and singing, and making

merry, till midnight. They were rejoicing because the English vessels had passed down the river some days before, and they supposed they had gone away.

About two hours before day, the Captain roused his Indians, and the eighty brave white men, who were with him, and marched on a mile or two, to the foot of a large hill. The moon shone brightly, and he perceived, as he halted here, that his Indians, who had been in the habit of marching a long way in front, were now lingering far in the rear. He sent a messenger back to Uncas, to ask where the fort was. He answered, on the top of the hill. He was asked what was the matter with the Indians? and he replied, that they were horribly frightened. "Sassacus," they said, "was in the fort; and he was all one devil; nobody could kill him." Mason now told the Indians to surround the fort as far off as they pleased, and look at the English, during the battle. They agreed to this arrangement, and posted themselves in a circle around the fort, at about twenty rods distance.

The day was now dawning, and the fort was still perfectly silent. The English had come within a rod or two of it, when an Indian dog barked, and a Pequot roared out, "Owannux! Owannux!" "The En-

glish." The English pressed on, fired upon the Indians through the palisadoes, as they sprang up from sleep, and then entered the principal door of the fort, sword in hand. The flashing and roar of arms, the shrieks and yells of the men, women, and children within, and the shouting of the circle of Narragansetts without, were tremendous. The Pequots fought well; but they were driven, at last, to shelter themselves in their wigwams, inclosed within the walls of the fort, where, from every window and door, they made a most obstinate defence. Captain Mason now cried out, "We must burn them!" He entered a wigwam, and fired the mats of the roof with a brand. The flames ran from roof to roof, till every wigwam was blazing. The English now left the fort, and compassed it about on all sides; their Indian allies plucking

up courage, and forming a line behind them. These did little execution, to be sure, except to frighten the Pequots with their horrible war-whoop.

The enemy were panic-struck. The flames forced them from their hiding-places into the open light; and the English, from without, shot them down like a herd of deer. Some climbed the palisadoes, but there they were pierced by the English bullets. Some sallied out in desperation, and were cut down; others waited for the English in their burning wigwams. When they found that the women were spared, many of them cried out, "I squaw, I squaw;" but it could not save them. Six or seven hundred of them were slaughtered.

Several adventurers from England settled in the countries of MAINE and NEW-HAMPSHIRE; these remained, for some time, separate governments, but were afterwards united to that of Massachusetts. By William III. Plymouth and Maine were annexed to Massachusetts; but New-Hampshire was made a distinct government dependent on the crown.

The dangers to which the Colonies of New-England were subjected by attacks from the Indians, and the difficulties attending an effectual co-operation while in a separate state, became early visible; and a confederation had been projected prior to 1638. This important confederation, however, was not completely arranged and digested till 1643. It was then agreed, that a Congress should be formed, of two Commissioners from each colony, chosen annually, to be called "the Representatives of the United Colonies of New-England." Rhode Island was desirous of being admitted to the Union; but was not then received. From this period, the New-England States may be considered as forming one political body. Hudson's river was first discovered by Henry Hudson, an Englishman, from whom the Dutch purchased the right of establishing a colony on its banks. Attempts were soon made to settle upon it; and in 1615, a fort was built, and a small number of inhabitants fixed on the south-west point of Manhattan's Island, now the site of *New-York*. In 1664, it was seized by the English; and, at the peace of Breda, in 1667, they were confirmed in the possession of it in return for Surinam, which they ceded to the Dutch. This fort, and consequently the whole colony, fell again into the hands of the Dutch in 1678, through the treachery of its Governor; but, in the year following, it was restored to the English, who retained it till the revolution.

NEW JERSEY, like NEW-YORK, was first settled by the Dutch, who planted a colony in the county of Bergen, between the years 1614 and 1620. A few Swedes and Finns joined them in 1627; and, though the Dutch and Swedes were often at variance, they kept joint possession of the country for a considerable time. Charles II. in 1634, granted the whole territory called by the Dutch, *New Netherlands*, and of which New Jersey formed a part, to the Duke of York his brother, who, in 1664, granted New Jersey to Lord Berkley, and Sir George Carteret. The colony

was in 1672 reduced by the Dutch; but, in 1674, it was restored to the English. In the same year, the Duke of York received a new patent for the same country, and again divided it between the assigns of Lord Berkley, and Sir George Carteret. The government of New Jersey continued to be proprietary, till it was divided into portions so small, and the number of proprietors had become so great, that the functions of government were continually impeded. The Proprietors, influenced by this and other inconveniences, at last, in 1702, surrendered their authority to the British Government, in consequence of which New Jersey continued till the revolution to be a Royal Government.

The history of the colony of PENNSYLVANIA consists not, like that of many others, of a detail of religious dissensions; for such dissensions were prevented by a universal toleration in religion, from the first commencement of the settlement. Pennsylvania continued a proprietary government till the revolution. William Penn, a celebrated Quaker, in return for his father's services to the crown, and a large sum due from the crown to himself, obtained, in 1681, a grant of the country which from his own name, was called Pennsylvania. In 1682, a settlement was made, and a form of government established. In the year following, Penn prevailed on the colonists to accept a form of government different from that which had been first adopted. Penn's presence in England becoming necessary, on account of a dispute with Lord Baltimore, concerning the bounds of their respective American possessions, he delegated the powers of government, in his absence, to five Commissioners. In a short time, the Proprietary superseded his five Commissioners, and sent deputies to govern in his name. While Markham was Governor, in 1696, another change in the administration was effected. Penn, once more, visited the colony in 1699, and during his stay the political institutions were for the last time revised, and that frame of government established which remained unaltered till the revolution. The Pennsylvanians, at an early period began to show that they both understood and valued freedom; and in spite of the efforts of deputies, instigated by the arbitrary disposition of Proprietaries, they maintained that freedom, and preserved the charter of privileges which they had originally maintained. It deserves to be specially recorded, that the Pennsylvanians always treated the Indians in a kind and just manner. They purchased from them the lands which they occupied, with what the Indians accounted equivalent, and observed with punctuality the articles of every truce; and thus won from the natives that esteem and good-will which proved the best preservative of the peace and safety of the settlement.

The Dutch, in consequence of the purchase of the banks of Hudson's River, imagined that they had acquired some right to all the unsettled countries in their neighborhood, They accordingly, in 1623, planted a colony on the river *Delaware*. This colony was, in a short time, supplanted by one from Sweden; and the country was alternately possessed by the Swedes and Dutch, till, at length, both parties were subjected to the English. In 1674, Charles II. granted this district, as forming a part of the Dutch New Netherlands, to his brother the Duke of York, who, in 1683, sold it to Penn; from that time till the revolution it made

part of Pennsylvania. The Assemblies were different, but the same Governor presided in both.

Many of the States of North America owe their first settlement to religious disputes. We have seen how the persecution of the Puritans peopled the States of New-England; and MARYLAND, we are informed, owed its first settlement to a persecution little less severe, which, in Britain, was carried on against the Roman Catholics. About two hundred gentlemen of fortune and considerable respectability, with their followers, embarked for Maryland, hoping to enjoy that peace and that liberty of conscience, which their native country did not afford them. This colony arrived in Maryland in 1633, and Leonard Calvert, brother to Lord Baltimore, was appointed the first Governor. Lands were purchased of the Indians; and, in a short time, the colony had increased in numbers and in importance. In 1638, the first Assembly was appointed. The grand Convention of England, in 1689, took the government from Lord Baltimore, and made it a Royal Government; and the dread of Popery, which had so much influence in producing the revolution in Britain, procured, in 1692, the establishment of the Protestant religion in Maryland. Lord Baltimore, however, recovered the property of this government in 1716; and retained it till the American revolution, during which his property in lands was confiscated. The petition of his heir, at the close of the war, for the recovery of his right, was rejected by the Legislature of this State.

THE FRENCH WARS.

Being in possession of the inland seas of Canada, as they are justly termed, and of the mouths of the grand receiver of most of the principal rivers of North America, the French conceived the bold idea of uniting their northern and southern possessions by a chain of forts along the banks of the Ohio and Mississippi; and by that means also to confine the English colonists to the eastern side of the Alleghanies. In their northern colonies their military strength was considerable; Quebec and Montreal were strongly fortified; and at other points, Louisburg, Cape Breton, and the forts of Lake Champlain, Niagara, Crown Point, Frontignac, Ticonderoga, and several others, defended the frontiers. They had also erected a considerable fort at the junction of the Alleghany with the Monongahela, then called Du Quesne, but now forming the site of Pittsburg, the Birmingham of America.

Early in the spring of 1755, the British government dispatched General Braddock to America, with a respectable force to expel the French, and keep possession of the territory; and preparations having been made by France to dispatch a reinforcement to her armies in Canada, Admiral Boscawen was ordered to endeavor to intercept the French fleet before it should enter the Gulf of St. Lawrence. In April, General Braddock met the Governors of the several provinces to confer upon the plan of the ensuing campaign. Three expeditions were resolved upon; one against Du Quesne, to be commanded by General Braddock; one against forts Niagera and Frontignac, to be commanded by Governor Shirley; and one against Crown Point, to be commanded by General Johnson This last originated with Massachusetts, and was to be executed by colonial troops raised in New England and New York.

While preparations were making for these expeditions, another, which had been previously concerted, was carried on against the French forts in Nova Scotia. This province was settled by the French, but was ceded to the English by the treaty of Utrecht. Its boundaries not having been defined, the French continued to occupy a portion of the territory claimed by the English, and had built forts for their defence. To gain possession of these was the object of the expedition. About two thousand militia, commanded by Colonel Winslow, embarked at Boston; and being joined on their passage by three hundred regulars, arrived in April at the place of their destination. The forts were invested, the resistance made was trifling and ineffectual, and in a short time the English gained entire possession of the province, according to their own definition of its boundaries. Three only of their men were killed.

Of the unfortunate issue of Braddock's expedition we have already given an account. The two northern expeditions, though not so disastrous, did not either of them succeed in attaining the object proposed. In that against Crown Point much delay was occasioned by the distracted councils of so many different governments; and it was not till the last of August, that General Johnson, with three thousand seven hundred men, arrived at the fort of Lake George, on his way to Ticonderoga. Meanwhile the French squadron had eluded Admiral Boscawen; and, as soon as it arrived at Quebec, Baron Dieskau, the commander, resolved to march against Oswego with his own twelve hundred regulars, and about six hundred Canadians and Indians. The news of General Johnson's movement determined Dieskau to change his plan, and to lead his forces directly against the American camp. General Johnson called for reinforcements: eight hundred troops, raised as a corps of reserve by Massachusetts, were immediately ordered to his assistance; and the same colony undertook to raise an additional number of two thousand men. Colonel Williams was sent forward with one thousand men to amuse and reconnoitre the enemy. He met them four miles from the camp, offered battle, and was defeated. Another detachment shared the same fate; and the French were now within one hundred and fifty yards of the camp, when a halt for a short time enabled the Americans to recover their alarm, and to make good use of their artillery through the fallen trees, behind which they were posted. Dieskau advanced to the charge; but he was so firmly received, that the Indians and militia gave way and fled: he was obliged to order a retreat of the regulars; and, in the ardent pursuit which ensued, he was himself mortally wounded and made prisoner. A scouting party had, in the meantime, taken the enemy's baggage; and when the retreating army came up, they attacked it so successfully from behind the trees, that the panic-struck soldiers dropped all their accoutrements, and fled in the utmost confusion for their posts on the lakes. This victory revived the spirits of the colonists, depressed by the recent defeat of General Braddock, but the success was not improved in any proportion to their expectation. General Shirley, now the commander in chief, urged an attempt on Ticonderoga; but a council of war judging it unadvisable, Johnson employed the remainder of the campaign in fortifying his camp. On a meeting of Commissioners from Massachusetts and Connecticut with the Governor and Council of New York, in October, it was unanimously agreed, that the army under General Johnson should be discharged, excepting six hundred men, who should be engaged to garrison Fort Edward and Fort William Henry. The French retained possession of Ticonderoga and fortified it.

General Shirley, who was to conduct the expedition against Niagara and Fort Frontignac, experienced such delays, that he did not reach Oswego until the 21st of August. On his arrival, he made all necessary preparations for the expedition to Niagara; but, through the desertion of batteaux men, the scarcity of wagons on the Mohawk river, and the desertion of sledgemen at the great carrying place, the conveyance of provisions and stores was so much retarded, that nearly four weeks elapsed before he could commence any further operations: and from a

continued succession of adverse circumstances, in a council of war called on the 27th of September, it was unanimously resolved to defer the expedition to the succeeding year; to leave Colonel Mercer at Oswego, with a garrison of seven hundred men, and to build two additional forts for the security of the place; while the General should return with the rest of the army to Albany. Thus ended the campaign of 1755: it opened with the brightest prospects; immense preparations had been made, yet not one of the objects of the three principal expeditions had been attained; and by this failure the whole frontier was exposed to the ravages of the Indians, which were accompanied by their usual acts of barbarity.

The colonies, however, far from being discouraged by the misfortunes of the last campaign, determined to renew and increase their exertions. General Shirley, to whom the superintendence of all the military operations had been confided, assembled a council of war at New York to concert a plan for the ensuing year. The plan adopted by the council embraced expeditions against Du Quesne, Niagara, and Crown Point, and the dispatching a body of troops by way of the rivers Kennebeck and Chaudiere, to create alarm for the safety of Quebec. Major-General Winslow was appointed to lead the expedition against Crown Point. He was a popular officer, and the colonists felt a deep interest in the expedition; but, for want of an established financial system, (their only taxes were upon lands and polls,) the requisite funds were raised with difficulty, and the recruiting service made very slow progress. Only seven thousand men assembled at the posts on Lake George. General Winslow declared, that, without more forces, he could not undertake the expedition; and it would probably have been abandoned, had he not been reinforced by the timely arrival of some British troops. They came over with General Abercrombie, who had superseded General Shirley, and who soon after gave place to the Earl of Loudoun. These changes produced some unpleasant contests for priority of rank. General Winslow asserted frankly, that the provincials would never be commanded by British officers; and the Earl of Loudoun seriously propounded the question, whether the colonial troops, with his Majesty's arms in their hands, would refuse obedience to his Majesty's commanders? He was answered in the affirmative; and when he understood that the New England troops, in particular, had enlisted under the condition of being led by their own officers, he agreed to let those troops act separately.

While the English were adjusting these differences, and debating whether it would be expedient to attack Fort Niagara, or Fort Du Quesne Montcalm, the successor of Dieskau, marched against Oswego with abou five thousand French, Canadians, and Indians. His artillery played with such effect upon the fort, that it was soon declared untenable; and to avoid an assault, the garrison, who were sixteen hundred in number, and had stores for five months, surrendered themselves prisoners of war. The fort had been an object of considerable jealousy to the Five Nations; and Montcalm made a wise use of his conquest by demolishing it in their presence. The English and American army was now thrown upon the defensive Instead of attacking Ticonderoga, General Winslow was

ordered to fortify his own camp; Major-General Webb, with fourteen hundred regulars, took post near Wood Creek; and Sir William Johnson, with one thousand militia, was stationed at the German Flats. The colonists were now called upon for reinforcements; and, as Parliament had distributed among them one hundred and fifteen thousand pounds for the last year's expenses, they were enabled to answer the call with perhaps more promptitude than was anticipated. The recruits were on their way to the camp, when intelligence of the small-pox at Albany frightened them home again. The other provincials were equally alarmed; and all, except a New York regiment, were dismissed. Thus terminated the second campaign. The expedition up the Kennebeck had been abandoned; that against Niagara was not commenced; and not even a preparation had been made for that against Du Quesne.

At the commencement of the following year, a council was held at Boston, composed of Lord Loudoun, and the Governors of the New England provinces and of Nova Scotia. At this council his Lordship proposed that New England should raise four thousand men for the ensuing campaign; and that a proportionate number should be raised by New York and New Jersey. These requisitions were complied with; and in the spring his Lordship found himself at the head of a very considerable army. Admiral Holbourn arriving in the beginning of July at Halifax with a powerful squadron, and a reinforcement of five thousand British troops, under George Viscount Howe, Lord Loudoun sailed from New York with six thousand regulars, to join those troops at the place of their arrival. Instead of the complex operations undertaken in previous campaigns, his Lordship limited his plan to a single object. Leaving the posts on the lakes strongly garrisoned, he resolved to direct his whole disposable force against Louisburg; Halifax having been determined on as the place of rendezvous for the fleet and army destined for the expedition. Information was, however, soon received, that a French fleet had lately sailed from Brest; that Louisburg was garrisoned by six thousand regulars, exclusive of provincials; and that it was also defended by seventeen line of battle ships, which were moored in the harbor. There being no hope of success against so formidable a force, the enterprise was deferred to the next year; the General and Admiral on the last of August proceeded to New York; and the provincials were dismissed.

The Marquis De Montcalm, availing himself of the absence of the principal part of the British force, advanced with an army of nine thousand men, and laid siege to Fort William Henry. The garrison at this fort consisted of between two and three thousand regulars, and its fortifications were strong and in very good order; and for the additional security of this important post, General Webb was stationed at Fort Edward with an army of four thousand men. The French commander, however, urged his approaches with such vigor, that, within six days after the investment of the fort, Colonel Monro, the commandant, having in vain solicited succor from General Webb, found it necessary to surrender by capitulation. The garrison was to be allowed the honors of war, and to be protected against the Indians until within the reach of Fort

Edward; but the next morning, a great number of Indians having been permitted to enter the lines, began to plunder; and meeting with no opposition, they fell upon the sick and wounded, whom they immediately massacred. Their appetite for carnage being excited, the defenceless troops were attacked with fiend-like fury. Monro in vain implored Montcalm to provide the stipulated guard, and the massacre proceeded. All was turbulence and horror. On every side savages were butchering and scalping their wretched victims. Their hideous yells, the groans of the dying, and the frantic shrieks of others shrinking from the uplifted tomahawk, were heard by the French unmoved. The fury of the savages was permitted to rage without restraint, until fifteen hundred were killed, or hurried captives into the wilderness. The day after this awful tragedy, Major Putnam was sent with his rangers to watch the motions of the enemy. When he came to the shore of the lake, their rear was hardly beyond the reach of musket shot. The prospect was horrible in the extreme; the fort demolished; the barracks and buildings yet burning; innumerable fragments of human carcasses still broiling in the decaying fires; and dead bodies, mangled with tomahawks and scalping knives, in all the wantonness of Indian barbarity, were every where scattered around.

Thus ended the third campaign* in America; happily forming the last of a series of disasters resulting from folly and mismanagement rather than from want of means and military strength. The successes

* While the army was in winter quarters, a circumstance occurred, which exhibits the watchful jealousy the colonists ever exercised over their liberties. "The General Court had provided barracks on Castle Island for a regiment of Highlanders, which had been expected at Boston. Some recruiting officers soon afterwards arrived at Nova Scotia; and, protesting that their regiments would never be filled up if the men must be lodged in these barracks, they required the justices of the peace to furnish quarters, according to the act of Parliament. The justices denied that the act of Parliament extended to this country. Lord Loudoun wrote the Court a letter, and asserted roundly that it did; that, moreover, he had 'used gentleness and patience' long enough; and that, unless the requisitions were complied within forty-eight hours from the receipt of his letter, he should be 'under the necessity' of ordering 'into Boston the three battalions from New York, Long Island, and Connecticut; and if more were wanting, he had two in the Jerseys at hand, beside those in Pennsylvania.' The General Court now passed an act very similar to that of Parliament, on the subject of recruits; but it did not fully answer Lord Loudoun's expectations, nor did he fail to let them know it in a second epistle. The answer of the General Court was merely a reiteration of what we have so often heard from the same body. They asserted their rights as Englishmen; said they had conformed to the act of Parliament as nearly as the case would admit; and declared that it was their misfortune, if a strict adherence to their duty should give offence to Lord Loudoun. He, in turn, applauded the zeal of the province in the service of his majesty, affected to rely on its compliance with his wishes, and countermanded his orders for the march of the troops. The General Court sent his excellency a concluding message, in which they asserted that they were entirely dependent on Parliament; that its acts were the rule of all their judicial proceedings; that its authority had never been questioned; and that if they had not made this avowal 'in times past, it was because there had been no occasion for it.' Judge Marshal seems to think that this language was sincere, but Mr. Minot attributes it to the desire of the Court to keep friends with Parliament till they were reimbursed for the expenses which they had incurred during the war. The truth is probably between the two opinions."—*Sanford's History of the United States*, p. 145, 146.

of the French left the colonies in a gloomy state. By the acquisition of Fort William Henry, they had obtained full possession of the Lakes Champlain and George; and by the destruction of Oswego, they had acquired the dominion of those other lakes which connect the St. Lawrence with the waters of the Mississippi. The first afforded the easiest admission from the northern colonies into Canada, or from Canada into those colonies; the last united Canada to Louisiana. By the continued possession of Fort Du Quesne, they preserved their ascendancy over the Indians, and held undisturbed control of all the country west of the Alleghany mountains. The British nation was alarmed and indignant, and the King found it necessary to change his councils. At the head of the new ministry, he placed the celebrated William Pitt, afterwards Earl of Chatham, who was raised by his talents from the humble post of ensign in the guards to the control of the destinies of a mighty empire; under his administration public confidence revived, and the nation seemed inspired with new life and vigor. He was equally popular in both hemispheres; and so promptly did the Governors of the northern colonies obey the requisitions of his circular letter of 1757, that by May in the following year, Massachusetts had seven thousand, Connecticut five thousand, and New Hampshire three thousand troops, prepared to take the field. The zeal of Massachusetts was particularly ardent. The people of Boston supported taxes which took away two thirds of the income on real estate; one half of the effective men in the province were on some sort of military duty; and the transports for carrying the troops to Halifax were ready to sail in fourteen days from the time of their engagement. The mother country was not less active. While her fleets blockaded or captured the French armaments, she dispatched Admiral Boscawen to Halifax with a formidable squadron of ships, and an army of twelve thousand men. Lord Loudoun was replaced by General Abercrombie, who, early in the spring of 1758, was ready to enter upon the campaign at the head of fifty thousand men, the most powerful army ever seen in America.

Three points of attack were marked out for this campaign; the first, Louisburg; the second, Ticonderoga and Crown Point; and the third, Fort Du Quesne. On the first expedition Admiral Boscawen sailed from Halifax on the 28th of May, with a fleet of twenty ships of the line and eighteen frigates, and an army of fourteen thousand men under the command of General Amherst, and arrived before Louisburg on the 2d of June. The garrison of that place, commanded by the Chevalier De Drucourt, an officer of courage and experience, was composed of two thousand five hundred regulars, aided by six hundred militia. The harbor being secured by five ships of the line, one fifty gun ship, and five frigates, three of which were sunk across the mouth of the basin, it was found necessary to land at some distance from the town. This being effected, and the artillery and stores brought on shore, General Wolfe was detached with two thousand men to seize a post occupied by the enemy at the Lighthouse point, from which the ships in the harbor, and the fortifications in the town, might be greatly annoyed. On the approach of that gallant officer, the post was abandoned by the enemy, and several very strong batteries were erected there by their opponents. Approaches

were also made on the opposite side of the town, and the siege was pressed with resolution and vigor, though with great caution. A very heavy cannonade being kept up against the town and the vessels in the harbor, a bomb was at length set on fire and blew up one of the largest ships, and the flames were communicated to two others, which shared the same fate. The English Admiral now sent six hundred men in boats into the harbor, to make an attempt on two ships of the line, which still remained in the basin; one of which, being aground, was destroyed, the other was towed off in triumph. This gallant exploit putting the English in complete possession of the harbor, and several breaches being made practicable in the works, the place was deemed no longer defensible, and the Governor offered to capitulate. It was required that the garrison should surrender as prisoners of war. These humiliating terms, though at first rejected, were afterwards acceded to; and Louisburg, with all its artillery, provisions, and military stores, as also Island Royal, St. Johns and their dependencies, were placed in the hands of the English, who, without farther difficulty, took possession of the island of Cape Breton. The conquerors found two hundred and twenty-one pieces of cannon, and eighteen mortars, with a very large quantity of stores and ammunition. The inhabitants of Cape Breton were sent to France in English ships; but the garrison, sea officers, sailors, and marines, amounting collectively to nearly six thousand men, were carried prisoners to England.

The armies destined to execute the plans against Ticonderoga and Fort Du Quesne were appointed to rendezvous respectively at Albany and Philadelphia. The first was commanded by General Abercrombie, and consisted of upwards of fifteen thousand men, attended by a formidable train of artillery. On the 5th of July, the General embarked his troops on Lake George, on board of one hundred and twenty-five whale boats, and nine hundred batteaux, and commenced operations against Ticonderoga. After debarkation at the landing-place in a cove on the west side of the lake, the troops were formed into four columns, the British in the centre, and the provincials on the flanks. In this order they marched towards the advanced guard of the French, which, consisting of one battalion only, posted in a logged camp, destroyed what was in their power, and made a precipitate retreat. While Abercrombie was continuing his march in the woods toward Ticonderoga, the columns were thrown into confusion, and in some degree entangled with each other. At this juncture, Lord Howe, at the head of the right centre column, fell in with a part of the advance guard of the enemy which had been lost in the wood in retreating from Lake George, and immediately attacked and dispersed it, killing a considerable number, and taking one hundred and forty-eight prisoners. This success was, however, dearly purchased by the loss of the gallant nobleman who fell in leading the attack. The English army, without further opposition, took possession of a post within two miles of Ticonderoga. Abercrombie, having learned from the prisoners the strength of the enemy at that fortress, and from an engineer the condition of their works, resolved on an immediate storm, and made instant disposition for an assault. The troops having received orders to march up briskly, rush upon the enemy's fire, and reserve their own till they had passed

a breastwork, marched to the assault with great intrepidity. Unlooked for impediments, however, occurred. In front of the breastwork, to a considerable distance, trees had been felled with their branches outward, many of which were sharpened to a point, by means of which the assailants were not only retarded in their advance, but, becoming entangled among the boughs, were exposed to a very galling fire. Finding it impracticable to pass the breastwork, which was eight or nine feet high, and much stronger than had been represented, General Abercrombie, after a contest of near four hours, ordered a retreat, and the next day resumed his former camp on the south side of Lake George. In this brave but ill-judged assault, nearly two thousand of the assailants were killed and wounded, while the loss of the enemy, who were covered during the whole action, was inconsiderable. General Abercrombie immediately recrossed Lake George, and entirely abandoned the project of capturing Ticonderoga.

The campaign was not destined, however, to close with such ill success. Colonel Bradstreet proposed an expedition against Frontignac; a fort, which, by being placed on the north side of the St. Lawrence, just where it issues from Lake Ontario, was the key to the communication between Canada and Louisiana. It served also to keep the Indians in subjection, and was the general repository of stores for the enemy's western and southern posts. Late in the evening of the 25th of August, Colonel Bradstreet landed within a mile of the place, with three thousand men, eight pieces of cannon, and three mortars. The French had not anticipated an attack at this point, and the garrison consisted of only one hundred and ten men, with a few Indian auxiliaries. It was impossible to hold out long. Colonel Bradstreet posted his mortars so near the fort, that every shell took effect; and the commander was very soon obliged to surrender at discretion. The booty consisted of sixty pieces of cannon, great numbers of small arms, provisions, military stores, goods to a large amount, and nine armed vessels of from eight to eighteen guns. Colonel Bradstreet destroyed the fort and vessels, recrossed the Ontario, and returned to the army.

Had it not been for this fortunate enterprise, the unaccountable delay in preparing the expedition against Du Quesne would probably have left that fort a third time in possession of the enemy. It was not until June that the commander, General Forbes, set out from Philadelphia; it was September before Colonel Washington, with the Virginia regulars, was ordered to join the main body, at Ray's Town; and, owing to the difficulties of cutting a new road, it was as late as November, when the army appeared before Du Quesne. The garrison, deserted by the Indians, and without adequate means of defence, had escaped down the Ohio, the evening before the arrival of the British, who had only to take possession, therefore, in the King's name. The fort was supplied with a new garrison, and the name changed to Pittsburg. The Indians, as usual, joined the strongest side. A peace was concluded with all the tribes between the Ohio and the Lakes; and the frontier inhabitants of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, were once more relieved from the terrors of fire and scalping knives.

The campaign of 1758 was highly honorable to the British arms, and

the results of it very important. Of the three expeditions, two had completely succeeded, and the leader of the third had made an important conquest. To the commanding talents of Pitt, and the confidence which they inspired, this change of fortune must be chiefly attributed; and in no respect were these talents more strikingly displayed than in the choice of men to execute his plans. The advantages of this campaign had, however, been purchased by an expensive effort and corresponding exhaustion of provincial strength; and, when a circular letter from Mr. Pitt to the several Governors induced the colonies to resolve upon making the most vigorous preparation for the next, they soon discovered that their resources were by no means commensurate with their zeal.

Notwithstanding these difficulties, it was resolved to signalize the year 1759 by the complete conquest of Canada. The plan of the campaign was, that three powerful armies should enter the French possessions by three different routes, and attack all their strong holds at nearly the same time. At the head of one division of the army, Brigadier General Wolfe, a young officer who had signalized himself at the siege of Louisburg, was to ascend the St. Lawrence and lay siege to Quebec, escorted by a strong fleet to co-operate with his troops. The central and main army, composed of British and provincials, was to be conducted against Ticonderoga and Crown Point by General Amherst, the new Commander in chief, who, after making himself master of these places, was to proceed over Lake Champlain, and by the way of Richelieu river, to the St. Lawrence, and, descending that river, form a junction with General Wolfe before the walls of Quebec. The third army, to be composed principally of provincials, reinforced by a strong body of friendly Indians, was to be commanded by General Prideaux, who was to lead this division first against Niagara, and, after the reduction of that place, to embark on Lake Ontario, and proceed down the St. Lawrence against Montreal. It has been observed by a recent author, "Had the elements been laid, and the enemy spell-bound, the whole of this brilliant plan could not have helped succeeding." This sentence, however, betrays a very limited view of a plan that was well worthy of the mind of Pitt. In this arrangement immediate advantage was not sacrificed; while the more remote results exhibited a prospect highly calculated to excite the ambition of the leaders, and to arouse all the energies of the troops. It is in thus affording motives which tend to bring physical force into most effective and persevering action, that intellectual superiority becomes manifest, confounding the calculations of ordinary minds.

Early in the winter, General Amherst commenced preparations for his part of the enterprise; but it was not till the last of May that his troops were assembled at Albany; and it was as late as the 22d of July, when he appeared before Ticonderoga. As the naval superiority of Great Britain had prevented France from sending out reinforcements, none of the posts in this quarter were able to withstand so great a force as that of General Amherst. Ticonderoga was immediately abandoned; the example was followed at Crown Point; and the only way in which the enemy seemed to think of preserving their province was by retarding the English army with shows of resistance till the season of operation should

be passed, or till, by the gradual concentration of their forces, they should become numerous enough to make an effectual stand. From Crown Point they retreated to Isle-aux-Noix, where General Amherst understood there was a body of between three and four thousand men, and a fleet of several armed vessels. The English made great exertions to secure a naval superiority; and had it not been for a succession of adverse storms upon the lake, they would most probably have accomplished the original design of forming a junction at Quebec, instead of being obliged to go into winter quarters at Crown Point. In prosecution of the enterprise against Niagara, General Prideaux had embarked with an army on Lake Ontario; and on the 6th of July, landed without opposition, within about three miles from the fort, which he invested in form. While directing the operations of the siege, he was killed by the bursting of a cohorn, and the command devolved upon Sir William Johnson. That General, prosecuting with judgment and vigor the plan of his predecessor, pushed the attack of Niagara with an intrepidity that soon brought the besiegers within a hundred yards of the covered way. Meanwhile, the French, alarmed at the danger of losing a post which was a key to their interior empire in America, had collected a large body of regular troops from the neighboring garrisons of Detroit, Venango, and Presqu' Isle, with which, and a party of Indians, they resolved, if possible, to raise the siege. Apprised of their intention to hazard a battle, General Johnson ordered his light infantry, supported by some grenadiers and regular foot, to take post between the cataract of Niagara and the fortress; placed the auxiliary Indians on his flanks; and, together with this preparation for an engagement, took effectual measures for securing his lines, and bridling the garrison. About nine in the morning of the 24th of July, the enemy appeared, and the horrible sound of the war whoop from the hostile Indians was the signal of battle. The French charged with great impetuosity, but were received with firmness; and in less than an hour were completely routed. This battle decided the fate of Niagara. Sir William Johnson, the next morning, opened negociations with the French commandant; and in a few hours a capitulation was signed. The garrison, consisting of six hundred and seven men, were to march out with the honors of war, to be embarked on the lake, and carried to New York; and the women and children were to be carried to Montreal. The reduction of Niagara effectually cut off the communication between Canada and Louisiana.

The expedition against the capital of Canada was the most daring and important. Strong by nature, and still stronger by art, Quebec had obtained the appellation of the Gibraltar of America; and every attempt against it had failed. It was now commanded by Montcalm, an officer of distinguished reputation; and its capture must have appeared chimerical to any one but Pitt. He judged rightly, however, that the boldest and most dangerous enterprises are often the most successful, especially when committed to ardent minds, glowing with enthusiasm, and emulous of glory. Such a mind he had discovered in General Wolfe, whose conduct at Louisburg had attracted his attention. He appointed him to conduct the expedition, and gave him for assistants Brigadier Generals

Monckton, Townshend, and Murray; all, like himself, young and ardent. Early in the season he sailed from Halifax with eight thousand troops, and, near the last of June, landed the whole army on the island of Orleans, a few miles below Quebec. From this position he could take a near and distinct view of the obstacles to be overcome. These were so great, that even the bold and sanguine Wolfe perceived more to fear than to hope. In a letter to Mr. Pitt, written before commencing operations, he declared that he saw but little prospect of reducing the place.

Quebec stands on the north side of the St. Lawrence, and consists of an upper and lower town. The lower town lies between the river and a bold and lofty eminence, which runs parallel to it far to the westward. At the top of this eminence is a plain, upon which the upper town is situated. Below, or east of the city, is the river St. Charles, whose channel is rough, and whose banks are steep and broken. At a short distance farther down is the Montmorency; and between these two rivers, and reaching from one to the other, was encamped the French army, strongly intrenched, and at least equal in number to that of the English. General Wolfe took possession of Point Levi, on the southern bank of the St. Lawrence, and there erected batteries against the town. The cannonade which was kept up, though it destroyed many houses, made but little impression on the works, which were too strong and too remote to be materially affected; their elevation, at the same time, placing them beyond the reach of the fleet. Convinced of the impossibility of reducing the place, unless he could erect batteries on the north side of the St. Lawrence, Wolfe soon decided on more daring measures. The northern shore of the St. Lawrence, to a considerable distance above Quebec, is so bold and rocky as to render a landing in the face of an enemy impracticable. If an attempt were made below the town, the river Montmorency passed, and the French driven from their intrenchments, the St. Charles would present a new, and perhaps an insuperable barrier. With every obstacle fully in view, Wolfe, heroically observing that "a victorious army finds no difficulties," resolved to pass the Montmorency, and bring Montcalm to an engagement. In pursuance of this resolution, thirteen companies of English grenadiers, and part of the second battalion of royal Americans, were landed at the mouth of that river, while two divisions, under Generals Townshend and Murray, prepared to cross it higher up. Wolfe's plan was to attack first a redoubt, close to the water's edge, apparently beyond reach of the fire from the enemy's intrenchments, in the belief that the French, by attempting to support that fortification, would put it in his power to bring on a general engagement; or, if they should submit to the loss of the redoubt, that he could afterwards examine their situation with coolness, and advantageously regulate his future operations. On the approach of the British troops the redoubt was evacuated; and the General, observing some confusion in the French camp, changed his original plan, and determined not to delay an attack. Orders were immediately dispatched to the Generals Townshend and Murray, to keep their divisions in readiness for fording the river; and the grenadiers and royal Americans were directed to form on the beach until they could be properly sustained. These troops, how-

ever, not waiting for support, rushed impetuously toward the enemy's intrenchments; but they were received with so strong and steady a fire from the French musketry, that they were instantly thrown into disorder, and obliged to seek shelter at the redoubt which the enemy had abandoned. Detained here awhile by a dreadful thunder storm, they were still within reach of a severe fire from the French; and many gallant officers, exposing their persons in attempting to form the troops, were killed, the whole loss amounting to nearly five hundred men. The plan of attack being effectually disconcerted, the English General gave orders for repassing the river, and returning to the isle of Orleans.

Compelled to abandon the attack on that side, Wolfe deemed that advantage might result from attempting to destroy the French fleet, and by distracting the attention of Montcalm with continual descents upon the northern shore. General Murray, with twelve hundred men in transports, made two vigorous but abortive attempts to land; and though more successful in the third, he did nothing more than burn a magazine of warlike stores. The enemy's fleet was effectually secured against attacks, either by land or by water, and the Commander in chief was again obliged to submit to the mortification of recalling his troops. At this juncture, intelligence arrived that Niagara was taken, that Ticonderoga and Crown Point had been abandoned, but that General Amherst, instead of pressing forward to their assistance, was preparing to attack the Isle-aux-Noix. While Wolfe rejoiced at the triumph of his brethren in arms, he could not avoid contrasting their success with his own disastrous efforts. His mind, alike lofty and susceptible, was deeply impressed by the disasters at Montmorency; and his extreme anxiety, preying upon his delicate frame, sensibly affected his health. He was observed frequently to sigh; and, as if life was only valuable while it added to his glory, he declared to his intimate friends, that he would not survive the disgrace which he imagined would attend the failure of his enterprise. Nothing, however, could shake the resolution of this valiant commander, or induce him to abandon the attempt. In a council of his principal officers, called on this critical occasion, it was resolved, that all the future operations should be above the town. The camp at the isle of Orleans was accordingly abandoned; and the whole army having embarked on board the fleet, a part of it was landed at Point Levi. and a part higher up the river. Montcalm, apprehending from this movement that the invaders might make a distant descent and come on the back of the city of Quebec, detached M. de Bougainville with fifteen hundred men, to watch their motions, and prevent their landing.

Baffled and harassed in all his previous assaults, General Wolfe seems to have determined to finish the enterprise by a single bold and desperate effort. The Admiral sailed several leagues up the river, making occasional demonstrations of a design to land troops; and, during the night, a strong detachment in flat-bottomed boats fell silently down with the stream, to a point about a mile above the city. The beach was shelving, the bank high and precipitous, and the only part by which it could be scaled, was now defended by a Captain's guard and a battery of four guns. Colonel Howe, with the van, soon climbed up

the rocks, drove away the guard, and seized upon the battery. The army landed about an hour before day, and by daybreak was marshalled on the heights of Abraham.

Montcalm could not at first believe the intelligence; but, as soon as he was assured of its truth, he made all prudent haste to decide a battle which it was no longer possible to avoid. Leaving his camp at Montmorency, he crossed the river St. Charles with the intention of attacking the English army. No sooner did Wolfe observe this movement, than he began to form his order of battle. His troops consisted of six battalions, and the Louisburg grenadiers. The right wing was commanded by General Monckton, and the left by General Murray. The right flank was covered by the Louisburg grenadiers, and the rear and left by Howe's light infantry. The form in which the French advanced indicating an intention to outflank the left of the English army, General Townshend was sent with the battalion of Amherst, and the two battalions of royal Americans, to that part of the line, and they were formed *en potence*, so as to present a double front to the enemy. The body of reserve consisted of one regiment, drawn up in eight divisions, with large intervals. The dispositions made by the French General were not less masterly. The right and left wings were composed about equally of European and colonial troops. The centre consisted of a column, formed of two battalions of regulars. Fifteen hundred Indians and Canadians, excellent marksmen, advancing in front, screened by surrounding thickets, began the battle. Their irregular fire proved fatal to many British officers, but it was soon silenced by the steady fire of the English. About nine in the morning the main body of the French advanced briskly to the charge, and the action soon became general. Montcalm having taken post on the left of the French army, and Wolfe on the right of the English, the two Generals met each other where the battle was most severe. The English troops reserved their fire until the French had advanced within forty yards of their line, and then, by a general discharge, made terrible havoc among their ranks. The fire of the English was vigorously maintained, and the enemy every where yielded to it. General Wolfe, who, exposed in the front of his battalions, had been wounded in the wrist, betraying no symptom of pain, wrapped a handkerchief round his arm, and continued to encourage his men. Soon after, he received a shot in the groin; but, concealing the wound, he was pressing on at the head of his grenadiers with fixed bayonets, when a third ball pierced his breast.* The army, not discon-

* On receiving his mortal wound, Wolfe was conveyed into the rear, where, careless about himself, he discovered, in the agonies of death, the most anxious solicitude concerning the fate of the day. From extreme faintness, he had reclined his head on the arm of an officer, but was soon aroused by the cry of "They fly, they fly!" "Who fly?" exclaimed the dying hero. "The French," answered his attendant. "Then," said he, "I die contented," and immediately expired. A death more full of military glory has seldom been recorded by the pen of the historian, or celebrated by the pencil of the painter. General Wolfe was only thirty-three years of age. He possessed those military talents, which, with the advantage of years and opportunity of action. "to moderate his ardor, expand his faculties, and give to his intuitive perception and scientific knowledge the correctness of judgment perfected by experience," would

certed by his fall, continued the action under Monckton, on whom the command now devolved, but who, receiving a ball through his body, soon yielded the command to General Townshend. Montcalm, fighting in front of his battalions, received a mortal wound about the same time; and General Senezergus, the second in command, also fell. The British grenadiers pressed on with their bayonets. General Murray, briskly advancing with the troops under his direction, broke the centre of the French army. The Highlanders, drawing their broadswords, completed the confusion of the enemy; and after having lost their first and second in command, the right and centre of the French were entirely driven from the field; and the left was following the example, when Bougainville appeared in the rear, with the fifteen hundred men who had been sent to oppose the landing of the English. Two battalions and two pieces of artillery were detached to meet him; but he retired, and the British troops were left the undisputed masters of the field. The loss of the French was much greater than that of the English. The corps of French regulars was almost entirely annihilated. The killed and wounded of the English army did not amount to six hundred men. Although Quebec was still strongly defended by its fortifications, and might possibly be relieved by Bougainville, or from Montreal, yet General Townshend had scarcely finished a road in the bank to get up his heavy artillery for a siege, when the inhabitants capitulated, on condition that during the war they might still enjoy their own civil and religious rights. A garrison of five thousand men was left under General Murray, and the fleet sailed out of the St. Lawrence.

The fall of Quebec did not immediately produce the submission of Canada. The main body of the French army, which, after the battle on the plains of Abraham, retired to Montreal, and which still consisted of ten battalions of regulars, had been reinforced by six thousand Canadian militia, and a body of Indians. With these forces M. de Levi, who had succeeded the Marquis de Montcalm in the chief command, resolved to attempt the recovery of Quebec. He had hoped to carry the place by a *coup de main* during the winter; but, on reconnoitring, he found the outposts so well secured, and the Governor so vigilant and active, that he postponed the enterprise until spring. In the month of April, when the upper part of the St. Lawrence was so open as to admit a transportation by water, his artillery, military stores, and heavy baggage, were embarked at Montreal, and fell down the river under convoy of six frigates; and M. de Levi, after a march of ten days, arrived with his army at Point au Tremble, within a few miles of Quebec. General Murray, to whom the care of maintaining the English conquest had been intrusted, had taken every precaution to preserve it; but his troops had

have "placed him on a level with the most celebrated generals of any age or nation." Montcalm was every way worthy to be a competitor of Wolfe. He had the truest military genius of any officer whom the French had ever employed in America. After he had received his mortal wound, he was carried into the city; and when informed that it was mortal, his reply was, "I am glad of it." On being told that he could survive but a few hours, "So much the better," he replied, "I shall not then live to see the surrender of Quebec."

suffered so much by the extreme cold of the winter, and by the want of vegetables and fresh provisions, that instead of five thousand, the original number of his garrison, there were not at this time above three thousand men fit for service. With this small but valiant body he resolved to meet the enemy in the field; and on the 28th of April marched out to the heights of Abraham, where, near Sillery, he attacked the French under M. de Levi with great impetuosity. He was received with firmness; and, after a fierce encounter, finding himself outflanked, and in danger of being surrounded by superior numbers, he called off his troops, and retired into the city. In this action the loss of the English was near a thousand men, and that of the French still greater. The French General lost no time in improving his victory. On the very evening of the battle he opened trenches before the town, but it was the 11th of May before he could mount his batteries, and bring his guns to bear on the fortifications. By that time General Murray, who had been indefatigable in his exertions, had completed some outworks, and planted so numerous an artillery on his ramparts, that his fire was very superior to that of the besiegers, and in a manner silenced their batteries. A British fleet most opportunely arriving a few days after, M. de Levi immediately raised the siege, and precipitately retired to Montreal. Here the Marquis de Vaudreuil, Governor-General of Canada, had fixed his headquarters, and determined to make his last stand. For this purpose he called in all his detachments, and collected around him the whole force of the colony.

The English, on the other hand, were resolved upon the utter annihilation of the French power in Canada; and General Amherst prepared to overwhelm it with an irresistible superiority of numbers. Almost on the same day, the armies from Quebec, from Lake Ontario, and from Lake Champlain, were concentrated before Montreal: a capitulation was immediately signed; Detroit, Michilimackinac, and, indeed, all New France, surrendered to the English. The French troops were to be carried home; and the Canadians to retain their civil and religious privileges.

The history of modern Europe, with whose destiny that of the colonies was closely interwoven, may be designated as the annals of an interminable war. Her sovereigns, ever having the oily words of peace on their lips, have seldom had recourse to the olive branch but as the signal of a truce, the duration of which should be coeval with the reinvigoration of military strength. It was thus with France on the present occasion. Equally unsuccessful on both continents, and exhausted by her strenuous and continued efforts, she was at length induced to make overtures of peace; and every thing seemed to be in a fair train for adjustment, when the treaty was suddenly broken off by an attempt of the court of Verseilles to mingle the politics of Spain and of Germany with the disputes between France and Great Britain. A secret family compact between the Bourbons to support each other through evil and good, in peace and in war, had rendered Spain desirous of war, and induced France once more to try her fortune. As the interests of the two nations were now identified, it only remained for England to make a formal declaration of

hostility against Spain. The colonies of New England being chiefly interested in the reduction of the West India islands, furnished a considerable body of troops to carry on the war. A large fleet was dispatched from England; the land forces amounted to sixteen thousand; and before the end of the second year, Great Britain had the important city of Havana, the key of the Mexican Gulf, together with the French provinces of Martinique, Grenada, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and the Caribbee islands.

The progress of the British conquests, which threatened all the remaining colonial possessions of their opponents, was arrested by preliminary articles of peace, which, towards the close of 1762, were exchanged at Fontainbleau between the Ministers of Great Britain, France, and Spain. On the 10th of February in the following year, a definitive treaty of peace was signed at Paris, and soon after ratified. France ceded to Great Britain all the conquests which the latter had made in North America; and it was stipulated between the two crowns, that the boundary line of their respective dominions in the new hemisphere should run along the middle of the Mississippi, from its source as far as the Iberville, and along the middle of that river, and of Lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain.

Thus terminated a war, which originated in an attempt on the part of the French to surround the English colonists, and chain them to a narrow strip of country along the coast of the Atlantic; and ended with their giving up the whole of what was then their only valuable territory in North America. The immediate advantage the colonies derived from the successful issue of the contest was great and apparent. Although, for a short period after the conquest of Canada had been effected, they were subject to attacks from the Indian tribes attached to the French, and also from the Cherokees on their south-western borders, they were soon enabled to visit their cruelties with severe retribution, and to procure a lasting repose, as the Indians had no forts to which to repair for protection or aid. But the indirect results, though almost unperceived at first, were far more important, and prepared the way for those momentous efforts which issued in the loss to Great Britain of the fairest portion of her colonies, and the establishment of her vassal as a rival. The colonists became inured to the habits and hardships of a military life, and skilled in the arts of European warfare; while the desire of revenge for the loss of Canada, which France did not fail to harbor, was preparing for them a most efficient friend, and making way for the anomalous exhibition of a despotic sovereign exerting all his power in the cause of liberty and independence.

ANECDOTES OF THE REVOLUTION

FIFTH OF MARCH, 1770.

Early in the evening of the 5th of March, 1770, the inhabitants of Boston were observed to assemble in different quarters of the town; parties of soldiers were also driving about the streets, as if both the one and the other had something more than ordinary upon their minds. About eight o'clock, one of the bells of the town was rung in such manner as is usual in case of fire. This called people into the streets. A large number assembled in the market-place, not far from King-street, armed with bludgeons, or clubs. A small fray between some of the inhabitants and the soldiers arose at or near the barracks at the west part of the town, but it was of little importance, and was soon over. A sentinel who was posted at the custom-house, not far from the main guard, was next insulted, and pelted with pieces of ice and other missiles, which caused him to call to the main guard to protect him. Notice was soon given to Captain Preston, whose company was then on guard, and a sergeant with six men was sent to protect the sentinel; but the Captain, to prevent any precipitate action, followed them himself. There seem to have been but few people collected when the assault was first made on the sentinel; but the sergeant's guard drew a greater number together, and they were more insulted than the sentinel had been, and received frequent blows from snow balls and lumps of ice. Captain Preston thereupon ordered them to charge; but this was no discouragement to the assailants, who continued to pelt the guard, daring them to fire. Some of the people who were behind the soldiers, and observed the abuse of them, called on them to do so. At length one received a blow with a club, which brought him to the ground; but, rising again, he immediately fired, and all the rest, except one, followed the example. This seems, from the evidence on the trials and the observation of persons present, to have been the course of the material facts. Three men were killed, two mortally wounded, who died soon after, and several slightly wounded.

The soldiers immediately withdrew to the main guard, which was strengthened by additional companies. Two or three of the persons who had seen the action ran to the Lieutenant-Governor's house, which was about half a mile distant, and begged he would go to King-street, where they feared a general action would come on between the troops and the inhabitants. He went immediately, and, to satisfy the people, called for Captain Preston, and inquired why he had fired upon the inhabitants without the direction of a civil magistrate. The noise was so great that his answer could not be understood; and some persons, who were appre-

hensive of the Lieutenant-Governor's danger from the general confusion called out "The town-house, the town-house!" when, with irresistible violence, he was forced up by the crowd into the council chamber. There demand was immediately made of him, to order the troops to withdraw from the town-house to their barracks. He refused; but calling from the balcony to the great body of people who remained in the street, he expressed his great concern at the unhappy event; assured them he would do every thing in his power to obtain a full and impartial inquiry, that the law might have its course; and advised them to go peaceably to their homes. Upon this there was a cry—"Home, home!" and a great part separated, and went home. He then signified his opinion to Lieutenant-Colonel Carr, that if the companies in arms were ordered to their barracks, the streets would be cleared and the town in quiet for that night. Upon their retiring, the rest of the inhabitants, except those in the council chamber, retired also.

Lieutenant-Colonel Dalrymple, at the desire of the Lieutenant-Governor, came to the council chamber, while several justices were examining persons who were present at the transactions of the evening. From the evidence it was apparent that the justices would commit Captain Preston, if taken. Several hours passed before he could be found, and the people suspected that he would not run the hazard of a trial; but at length he surrendered himself to a warrant for apprehending him, and, having been examined, was committed to prison. The next morning the soldiers who were upon guard surrendered also, and were committed. This was not sufficient to satisfy the people, and early in the forenoon they were in motion again. The Lieutenant-Governor caused his council to be summoned, and desired the two Lieutenant-Colonels of the regiments to be present. The selectmen of Boston were waiting the Lieutenant-Governor's coming to council, and, being admitted, made their representation, that, from the contentions arising from the troops quartered in Boston, and, above all, from the tragedy of the last night, the minds of the inhabitants were exceedingly disturbed; that they would presently be assembled in a town-meeting; and that, unless the troops should be removed, the most terrible consequences were to be expected. The justices also of Boston and several of the neighboring towns had assembled, and desired to signify their opinion, that it would not be possible to keep the people under restraint, if the troops remained in town. The Lieutenant-Governor acquainted both the selectmen and the justices, that he had no authority to alter the place of destination of the King's troops; but that he expected the commanding officers of the two regiments, and would let them know the applications which had been made. Presently after their coming, a large committee from the town-meeting presented an address to the Lieutenant-Governor, declaring it to be the unanimous opinion of the meeting, that nothing could rationally be expected to restore the peace of the town, "and prevent blood and carnage," but the immediate removal of the troops. The committee withdrew into another room to wait for an answer. Some of the council urged the necessity of complying with the people's demand; but the Lieutenant-Governor declared that he would, upon no consideration whatever, give orders for their

removal. Lieutenant-Colonel Dalrymple then signified, that, as the twenty-ninth regiment had originally been designed to be placed at the castle, and was now peculiarly obnoxious to the town, he was content that it should be removed to the castle, until the General's pleasure should be known. The committee was informed of this offer, and the Lieutenant-Governor rose from council, intending to receive no further application upon the subject; but the council prayed that he would meet them again in the afternoon, and Colonel Dalrymple desiring it also, he complied. Before the council met again, it had been intimated to them that the "desire" of the Governor and council to the commanding officer to remove the troops, would cause him to do it, though he should receive no authoritative "order." As soon as they met, a committee from the town-meeting attended with a second message, to acquaint the Lieutenant-Governor, that it was the unanimous voice of the people assembled, consisting, as they said, of near three thousand persons, that nothing less than a total and immediate removal of the troops would satisfy them. Ultimately the scruples of the Lieutenant-Governor were overcome, and he expressed a desire that the troops should be wholly withdrawn from the town to the castle, which was accordingly done. The funeral of the victims was attended with extraordinary pomp. Most of the shops were closed, all the bells of the town tolled on the occasion, and the corpses were followed to the grave by an immense concourse of people arranged six abreast, the procession being closed by a long train of carriages belonging to the principal gentry of the town. Captain Preston and the party of soldiers were afterwards tried. The Captain and six of the men were acquitted, and two were brought in guilty of manslaughter; a result which reflected great honor on John Adams and Josiah Quincy, the counsel for the prisoners, and on the jury.

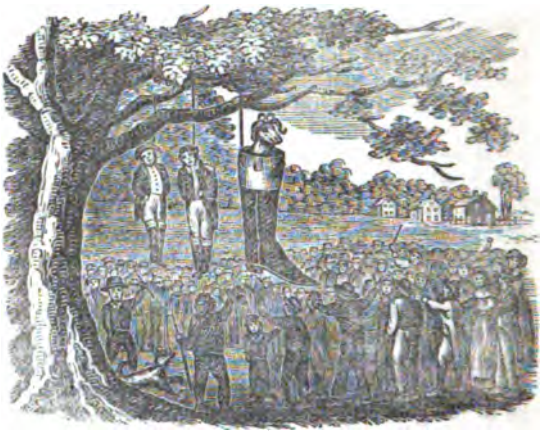
THE STAMP ACT.

The Stamp Act was not passed in Parliament until March, 1765. Before that time, and while the law was under consideration, all the Colonies protested against it, and most of them sent agents to London to reason with the English Ministers; but in vain. The act passed in the House of Commons, by a vote of two hundred and fifty members against fifty. Doctor Franklin, then in London, wrote, the same evening, to Charles Thomson, afterwards Secretary of the American Congress, as follows:—"The sun of liberty is set; the Americans must light the lamps of industry and economy." The gentleman answered, "Be assured we shall light torches of quite another kind."

The people of Virginia and Massachusetts were among the first to oppose the Stamp Act. But the same feeling was soon spread over the whole country. The newspapers were still published on paper not stamped, and these were filled with warm discussions upon this subject. The lawyers also agreed to use no stamped paper; a great many public officers gave up their commissions, and vast numbers of the people

calling themselves sons of liberty, agreed to oppose the Stamp Act, and to assist each other, at all hazards.

In Boston, early in the morning of August 14th, two effigies were found hanging on the branch of an old elm, near the southern entrance of the city. One represented a stamp officer. There was a great jack-



boot also, out of which rose a horned head. The people collected in crowds from the city and country. About dusk, the images were taken down, placed on a bier, and carried about in solemn procession, the people following, stamping and shouting, "Liberty and property forever—no stamps." They passed through the town-house, down King-street, into Kilby-street, halted at the house of one Oliver, which they supposed to be meant for a stamp office, and demolished it from top to bottom; they carried off the wood, marched through the streets, with a tremendous noise, to the dwelling of Oliver himself; and there, having gone through the ceremony of chopping off that gentleman's head, in effigy, broke in his windows in an instant.

They then marched up Fort Hill, still following the two figures, jack-boot, horns and all. Here they kindled a bonfire with them, returned to Oliver's house with clubs and staves, and destroyed every part of his gardens, fences and out-houses. Oliver left a few friends in his house, and fled with all possible speed. His friends offended the multitude, and they broke open the doors, and destroyed all the furniture in the lower story. Mr. Oliver gave notice the next day, that he had concluded not to serve as a stamp officer. The people went to his house in the evening again, gave him three cheers of encouragement, and left him without further damage to himself, his house, or his effigy.

The people had now another person to attend to. Having heard that Lieutenant-Governor Hutchinson had written to England in favor of the stamp duties, they visited his house in great numbers. As he assured them, however, that he had written no such thing, they applauded him with shouts, kindled a bonfire, and went home. On the 26th of August,

the disorders began again. Some boys were playing round a fire in King-street. The fireward coming to extinguish it, some one whispered him to keep back. The advice was followed by a few blows and kicks, and he soon withdrew.

Meanwhile, a particular whistle was heard from several quarters, followed by cries of "Sirrah! Sirrah!" A long train of persons then came up, disguised, and armed with clubs and bludgeons. They proceeded to surround the house of one Paxton, harbor-master. He thought it well to absent himself; but the crowd followed him to a tavern, where he persuaded them not to destroy his house. They broke open the office and house of Story, another crown officer, opposite the court-house; burned the files and records in the first, and destroyed the furniture in the other.

They afterwards paid some attentions of the same kind to Mr. Hallowell, collector of the duties, drank up the wine in his cellar, and carried off some hundred dollars of his money. They visited Mr. Hutchinson once more about ten o'clock in the evening, and carried off his plate, pictures, furniture, clothing, manuscripts, and about three thousand dollars in cash. Some of the ringleaders of these riots were imprisoned, though soon released. The Governor offered rewards for the discovery of others: a nightly watch was appointed, and, at a numerous town-meeting, the selectmen of the town were desired to use every effort to prevent these disorders for the future.

But the Stamp Act was received every where in a similar manner. At Newport and Providence, in Rhode Island, vast multitudes got together, and dragged about the effigies of several of the crown officers in carts, with halters on their necks; then they hung them up, and cut them down to be burned. Some houses, also, were pillaged. So it was, too, in Connecticut, at New Haven, Lebanon, and other towns; in New-Hampshire, Maryland, New York, and as far south as the Carolinas.

GENERAL PUTNAM.

When the intelligence of the battle of Lexington, which took place on the 19th of April, 1775, reached General Putnam, he was engaged in ploughing on his farm, at Brooklyn, in Connecticut. He instantly unyoked his cattle, left his plough standing in the unfinished furrow, in the midst of the field, and without stopping to change his dress, immediately set off for the scene of military transactions, in the vicinity of Boston Upon entering the army, he was appointed to the rank of Major-General. On the conclusion of the war, General Washington wrote a letter to General Putnam, in which he warmly expressed the sense he entertained of his services. "The name of Putnam," says he, "is not forgotten; nor will it be, but with that stroke of time which shall obliterate from my mind the remembrance of all those toils and fatigues through which

we have struggled, for the preservation and establishment of the rights, liberties, and independence of our country."

When General Putnam was pursued by General Tyron at the head of fifteen hundred men, his only method of escape was precipitating his horse down the steep declivity of the rock, called Horseneck; and as none of his pursuers dared to follow, he escaped. An act of still more

daring intrepidity, was his clearing in a boat the tremendous waterfalls of Hudson's river. This was in the year 1756, when Putnam was engaged in a war with the French and their allies, the Indians. He was accidentally with a boat and five men on the eastern side of the river, when the men on the opposite side informed him, by signal, that a large body of savages were advancing to surround him, and that there was not a moment to lose. Three modes of conduct were at his option—to remain, fight, and be sacrificed; to attempt to pass on the other side, ex-

posed to the full shot of the enemy; or to sail down the waterfalls, with almost a certainty of being overwhelmed. Putnam did not hesitate, and jumped into his boat at a fortunate instant; for one of his companions, who was at a little distance, was a victim to the Indians. His enemies soon arrived, and discharged their muskets at the boat, before he could get out of their reach. No sooner had he escaped this danger, through the rapidity of the current, but death presented itself under a more terriffic form. Rocks, whose points projected above the surface of the water; large masses of timber, that nearly closed the passage; absorbing gulfs, and rapid descents for more than a quarter of a mile, left him little hope of escape. Putnam, however, directed the helm with the utmost tranquillity. His companions saw him with admiration, terror, and astonishment, avoid with the utmost address the rocks and threatening gulfs, which they every instant expected to devour him. He disappeared, and rose again, till he at length gained the even surface of the river, at the bottom of this dreadful cascade. The Indians considered it a miracle. They looked upon Putnam as invulnerable; and they feared to offend the Great Spirit, by attempting the life of a man so visibly under his immediate protection.

CAPTAIN MOLLY.

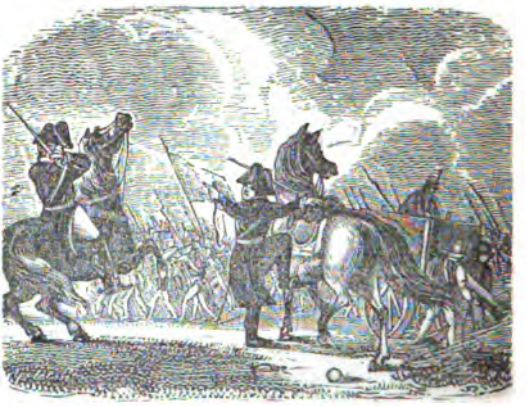
Before the two armies, American and English, had begun the general action of Monmouth, two of the advanced batteries commenced a very severe fire against each other. As the warmth was excessive, the wife of a cannonier constantly ran to bring him water from a neighboring spring. At the moment when she started from the spring, to pass the post of her husband, she saw him fall, and hastened to assist

him; but he was dead. At the same moment she heard an officer order the cannon to be removed from its place, complaining that he could not

fill his post by as brave a man as had been killed. "No," said the intrepid Molly, fixing her eyes upon the officer, "the cannon shall not be removed for the want of some one to serve it; since my brave husband is no more, I will use my utmost exertions to avenge his death." The activity and courage with which she performed the office of cannonier during the action, attracted the attention of all who witnessed it, finally of General Washington himself, who afterwards gave her the rank of Lieutenant, and granted her half-pay during life. She wore an epaulette, and every body called her Captain Molly.

MAJOR BURNET'S CUE.

In the battle of Germantown, Major Burnet, the aid-de-camp of General Greene, wore a long cue after the fashion of the times, and as he turned round to attend to a dismounted cannon, his cue was cut off by a



musket ball from the enemy. "Don't hurry, my dear Major," cried Greene, laughing; "pray dismount and get that long cue of yours, don't be in haste."

GENERAL VIEW OF THE UNITED STATES.

AGRICULTURE.

The chief agricultural occupations in the eastern States are grazing and the dairy. The middle States are principally devoted to the cultivation of wheat and maize; the southern to that of tobacco, cotton, sugar, and rice; and the western to maize and wheat. Slave labor is chiefly employed in the southern States, and in some of the middle and western. The following are among the most important articles of the growth of the United States in 1840:

Bushels of wheat,	84,823,272
" corn,	377,531,875
" rye,	18,645,567
" oats,	123,071,341
" potatoes,	108,298,060
Pounds of cotton,	790,479,275
" rice,	80,841,422
" tobacco,	219,163,319
" sugar,	155,110,809

COMMERCE.

The imports into the United States for the year ending 30th September, 1840, amounted to one hundred and seven millions, one hundred and forty-one thousand, five hundred and nineteen dollars. The exports of domestic produce for the same time, to one hundred and thirteen millions, eight hundred and ninety-five thousand, six hundred and thirty-four dollars; of foreign produce, to eighteen millions, one hundred and ninety thousand, three hundred and twelve dollars. Total exports, one hundred and thirty-two millions, eighty-five thousand, nine hundred and forty-six dollars. The most important exports are those of cotton, flour, rice, tobacco, beef, pork, lumber, cattle, and horses. New Orleans has the greatest export trade, and New York the greatest imports. Most of the shipping is owned in the New England States and New York.

MANUFACTURES.

The value of the most important manufactures in 1840, was as follows: Manufactures of wool, $20,696,999; manufactures of cotton, $46,350,453; mixed manufactures, $6,545,503; manufactures of tobacco, $5,819,568; of hats, caps, &c., $8,704,342;

of leather, $33,134,403; of glass, $2,890,293, of refined sugars, &c., $3,250,700; of paper, $5,641,495; of cordage, $4,078,306; of carriages and wagons, $10,897,887. The total amount of capital invested in manufactures in 1840, was $267,726,579. In addition to the large establishments, it is estimated that two-thirds of the clothing worn by the agricultural population are the product of domestic manufactures. The greater portion of American manufactures are designed for internal consumption; yet, in 1840, there were exported from the United States manufactured articles to the value of twelve millions, eight hundred and forty-eight thousand, eight hundred and forty dollars.

FISHERIES.

Nearly all the fisheries are carried on by the New England States. The whale fishery alone employs three hundred ships, averaging three hundred and forty tons each. The products of the American fisheries in 1840, were as follows: 773,947 quintals dried and smoked fish; 472,359 barrels pickled fish; 4,764,708 gallons spermaceti oil; 7,536,778 gallons whale and other fish oil. The amount of capital invested in the fisheries is $16,429,620. The mackerel and herring fishery is pursued along the northern coast, and the cod fishery on that of Labrador and the Newfoundland banks

PUBLIC LANDS.

The national domain, or public lands, consists of tracts of territory ceded to the General Government by the several States; of the lands in the Territory of Louisiana, purchased of France; and those in Florida, acquired by treaty from Spain. A vast portion of this land is occupied by the Indians, who are considered as proprietors of the soil till the government extinguish their title by purchase. A General Land Office, at Washington, directs the sale of these territories. All the lands are surveyed before sale; they are divided into townships of six miles square, which are subdivided into sections of one mile square, containing each six hundred and forty acres, and sold in sections, half, quarter, and half-quarter sections. The minimum price is fixed by law at a dollar and a quarter. All sales are made for cash. Salt springs and lead mines are reserved, but may be sold by special orders from the President. One section of six hundred and forty acres is reserved in each township, as a fund for the perpetual support of schools. By the act of Congress of 1841, the annual proceeds of the sales of the public lands are to be divided in equitable portions among the States, according to their representative population, after deducting expenses of sales, and certain reservations granted for the benefit of the States in which the lands are situated. By a proviso in the act, however, the proceeds of the lands are to revert to the treasury whenever the duties on imports are made to exceed a tariff of twenty per cent.

REVENUE, EXPENDITURE, AND DEBT.

The revenues of the United States have hitherto been derived from the customs, sales of lands, lead mines, the post-office, and stock held in the Bank of the United States. The only reliable source of revenue is now that derived from the customs. The total revenue from all sources, for the year 1840, was thirty millions, four hundred and ten thousand, one hundred and sixty-seven dollars. The expenditure for the same year, including interest on public loan, and interest and principal on treasury notes, thirty-two millions, twenty-five thousand, and seventy dollars. The amount of the public debt existing in 1842, is about ten millions in treasury notes outstanding, and seventeen millions of authorized loan, making a total of about twenty-seven millions of dollars.

ARMY AND NAVY.

The army consists of two regiments of dragoons, four regiments of artillery, and eight regiments of infantry, under the command of one Major-General and two Brigadier-Generals. The numerical force, according to the returns of 1841, presents a total of 12,537. The navy consists of eleven ships of the line, fifteen frigates of the first class, two frigates of the second class, twenty-one sloops of war, four brigs, eight schooners, and five steam vessels. This estimate includes those upon the stocks, and the Home Squadron, established in 1841.

POST-OFFICE.

The post-roads in the United States amount to one hundred and fifty-five thousand, seven hundred and thirty-nine miles; and the yearly transportation of the mail is equal to thirty-six millions, three hundred and seventy thousand, seven hundred and seventy-six miles; namely, twelve millions, one hundred and eighty-two thousand, four hundred and forty-five miles by horse and sulky; twenty millions, two hundred and ninety-nine thousand, two hundred and seventy-eight miles by stage and coach; and three millions, eight hundred and eighty-nine thousand, and fifty-three miles by railroad and steamboat. The number of post-offices in the United States is thirteen thousand six hundred and thirty-eight. The expenses of the post-office department in 1840 were four millions, seven hundred and fifty-nine thousand, one hundred and ten dollars. Receipts, four millions, five hundred and thirty-nine thousand, two hundred and sixty-five dollars.

MINT.

The Mint of the United States commenced operations at Philadelphia, in 1793, and the branches in North Carolina, Georgia, and Louisiana, in 1838. Coinage of gold and silver bullion is performed free of expense to the owners.

Statement of the Coinage at the Mint of the United States, for each successive period of ten years, from the commencement of its operations until December 31st, 1840.

Years.	GOLD.		SILVER.	
	No. of Pieces.	Value.	Number of Pieces.	Value.
1793 to 1800	134,842	$ 1,014,290·00	1,852,545	$ 1,440,454·75
1801 to 1810	596,671	3,250,742·50	7,663,066	3,569,165·25
1811 to 1820	633,302	3,166,510·00	13,445,962	5,970,810·95
1821 to 1830	393,111	1,903,092·50	39,956,669	16,781,046·95
1831 to 1840	3,938,409	17,786,405·00	78,664,217	26,344,454·00
Total,	5,696,335	27,121,040·00	141,582,459	54,105,931·90

Years.	COPPER.		TOTAL.	
	No. of Pieces.	Value.	Number of Pieces.	Value.
1793 to 1800	8,233,462	$ 79,391·82	10,220,849	$ 2,534,136·57
1801 to 1810	17,416,446	151,246.39	25,676,183	6,971,144·14
1811 to 1820	19,147,427	191,158·57	33,226,691	9,328,479·52
1821 to 1830	15,836,220	151,412·20	56,186,000	18,835,551·65
1831 to 1840	34,639,821	342,322·21	117,242,437	44,473,181·21
Total,	95,273,376	915,531·19	242,552,160	82,142,503·09

TAXATION.

Congress possess the power to impose direct taxes; but as this branch of the revenue has been found one of the least productive, and the other sources of supply being abundant, there is no taxation by the General Government. Each State levies its own tax for the expenses of its local government; and each city or town provides, by taxation, for its own municipal concerns.

SALARIES.

The highest salary is that of the President, who receives twenty-five thousand dollars a year; Ministers Plenipotentiary receive nine thousand dollars annually, and the same sum for an outfit; the Secretaries of State, the Treasury, War, and the Navy, and the Postmaster General, six thousand; the Vice-President, five thousand; the Chief Justice, five thousand; the Associate Justices, four thousand five hundred; Chargés des Affaires, four thousand five hundred; Secretaries of Legation, two thousand; members of Congress, eight dollars a day.

NEWSPAPERS.

The first paper printed in America, was the *Boston News Letter;* the first number of which was issued April 17th, 1704. In 1775, there were thirty-seven periodicals, of all sorts, published in different parts of the United States; in 1810, three hundred and fifty-eight; in 1828, eight hundred and two; at present, there are above one thousand, of which fifty are daily. The number printed annually cannot be estimated with any degree of accuracy—by some, it is calculated at sixty-four millions.

INTERNAL NAVIGATION.

About two thousand five hundred miles of canal have been executed, or are in a tolerable state of forwardness. By means of these artificial channels, and the great lakes and western rivers, with which they open a communication, the internal navigation far surpasses in extent that of any other country in the world. The course upon a single line from New York up the Hudson, through the Erie Canal, Lake Erie, the Ohio Canal and river, up to the highest navigable point of the Missouri, would equal four thousand three hundred and twenty miles.

CHIEF CITIES.

NEW YORK.

The city of New York occupies the first rank among the cities of the western world, for population, wealth, and trade. Situated upon a noble harbor, at the mouth of one of the finest navigable rivers in the world, it enjoys a monopoly of the trade of a large and wealthy district of the interior. Hence, the increase of the city has kept pace with the development of trade and industry in the neighboring States. The rapid augmentation of population, commerce, and every material of prosperity which New York has witnessed in recent years, is almost without a parallel. Founded by the Dutch, in 1614, by the name of *New Amsterdam*, it did not for a century exceed Boston in point of numbers; but with the settlement of the interior of the State, and the opening of the navigation of the great lakes, New York has received an impulse, which, added to other advantages, has established its present and secured its future pre-eminence. In respect to commerce, it is already the second city in the world.

It stands on the southern point of an island, at the mouth of the Hudson; on the east, the shore of this island is watered by a deep channel, called East River, which separates it from Long Island, and affords a navigable communication between New York harbor and Long Island Sound. The harbor extends nine miles south of the city, to the sea. The first settlement was made at the southern extremity, consequently that portion of the city is composed of narrow, crooked, inconvenient streets, and unsightly old buildings; but the more modern parts, and especially those which have grown up within twenty years, are regular and commodious. The finest street is Broadway, which traverses the whole city in a straight line from north to south, being three miles in length, and eighty feet in breadth. It is occupied chiefly by shops and elegant public buildings, and few streets in the world equal it for the splendor, bustle, and fashion it exhibits. The Battery is an inclosed promenade, on the shore at the southern extremity of the city; it is planted with trees, and though not extensive, is pleasant, much frequented, and offers a delightful view of the harbor.

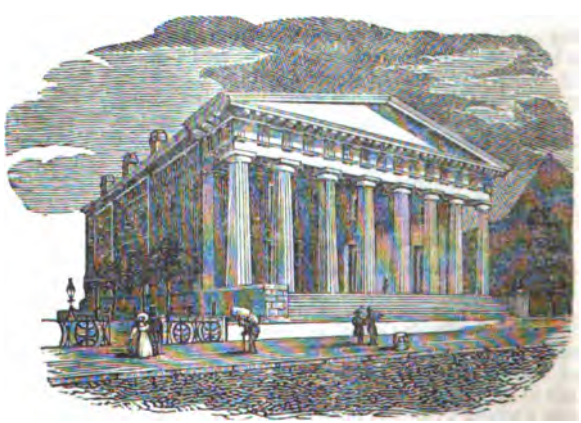
The Park is a triangular inclosure of eleven acres, in the centre of the city; upon one side of this stands the City Hall, an elegant structure with a front of white marble. It is two hundred and sixteen feet long, and one hundred and five broad; and is one of the finest buildings in the country. The Merchants' Exchange, in Wall-street, is handsomely built of white marble. The United States Branch Bank is also a fine marble structure. St. Paul's Chapel is esteemed one of the finest buildings in the city; its spire is two hundred and thirty-four feet high. St. John's Chapel has a spire two hundred and forty feet in height, and is the most costly church in the city; having been built at the expense of two hundred thousand dollars. St. Patrick's Cathedral, a Roman Catholic edifice, is the largest of all the churches, and is of stone, one hundred and twenty feet long, and eighty feet wide. There are more than one hundred additional churches, some of them very costly. Trinity Church is a Gothic edifice of stone, and belongs to the oldest and richest Episcopal establishment in America, possessing a property to the amount of several millions of dollars.

Packets sail from New York, to Liverpool and London, every week; to Havre every ten days; and to Hull, Greenwich, Belfast, Vera Cruz, Carthagena, and all the

chief ports of the United States, at different times. Fifty steam-boats constantly pass between New York and the towns on the Hudson, Long Island Sound, and other waters in the neighborhood. There are sixty-one banks in the city; twenty-eight insurance companies; four hundred and sixty-three schools; forty bookstores; four hundred and fifty lawyers; ninety-eight clergymen; fifty auctioneers; three hundred oyster shops; fifty-six lottery offices; three thousand licensed groceries and taverns; two thousand three hundred and eighty licensed cartmen and porters; two thousand one hundred and ten paupers in the almshouse. The real estate of the city is valued at eighty-seven million, six hundred and three thousand, three hundred and eighty-nine dollars; the personal estate, at thirty-seven million, six hundred and eighty-four thousand, nine hundred and thirty-eight dollars: total, one hundred and twenty-five million, two hundred and eighty-eight thousand, five hundred and eighteen dollars.

PHILADELPHIA.

Philadelphia, the second city of the United States, in size, is situated on the west bank of the Delaware, one hundred and twenty-six miles from the sea. The river is navigable for ships of the line, up to the city. It lies three miles along this river, and its western limit is washed by the Schuylkill, which falls into the Delaware about six miles below. The ground on which the city stands is an almost unbroken level; so that it exhibits no striking appearance as the spectator approaches it. The streets are perfectly rectangular; and Philadelphia is, probably, the most regular and uniform city in the world. It is at the same time one of the most agreeable. The climate is fine, the city remarkably clean, and abundantly supplied with the best of water. To this we may add, that the markets are among the best in the country, while the expenses of living are one fourth less than in Boston, and one third less than in New York. The streets are from fifty to one hundred and thirteen feet wide. The houses are mostly of brick, much darker in color than in the Eastern States, and resembling, at a short distance, the common red sandstone. The streets are generally paved and kept clean. The handsomest of the public buildings in the city, and perhaps in this country, is the United States Bank, in Chesnut-street. It is



United States Bank.

of white marble, with a front on the model of the Parthenon. It never fails to excite an agreeable emotion when first seen by a stranger. The Old Bank has an elegant marble front, of the Corinthian order, but the effect is much injured by the sides being of brick.

The Bank of Pennsylvania is also a handsome marble edifice. The State-House is a somewhat antiquated structure, and is chiefly remarkable for containing the hall in which the Declaration of Independence was signed; adjoining this building is a beautiful inclosed walk, planted with trees. Another handsome public walk is Washington-square.

The city and suburbs have large manufactures of cotton, iron, glass, and china ware, besides the great variety of articles made in small establishments. The cloth annually manufactured, is estimated at twenty-four million of yards. In point of commerce, Philadelphia is the fourth city in the Union; the shipping amounted in 1828, to one hundred and four thousand, and eighty tons

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BALTIMORE.

Baltimore, upon the Patapsco, fourteen miles from the Chesapeak, is a large city, and the chief commercial mart for all the country upon the bay and its waters. It is finely situated, and regularly built, chiefly of brick; the public buildings and monuments indicate, by their splendor, a high degree of wealth and enterprise in the inhabitants. The Catholic Cathedral is an edifice in the Ionic style, one hundred and ninety feet long, and one hundred and seventy-seven wide, surmounted by a dome and cross, which rise to the height of one hundred and twenty-seven feet. It has some fine paintings, and the largest church organ in the United States, containing six thousand pipes. The Merchants' Exchange is two hundred and fifty-five feet in front, and contains a hall eighty-six feet in length, lighted from a dome, ninety feet above the floor. St. Paul's Church, the Unitarian Church, the Court-House, and the Union Bank, are also elegant buildings.

The trade of Baltimore is great, and it may be considered the best flour market in the world. In commerce, it is the third city in the United States. The harbor is good, although vessels larger than two hundred tons, cannot ascend below the lower suburb, called Fell's Point; this is separated from the city by a small stream, over which there are several bridges. The shipping of Baltimore amounted, in 1828, to one hundred and six thousand, three hundred and three tons. There are within twenty miles of the city, above sixty flour mills; one of which has ground thirty-two thousand barrels in a year. Within the same space, there are also twelve cotton manufactories, and various others of cloth, powder, paper, iron, copper, glass, steam-engines, chemical works, &c.

BOSTON.

Boston, the largest city in the New England States, and the capital of Massachusetts, stands on an oblong peninsula at the bottom of Massachusetts Bay, having a beautiful harbor shut in from the sea by a group of islands. The peninsula is hilly and in almost every part covered with buildings; the city exhibits a noble appearance as the spectator sails up the harbor, or approaches it from the country. This splendid exterior, however, has not a corresponding regularity and symmetry within. The city was built, almost from the beginning, without any regard to plan, beauty, or future convenience, and the streets were left to fashion themselves into a tortuous intricacy that might have excited the envy of Dædalus of old. We must except, however, the happy reservation of the vacant spot called the Common, originally a cow pasture for the house-keepers of the town, but now a public park and promenade of unrivalled beauty. In the more ancient parts of the city, the streets are still narrow and crooked, and a great proportion of the buildings are of wood.

In the western and central parts, a style of elegance and comparative regularity prevails. Many of the streets are neat and spacious, and the improvements which

are going on yearly, in widening the old streets, and opening new ones, have done, and are doing much to remedy the defects of the original plan. In the greater part of the city the houses are either of brick or stone, and the old wooden structures are fast disappearing. A large number of the public edifices are of striking elegance, and the private buildings surpass in splendor those of any other city in the United States.

The largest building in the city is Faneuil Hall Market, a granite structure, two stories in height, and five hundred and thirty-six feet long. The centre has a dome, and at each end is a portico of four columns, each of an entire stone. This is the most elegant market in the United States, and probably in the world; on either hand it fronts on a spacious street, one, sixty-five, and the other one hundred and two feet in width, both showing a solid front of stone stores of uniform height and appearance. Old Faneuil Hall stands west of this spot; it is a lofty brick edifice, and the spacious galleries of its interior, still witness the throngs and the oratory of popular meetings. Painting and repairs have a little modernized the aspect of this venerable pile. The Old State-House, now the City Hall, is another relic of ancient architecture, and the scene of many events in revolutionary history. In this building are now the Merchants' Reading room, the Postoffice, and other public offices.

The wharves of Boston surpass those of any seaport of the United States, for size and convenience. Long Wharf at the bottom of State-street, is sixteen hundred and fifty feet long, and has a line of lofty brick stores nearly its whole extent. Central Wharf is twelve hundred and forty feet in length, and one hundred and fifty wide, and contains fifty-four stores in a single pile, with a spacious observatory in the centre, where telegraphic signals are received from the islands in the bay. India Wharf has a double row of stores, six stories high; all these wharves have spacious docks, and wide and convenient landings, carriage ways, &c.

The Massachusetts General Hospital is a beautiful stone edifice, much commended for the convenience of its interior arrangements. The Houses of Industry and Correction, on the peninsula of South Boston, but within the city limits, are of stone, each two hundred and twenty feet long, and of a uniform architecture. The Court-house and jail, in Leverett-street, are of stone, and comprise three well built edifices. The United States Bank, in State-street, is a well built structure, but more remarkable for strength than classic proportion; the columns in front are the largest in the city, and are each of a single stone. The Washington Bank has a more symmetrical design and better effect. The Masonic Temple is a new building of granite, and has a fine front.

NEW ORLEANS.

New Orleans, the seat of government of Louisiana, and the commercial mart of all the western country, stands on the northern bank of the Mississippi, at a spot where the river makes a great bend to the north-east. It is one hundred and five miles above the mouth of the stream, by its windings, and ninety in a direct line. The ground is level, and the neighborhood a swamp. It consists of three divisions; the city proper, and the fauxbourgs or suburbs of St. Marie and Marigny. The two first are compactly built, and in all parts the streets are straight and regular, generally at right angles. In the city, the houses are built in the French and Spanish style, and are stuccoed of a white or yellow color. The fauxbourg St. Marie is built in the American fashion, and resembles one of our Atlantic cities.

As a place of trade, New Orleans has immense advantages. It is the outport for all the commerce of the Mississippi and its tributaries. It is accessible for ships of the largest size, and its levee is constantly crowded with all kinds of maritime and river craft. In the cotton season, its streets are barricadoed with bales. There are often fifteen hundred flat boats in the harbor at a time. Steam-boats arrive and depart every hour, and fifty may be often seen together.

ALBANY.

Albany is the seat of government of New York, and in point of wealth, population, trade, and resources, is the second city in the State. It is situated on the west bank of the Hudson, one hundred and sixty miles above New York, near the head of tide-water. It was settled by the Dutch, in 1612, and, next to Jamestown in Virginia, is the oldest settlement in the United States.

Albany is a place of great trade, and, during the session of the Legislature, it is much crowded with strangers. The basin, where the canal joins the Hudson, is formed by an artificial pier, eighty feet in width, and four thousand and three hundred feet long. It is connected with the shore by drawbridges, and covered with stores; in which immense quantities of lumber and merchandise are deposited. The basin contains a surface of thirty-two acres. The neighborhood of Albany is pleasant, and many beautiful and thriving villages are within a short distance. This city has a library of eight thousand volumes, eleven newspapers, and a population of twenty-four thousand, two hundred and thirty-eight.

CHARLESTON.

Charleston, the commercial metropolis, and formerly the seat of government of South Carolina, is built upon a point of land at the junction of Ashley and Cooper rivers. Its harbor is capacious, but difficult of entrance. The city is regularly built, and though the site is low the approach to it by water is particularly fine. Many of the streets are very handsome, and most of the houses are furnished with three piazzas to each story. In the outer parts of the city, the houses are surrounded with gardens, and ornamented by trees and shrubbery. Groves of orange and peach trees in bloom, present here a most inviting appearance to the traveller, who arrives from the north in the early season. Population in 1830, 30,289

CINCINNATI.

Cincinnati, the largest city in Ohio, and indeed in all the western country, stands on the northern bank of the Ohio, near the south-western corner of the State. Its

City of Cincinnati.

site is the eastern part of an alluvial tract, bounded on the north by a ridge of hills

This plain contains about four square miles, and consists of two differen levels, one about fifty feet higher than the other. The city rises gradually from the river, but does not make a very bold or striking appearance. It is built with perfect regularity, on the plan of Philadelphia. The principal streets are sixty-six feet in width. The central part is very compact, yet the whole outline of the city is but partially filled up, and the greater portion of the buildings are scattered irregularly about. Some of the public edifices are of stone or brick, and many of the stores and houses are of brick. Here are four markets, twenty-three churches, a branch of the United States Bank, a medical college, eighteen public schools, a hospital, a theatre, ten newspapers, (two of which are daily,) and many manufactories of iron, brass, copper, cotton, woolen, paper, &c. The city has a vast trade by the river and canal.

Cincinnati occupies the site of old Fort Washington; and the outlines of the city were marked in 1789. There were five hundred inhabitants here in 1795, and nine hundred and fifty in 1805. The first settlers were principally from New England and New Jersey. Since the peace of 1814, the city has augmented with wonderful rapidity; and in 1830, contained a population of twenty-six thousand, five hundred and fifteen.

PITTSBURG.

Pittsburg, in the west of Pennsylvania, is the next, in this State, in importance to Philadelphia. It stands upon a point of land at the junction of the Alleghany and Monongahela rivers, which here take the name of Ohio. It is built on a regular plan, upon the slope of an eminence, and a level plain at its foot. It is finely situated for

City of Pittsburg.

trade, and enjoys a communication by steam-boats, with all the great towns on the Ohio and Mississippi; but it is most distinguished for its large and flourishing manufactures of glass, iron, woolen, and cotton. The surrounding country is exceedingly rich in bituminous coal, which is delivered at the houses for three cents the bushel. The constant use of this fuel causes a perpetual cloud of black smoke to hang over the place.

WASHINGTON.

Washington, the seat of government of the United States, stands in the centre of the District of Columbia, upon the north bank of the Potomac, between the river and

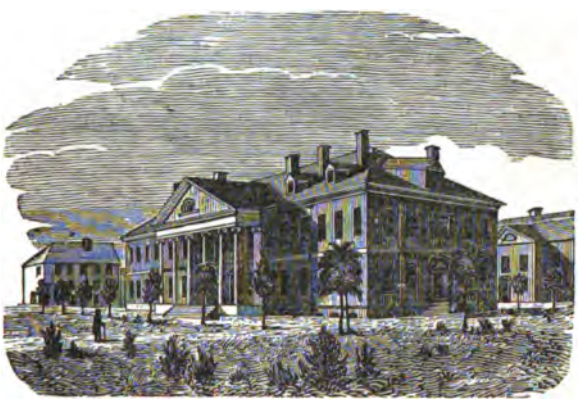
one of its tributaries, called the East Branch. The actual city occupies a spot about a mile and a half above the junction of the two streams, although the original plan embraces the whole extent below.

The buildings which it contains, are in three distinct parts, one portion being in the neighborhood of the navy yard, another in that of the Capitol, and another in the Pennsylvania Avenue, which extends from the Capitol to the President's house. The city presents the appearance of a group of villages, the spaces between the inhabited parts not being occupied or marked out.

The Capitol is a large and magnificent building, of white freestone, three hundred and fifty-two feet long, in the shape of a cross, with the Representatives Hall and the Senate Chamber in the two wings, and a spacious rotunda in the centre.

The President's house is an elegant structure of freestone, one hundred and seventy feet in front and two stories in height, ornamented with an Ionic portico. It stands about a mile west of the Capitol. It is surrounded with the offices of the heads of departments. At the patent office, is kept a collection of all the models of patent inventions in the country. The navy yard, on the east branch, exhibits a monument to the American officers who fell in the war with Tripoli.

There are few other buildings worthy of notice for their architecture. The office of the Department of State, is a large edifice of brick, with a portico in front and



United States Department.

there are two or three others of the same size and construction. There are two public free schools in the city. Two bridges cross the eastern branch, and one, the main stream of the Potomac, at Washington.

CANALS.

ERIE AND HUDSON CANAL.

New York surpasses every State in the Union for canals. The great Erie and Hudson Canal, from Albany to Buffalo, was begun in 1817, and finished in 1825, at the cost of above nine millions of dollars. It is three hundred and sixty-three miles long, forty feet wide, and four feet deep.

In the whole length of the canal, are eighty-three locks and eighteen aqueducts. The locks are built in the most durable manner, of stone laid in water lime, and are each ninety feet long and fifteen wide. Lake Erie is five hundred and sixty five feet above the Hudson at Albany, and the whole rise and fall of lockage on the canal is six hundred and eighty-eight feet. One of the aqueducts crosses the Genesee river, at Rochester, and is eight hundred and four feet in length. Another aqueduct crosses the Mohawk, at Little Falls, on three arches of fifty and seventy

Aqueduct of the Erie Canal.

feet span; two others cross the same river, one seven hundred and forty-eight feet, and the other eleven hundred and eighty-eight feet in length. The sides of the canal are sometimes paved with stone, and sometimes covered with thick grass, to hinder the soil from washing away. A tow path four feet above the surface of the water, and ten feet wide, runs the whole length of the canal. A number of side cuts branch off from the canal to different places; one of these, from Syracuse to Oswego, is thirty-eight miles long; another from Montezuma to Cayuga and Seneca Lake, twenty miles

The canal boats, for the conveyance of passengers, are generally eighty feet in length, and fourteen in width, drawing from one to two feet of water. The cabin occupies nearly the whole length of the deck, and is eight feet in height, with single berths on each side for thirty persons. They are drawn by three horses, and proceed day and night four miles an hour; relays are furnished every eight or ten miles. Boats with merchandise go about fifty-five miles in twenty-four hours; the passage boats make, including delays, eighty-five miles progress in the same time. The navigation upon this great canal is prodigious, and the work does honor to the sagacity and enterprise of those who planned it.

CHESAPEAKE AND DELAWARE CANAL.

The Chesapeake and Delaware Canal crosses the northern part of Delaware, uniting the two bays. It is fourteen miles long, sixty feet wide, and ten feet deep, with locks one hundred feet in length, and twenty-two feet wide. It begins at Delaware city, forty-six miles below Philadelphia, and passes westerly to Back Creek, a navigable branch of Elk river. The Deep Cut is the name given to the passage of this canal, for four miles, through a hill ninety feet in height, being the deepest cut upon any canal in the world. The Summit Bridge, which crosses the canal at the cut, is a

single arch, two hundred and fifty-five feet in length. Here the sides of the canal are secured by walls of stone, and the high banks are in some places thatched with

The Deep Cut of the Delaware Canal.

straw to prevent their washing into the canal. East of this spot, the canal is carried through deep marshes; the foundation and embankments were executed at great expense. At every half mile are recesses for the passing of vessels, where the width of the canal is increased to one hundred and ten feet. At its junction with the Delaware, is an artificial harbor, or large basin, of a semicircular shape. This canal was begun in 1823, and completed in six years, at the cost of more than two million of dollars. The navigation upon it is great and increasing. In the tables, towards the close, we have given a list of the principal canals in the United States, with their distances.

COAL MINES.

COAL.

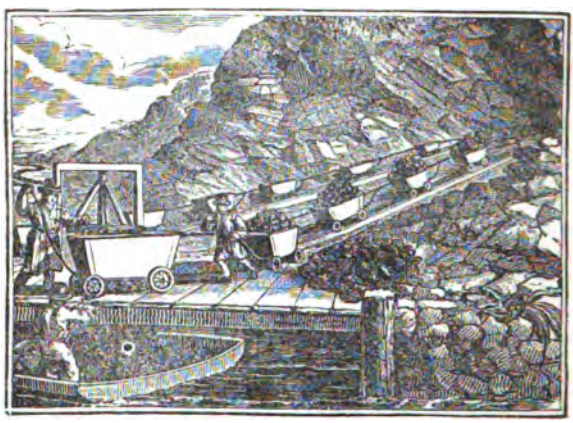
In no part of the world is anthracite coal found so abundantly as in Pennsylvania. It abounds in the Wyoming and Lackawanna valley, between the Blue Ridge and the Susquehanna. The anthracite district is principally occupied by mountains running parallel to the Blue Ridge, often broad, with table summits, and rising generally about fifteen hundred feet above the ocean. These mountains are mostly in a state of nature, harboring wolves, bears, cougars, deer, and other wild animals.

The coal occurs in the greatest quantity in those parts of this region most accessible by water. Extensive veins and beds range from the Lehigh to the Susquehanna, crossing the headwaters of the Schuylkill and Swatara, about ten miles north-west of the Blue Ridge. It is abundant near the Susquehanna, and Lackawanna, but in no part is it so plentiful as at Mauch Chunk, a village on the Lehigh, a branch of the Susquehanna.

The anthracite region of the Susquehanna lies in the valley formed by the Susquehanna and the Lackawanna, one of its branches; this region is distinguished as

the valleys of the Wyoming and Lackawanna, but is in fact without any natural division, and constitutes a single formation. It it between sixty and seventy miles long, and five broad. The double barrier of nearly parallel mountains, through whose included valley flow the Susquehanna and Lackawanna, is a perfectly wel defined coal formation, and its geological structure is very interesting.

The coal lies in beds, and not as commonly, in veins; these are of every thickness, from a foot to twenty-seven feet: none are much esteemed that are less than three or four; few are wrought that are less than six. The lateral extent of the beds is immense; they break out in the precipices and hills, and upon the banks of the Susquehanna and Lackawanna, and form in some places the pavement of these rivers. They appear in the sides and channels of almost every stream from the mountains; they blacken the soil in numerous places, and wells are often sunk in the coal.



Coal Mines.

The western part of Pennsylvania is as abundantly supplied with bituminous coal, as the eastern is with anthracite. It is found on the rivers Conemaugh, Alleghany, Monongahela, and Ohio, and in numerous places west of the Alleghany ridge, which is, with some exceptions, its eastern boundary. The veins are generally narrow, rarely above six feet in width. The coal is abundant, and of excellent quality, near Pittsburg.

COMMERCE.

Exports and Imports during the year ending Sept. 30, 1840.

Imports,	$107,141,519
Exports of Domestic Produce,	113,895,634
Exports of Foreign Produce,	18,190,312
Total Exports,	$132,085,946

Imports and Exports for the year ending June 30, 1848.

Imports,	$154,977,866
Exports of Domestic Produce,	132,904,121
Exports of Foreign Produce,	21,128,010
Total Exports,	$154,032,131

APPORTIONMENT* OF REPRESENTATIVES TO CONGRESS.

Maine,	7	Kentucky,	10
New Hampshire,	4	Tennessee,	11
Massachusetts,	10	Ohio,	21
Rhode Island,	2	Indiana,	10
Connecticut,	4	Mississippi,	4
Vermont,	4	Illinois,	7
New York,	34	Louisiana,	4
New Jersey,	5	Missouri,	5
Pennsylvania,	24	Alabama,	7
Delaware,	1	Michigan,	3
Maryland,	6	Arkansas,	1
Virginia,	15	Florida,	1
North Carolina,	9	Texas,	2
South Carolina,	7	Iowa,	2
Georgia,	8	Wisconsin,	3

* This apportionment, which took place 25th June, 1842, is in the ratio of one Representative for every 70,680 inhabitants.

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST

OF THE OFFICERS OF THE UNITED STATES.

FIRST ADMINISTRATION—1789 TO 1797—8 YEARS.

GEORGE WASHINGTON,	Virginia,	April 30, 1789.	President.
John Adams,	Massachusetts,	do. 1789.	Vice President.
		Appointed.	
Thomas Jefferson,	Virginia,	Sept. 26, 1789.	Secretaries of State.
Edmund Randolph,	do.	Jan. 2, 1794.	
Timothy Pickering,	Massachusetts,	Dec. 10, 1795.	
Alexander Hamilton,	New York,	Sept. 11, 1789.	Secretaries of the Treasury.
Oliver Wolcott,	Connecticut,	Feb. 3, 1795.	
Henry Knox,	Massachusetts,	Sept. 12, 1789.	Secretaries of War
Timothy Pickering	do.	Jan. 2, 1795.	
James M'Henry,	Maryland,	Jan. 27, 1796.	

SECOND ADMINISTRATION—1797 TO 1801—4 YEARS.

JOHN ADAMS,	Massachusetts,	March 4, 1797.	President.
Thomas Jefferson,	Virginia,	do. 1797.	Vice President.
		Appointed.	
Timothy Pickering,	Massachusetts	(*continued in office.*)	Secretaries of State.
John Marshall,	Virginia,	May 13, 1800.	
Oliver Wolcott,	Connecticut,	(*continued in office.*)	Secretaries of the Treasury.
Samuel Dexter,	Massachusetts,	Dec. 31, 1800.	
James M'Henry,	Maryland,	(*continued in office.*)	Secretaries of War.
Samuel Dexter,	Massachusetts,	May 13, 1800.	
Roger Griswold,	Connecticut,	Feb. 3, 1801.	
George Cabot,	Massachusetts,	May 3, 1798.	Secretaries of the Navy.
Benjamin Stoddert,	Maryland,	May 21, 1798.	

THIRD ADMINISTRATION—1801 TO 1809—8 YEARS.

THOMAS JEFFERSON,	Virginia,	March 4, 1801.	President.
Aaron Burr,	New York	do. 1801.	Vice Presidents.
George Clinton,	do.	do. 1805.	
		Appointed.	
James Madison,	Virginia,	March 5, 1801.	Secretary of State.
Samuel Dexter,	Massachusetts,	(*continued in office.*)	Secretaries of the Treasury.
Albert Gallatin,	Pennsylvania,	Jan. 26, 1802.	
Henry Dearborn,	Massachusetts,	March 5, 1801.	Secretary of War.
Benjamin Stoddert,	Maryland,	(*continued in office.*)	Secretaries of the Navy.
Robert Smith,	do.	Jan. 26, 1802.	

FOURTH ADMINISTRATION—1809 TO 1817—8 YEARS.

JAMES MADISON,	Virginia,	March 4, 1809.	President.
George Clinton,	N. Y., 1809,	(*d. April* 20, 1812.)	Vice Presidents.
Elbridge Gerry.	Mass., 1813,	(*d. Nov.* 23, 1814.)	
		Appointed.	
Robert Smith.	Maryland,	March 6, 1809.	Secretaries of State.
James Monroe,	Virginia,	Nov. 25, 1811.	
James Monroe,	do.	Feb. 28, 1815.	

Albert Gallatin,	Pennsylvania,	(*continued in office.*)	Secretaries of the Treasury.
George W. Campbell,	Tennessee,	Feb. 9, 1814.	
Alexander J. Dallas,	Pennsylvania,	Oct. 6, 1814.	
William Eustis,	Massachusetts,	March 7, 1809.	Secretaries of War
John Armstrong,	New York,	Jan. 13, 1813.	
James Monroe,	Virginia,	Sept. 27, 1814.	
William H. Crawford,	Georgia,	March 2, 1815.	
Paul Hamilton,	South Carolina,	March 7, 1809.	Secretaries of the Navy
William Jones,	Pennsylvania,	Jan. 12, 1813.	
B. W. Crowninshield,	Massachusetts,	Dec. 19, 1814.	

FIFTH ADMINISTRATION—1817 TO 1825—8 YEARS.

JAMES MONROE,	Virginia,	March 4, 1817.	President.
Daniel D. Tompkins,	New York,	do. 1817. *Appointed.*	Vice President.
John Q. Adams,	Massachusetts,	March 5, 1817.	Secretary of State.
William H. Crawford,	Georgia,	March 5, 1817.	Secretary of the Treas
Isaac Shelby,	Kentucky,	March 5, 1817.	Secretaries of War.
John C. Calhoun,	South Carolina,	Dec. 16, 1817.	
B. W. Crowninshield,	Massachusetts,	(*continued in office.*)	Secretaries of the Navy
Smith Thompson,	New York,	Nov. 30, 1818.	
Samuel L. Southard,	New Jersey,	Dec. 9, 1823.	

SIXTH ADMINISTRATION—1825 TO 1829—4 YEARS.

JOHN Q. ADAMS,	Massachusetts,	March 4, 1825.	President.
John C. Calhoun,	South Carolina,	do. 1825. *Appointed.*	Vice President.
Henry Clay,	Kentucky,	March 8, 1825.	Secretary of State
Richard Rush,	Pennsylvania,	March 7, 1825.	Secretary of the Treas.
James Barbour,	Virginia,	do. 1825.	Secretaries of War.
Peter B. Porter,	New York,	May 26, 1828.	
Samuel L. Southard,	New Jersey,	(*continued in office.*)	Secretary of the Navy

SEVENTH ADMINISTRATION—1829 TO 1837—8 YEARS.

ANDREW JACKSON,	Tennessee,	March 4, 1829.	President.
John C. Calhoun,	South Carolina,	do. 1829.	Vice Presidents.
Martin Van Buren,	New York,	do. 1833.	
Martin Van Buren,	New York,		Secretaries of State.
Edward Livingston,	Louisiana,		
Louis McLane,	Delaware,		
John Forsyth,	Georgia,		
Samuel D. Ingham,	Pennsylvania,		Secretaries of the Treasury.
Louis McLane,	Delaware,		
William J. Duane,	Pennsylvania,		
Roger B. Taney,	Maryland,		
Levi Woodbury,	N. Hampshire,		
John H. Eaton,	Tennessee,		Secretaries of War.
Lewis Cass,	Michigan,		
Benj. F. Butler, (*acting*)	New York,		
John Branch,	North Carolina,		Secretaries of the Navy.
Levi Woodbury,	N. Hampshire,		
Mahlon Dickerson,	New Jersey,		
John McLean,	Ohio,		Postmasters General; now first considered as Cabinet Officers.
William T. Barry,	Kentucky,		
Amos Kendall,	Kentucky,		

EIGHTH ADMINISTRATION — 1837.

MARTIN VAN BUREN,	New York,	March 4, 1837.	President.
Richard M. Johnson,	Kentucky,	do. 1837.	Vice-President.
John Forsyth,	Georgia, (*continued in office.*)		Secretary of State.
Levi Woodbury,	N. Hampshire, (*contin'd in do.*)		Secretary of the Treasury.
Joel R. Poinsett,	South Carolina,	March 5, 1837.	Secretary of War.
Mahlon Dickerson,	New Jersey,		Secretaries of the Navy.
James K. Paulding,	New York,		
Amos Kendall,	Kentucky, (*continued in office.*)		Postmasters General.
John M. Niles,	Connecticut,		

NINTH ADMINISTRATION — 1841.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON,	Ohio,	March 4, 1841.	President.
John Tyler,	Virginia,	do. 1841.	Vice-President.
Daniel Webster,	Massachusetts,	March 5, 1841.	Secretary of State.
Thomas Ewing,	Ohio,	do. 1841.	Secretary of the Treasury.
John Bell,	Tennessee,	do. 1841.	Secretary of War.
George E. Badger,	North Carolina,	do. 1841.	Secretary of the Navy.
Francis Granger,	New York,	do. 1841.	Postmaster General.

TENTH ADMINISTRATION — 1841.

JOHN TYLER,	Virginia,	April 6, 1841.	President.
Daniel Webster,	Massachusetts,	(*contin'd in office.*)	Secretaries of State.
Abel P. Upshur,	Virginia,		
John C. Calhoun,	South Carolina,		
Thomas Ewing,	Ohio,		Secretaries of the Treasury.
Walter Forward,	Pennsylvania,		
John C. Spencer,	New York,		
George M. Bibb,	Kentucky,		
John Bell,	Tennessee,		Secretaries of War.
John C. Spencer,	New York,		
James M. Porter,	Pennsylvania,		
William Wilkins,	Pennsylvania,		
George E. Badger,	North Carolina,		Secretaries of the Navy.
Abel P. Upshur,	Virginia,		
David Henshaw,	Massachusetts,		
John Y. Mason,	Virginia,		
Hugh S. Legare,	South Carolina,		Attorneys General.
John Nelson,	Maryland,		
Francis Granger,	New York,		Postmasters General.
Charles A. Wickliffe,	Kentucky,		

ELEVENTH ADMINISTRATION — 1845.

JAMES KNOX POLK,	Tennessee,	March 4, 1845.	President.
George M. Dallas,	Pennsylvania,	do. 1845.	Vice-President.
James Buchanan,	do.		Secretary of State.
Robert J. Walker,	Mississippi,		Secretary of the Treasury.
William L. Marcy,	New York,		Secretary of War.
George Bancroft,	Massachusetts,		Secretaries of the Navy.
John Y. Mason,	Virginia,		
Cave Johnson,	Tennessee,		Postmaster General.
John Y. Mason,	Virginia,		Attorneys General.
Nathan Clifford,	Maine,		
Isaac Toucey,	Connecticut,		

TWELFTH ADMINISTRATION — 1849.

ZACHARY TAYLOR,	Louisiana,	March 5, 1849.	President.
Millard Fillmore,	New York.	do. 1849.	Vice-President.
John M. Clayton,	Delaware,		Secretary of State.
George W. Crawford,	Georgia,		Secretary of War.
William M. Meredith,	Pennsylvania,		Secretary of the Treasury.
William B. Preston,	Virginia,		Secretary of the Navy,
Thomas Ewing,	Ohio,		Secretary of the Interior.
Jacob Collamer,	Vermont,		Postmaster General.
Reverdy Johnson,	Maryland,		Attorney General.

THE UNITED STATES.

The thirteen United Colonies, which first adopted and issued the immortal Declaration of Independence, entered into the confederation of 1778, and formed the constitution of 1789, were New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. All the other States which are now members of the Union have been since admitted in the following order, viz.: —

Vermont, which was separated from New York, was admitted into the Union in the year 1794.

Tennessee, which was separated from North Carolina, was admitted 1796.

Kentucky, originally a part of the territory of Virginia, was admitted 1798.

Ohio, which was formed from land north-west of the Ohio river, that had been ceded to the General Government by the States to which it belonged, was admitted 1802.

Louisiana, formed from the Louisiana purchase, admitted 1812.

Indiana, from a portion of what is called the North-West Territory, admitted 1816.

Mississippi, from part of the territory of Georgia, admitted 1817.

Illinois, from the North-West Territory, admitted 1819.

Alabama, from part of Georgia, admitted 1819.

Maine, which was separated from Massachusetts, admitted 1820.

Missouri, formed from a part of the Louisiana purchase, admitted 1821.

Arkansas, from a portion of the Louisiana purchase, admitted 1836.

Michigan, which was constituted a territory in 1805, admitted 1836.

Florida, from the Spaniards, constituted a territory in 1822, admitted 1845.

Texas, independent republic, annexed 1845.

Iowa, from Wisconsin Territory, constituted a territory in 1838, admitted 1846.

Wisconsin, from Michigan Territory, constituted a territory in 1836, admitted 1846.